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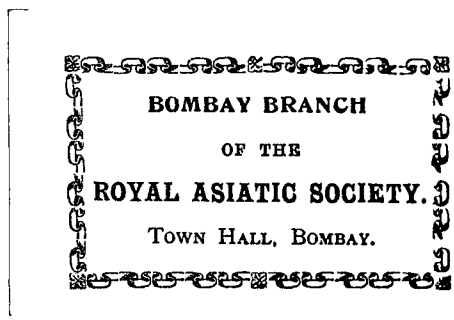

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Map of the UNITED STATES, CANADA &c. *intended to illustrate the* Travels *of the* Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

THE UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

THE

COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS,

AND

UPPER CANADA,

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IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797;

WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF LOWER CANADA.

BY THE

DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT LIANCOURT.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE TOUR THROUGH VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, THE JERSEYS, AND NEW-YORK, A GENERAL VIEW OF THE COMMERCE, POLITICS, AND MANNERS, OF THE UNITED STATES; WITH TWO MAPS, AND FOUR LARGE TABLES.

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1799.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

The United States of North America, Canada, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.

PASSAGE FROM CHARLESTON TO NORFOLK.

THERE do not frequently occur opportunities of obtaining a paſſage from Charleſton to Norfolk: the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of travelling on horſeback through North-Carolina, and making in that ſtate a ſufficiently long ſtay to acquire good information. After having waited a week for a veſſel to convey me to Virginia, I had engaged a birth in a ſloop: but my Charleſton friends thought it too much encumbered with paſſengers to allow of my being conveniently accommodated on board, beſides its being indifferently equipped; and Mr. Grant, one of thoſe gentlemen from whom I had experienced the greateſt civilities at Charleſton, invited me to give the preference to a ſmall veſſel that was conſigned to him, which belonged to one of his friends at Norfolk, and which was to ſail in two days. This veſſel was not to be laden, to carry no other paſſengers than the owner's nephew and myſelf, and to take us in three days to Norfolk. Although I diſliked the veſſel on account of her ſmall ſize, as ſhe was but of twenty-nine tons burden, yet the advantage of the other circumſtances counterbalanced that objection, and I thankfully accepted the offer: but, inſtead of ſailing at the expiration of two days, ſhe was delayed ſix days longer: inſtead of having no cargo, ſhe was laden with caſks of rice even to the very cabin: inſtead of a ſingle fellow-paſſenger, there were four: inſtead of being a

good ſailer, ſhe was as ſlow as a Dutch dogger: the captain was ignorant, lazy, careleſs, and unacquainted with the difficult coaſt of North Carolina.

At length, after having encountered the moſt ſerious dangers on the ſhoals of Cape Fear and Cape Lookout, which we ought to have left at the diſtance of thirty miles; after having had one of our maſts four times ſhattered by the ſeverity of the weather; after having run aground during the night on a bank in Cheſapeak Bay, from which we extricated ourſelves with difficulty at the expence of four hours' ſevere labour; after having eſcaped from ſeveral other perils to which the ignorance and neglect of our captain had expoſed us; and after a moſt unpleaſant voyage of eleven days, we arrived at Norfolk on the 29th of May.

Thus it often happens that the event is far from correſponding with the meaſures planned by prudent foreſight: but inconveniences and dangers are nothing when they are paſſed; and thoſe attached to ſea-voyages leave a leſs ſtrong impreſſion on the mind than any other. Beſides, on ſea, danger does not ſubject the paſſenger to any laborious exertions: for in that ſituation, beyond all others, he is compelled to acknowledge himſelf ſubject to the ſway of uncontrollable neceſſity. His condition, however, is not on that account the more agreeable; far from it: but it affords a ſort of melancholy conſolation to a man already fatigued with untoward events, and prediſpoſed to bear with patience thoſe further croſſes of which he is deſtined to be the ſport.

On my paſſage I learned that our little veſſel belonged to Colonel H****, the Britiſh conſul, and principal of one of the moſt opulent commercial houſes in Norfolk, which, however, does not bear his name, but that of his nephew, Thomas H****: for by the laws of England, and thoſe of every nation who wiſh that the duty of their envoy ſhould be the primary object of his attention, a conſul is not allowed to carry on any ſpecies of commerce in the country where he is employed. But Colonel H****, like ſo many others, thus eludes that regulation, and employs his capital on his own account under the firm of his nephew, which he directs

directs as completely as if he were the avowed principal in the buſineſs. It was with Mr. Morgan—who is not the colonel's relative as Mr. Grant had informed me, but one of the perſons employed under him for the affairs of the conſulate—that I ſailed: and from his converſation I had a new opportunity of obſerving how uniformly all thoſe who are employed by the * * * * miniſtry, and all ſuch as have imbibed their principles, ſpeak of the Americans with averſion and contempt. Such a diſpoſition on their part ſeems as little likely to furniſh motives that ſhould render palatable the late treaty of amity and commerce, as the articles of the treaty itſelf.

Since the revolution, * * * * has nominated, for her conſuls in the United States, Americans who had been proſcribed in their native country for having taken part in oppoſition to the cauſe of independence; ſhe has ſent thither, as her miniſters, men the moſt violent in their opinions, and in their diſcourſes againſt the American nation. In the midſt of peace ſhe ſeizes her ſhips, and preſſes her ſailors; ſhe renews theſe outrages with additional violence at the very moment of concluding the treaty of alliance; and the American government teſtifies no reſentment of ſuch proceedings. When we ſee, as is the caſe at the preſent period, that morality and honeſty are utterly diſregarded in politics, it is eaſy to account for the conduct of * * * * in this particular; but that of the American rulers is wholly unaccountable.

In ſailing out of Charleſton Bay, we croſſed the bar by the north paſſage, near Sullivan's Iſland: this is the narroweſt and ſhalloweſt of all the paſſages; but it was more than ſufficiently deep for our purpoſe: we had a good pilot on board: and thus with perfect ſafety we abridged our courſe by a dozen of miles. A few days before, a ſhip from Jamaica, a valuable prize taken by a French privateer, had been loſt through the miſmanagement of a drunken pilot, who ran her aground in conducting her through the middle paſſage, which is the deepeſt of all. The nature of the ſand which compoſes the bank is ſuch, that in a few hours, it ſwallows up whatever touches upon it, and that the ſhip

in

in queſtion, from which only a few bales of coffee could be ſaved, totally diſappeared in twelve hours, hull and maſts, ſo that not a veſtige of her was any longer to be diſcovered.

ENTRANCE INTO ELIZABETH RIVER.

Thoſe veſſels which, as was the caſe with ours, are bound for Norfolk, ſteer to the left after they have paſſed between Cape Henry and Cape Charles, which form the entrance of the Cheſapeak. On Cape Henry is erected a fort which is ſeen from a great diſtance. Behind it, and oppoſite to the entrance of this vaſt bay, and a little to the left, is Hampton Road. We approached within ſight of it in order to gain Elizabeth River, after having paſſed by the mouths of James and Nanſemond Rivers.

STATE OF VIRGINIA.—NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH.

Norfolk is built on Elizabeth River, at nine miles from the ſpot where it diſcharges its waters into the bay. In the intervening ſpace there are few houſes, and thoſe few almoſt all preſent a wretched appearance. An almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of pines are the only object which meets the voyager's eye. Erancy Iſland lies nearly in the middle of the river at a ſhort diſtance above its mouth. Two points of land, which approach within a quarter of a mile of each other in front of Norfolk, are ſtrengthened with forts which are capable of ſucceſsfully defending the entrance. That on the Norfolk ſide is in better condition than the other, which, however, might be ſpeedily repaired, and at no great expence.

The town of Norfolk was entirely burned at the commencement of the war, by order of Lord Dunmore, who was at that time governor of Virginia for the king of England. Not a ſingle houſe remained ſtanding: and the damage was eſtimated at a million and half of dollars. The Engliſh who now inhabit the town, aſhamed of that act of barbarity, aſſert

aſſert that Lord Dunmore gave orders only for the burning of the warehouſes on the wharfs, for the purpoſe of facilitating the defence of the place, and that it was the Americans themſelves who burned the remainder of the town by order of the committee of ſafety of the legiſlature of Virginia. It is not forgotten how a few years ago the Jacobins in France ſaid that the ariſtocrats were themſelves the perſons who ſet fire to their own *châteaux*. Party-animoſity prompts men to advance the groſſeſt abſurdities, and cauſes them to be believed even by thoſe who relate them.—Mankind are every where the ſame:—an obſervation, of which the truth is univerſally acknowledged.

Portſmouth, a ſmall aſſemblage of houſes on the oppoſite ſide of the river, did not ſhare in the conflagration of Norfolk. From its ſituation it ſeemed entitled to expect all the commerce of Elizabeth River: at its quays the greateſt depth of water is found: at the higheſt tides, it is there twelve-feet deep, whereas it is only ſix at Norfolk: the pump-water at the former place is not brackiſh, as at the latter: the ſoil on which the town is built is more dry, and the air more ſalubrious. But, at the concluſion of the peace, the inhabitants being incenſed againſt the Engliſh, refuſed to admit any merchant of that nation, or any new-comer whoſe political principles were liable to ſuſpicion. To this rancorous diſpoſition was attributed a political motive of a leſs generous kind—an apprehenſion on the part of the American merchants who had remained at Portſmouth, leſt the new traders who might come to ſettle among them, ſhould, by the advantage of bringing in greater capitals than they themſelves poſſeſſed, be enabled to outdo them in the line of commerce.

However this may be, the conſequence has been, that the inhabitants have removed to the oppoſite ſide; that Norfolk has been rebuilt, and that its trade is twenty times more conſiderable than that of Portſmouth: nay, the few merchants who ſtill reſide in the latter town, purchaſe at Norfolk almoſt all the articles that conſtitute their cargoes, and ſome of them even have their compting-houſes there.

Portſmouth, which, in a very great ſpace, contains at preſent only about

about a hundred houſes, and whoſe ſtreets run in very ſtraight lines, wears the appearance rather of a town recently traced out than of one already built. A ſmall market is held there, but it is indifferently ſupplied: there is alſo an epiſcopalian church, a tolerably handſome building, in which, as in all the churches of Georgia, Carolina, and Virginia, a peculiar ſtation is allotted to the negroes, who are not allowed to mingle with the whites.

At the cloſe of the year eighty-three there were not yet twelve houſes rebuilt at Norfolk: at preſent the number is between ſeven and eight hundred. It is one of the ugliеſt, moſt irregular, and moſt filthy towns that can any-where be found. The houſes are low and unſightly, almoſt all conſtructed of wood, and erected without any attention to make them regularly line with each other; not twenty of them are built of brick. The ſtreets are unpaved: the town is ſurrounded by ſwamps: the naſtineſs and ſtench which prevail in it are exceſſive, and add to the natural inſalubrity of the ſituation, and of the climate which is extremely hot. The magiſtrates, it is ſaid, have ſometimes attempted to introduce into the place a greater degree of order, and eſpecially of cleanlineſs: but theſe regulations have not been attended to; and nobody is any longer willing to act as magiſtrate.

From theſe concurrent ſources of unhealthineſs it reſults that diſeaſes are habitual at Norfolk in ſummer and autumn, and that malignant epidemics are there frequent. Laſt year the yellow fever is ſaid to have carried off there five hundred perſons from a population of four thouſand. Three hundred died at the time the diſtemper prevailed; the others fell victims to its conſequences. The inhabitants of Norfolk, even thoſe among them who are the moſt opulent, fancy that the uſe of wine and ſtrong liquors furniſhes them with a preſervative againſt the inſalubrity of the climate; and they make liberal uſe of the remedy. Previous to the war, the town is ſaid to have contained eight thouſand inhabitants.

Norfolk carries on a conſiderable trade with Europe, the Antilles, and the Northern ſtates. Her exports are wheat, flour, Indian corn, timber

timber of every kind, particularly planks, ſtaves, and ſhingles, ſalt meat and fiſh, iron, lead, flax-ſeed, tobacco, tar, turpentine, hemp. All theſe articles are the produce of Virginia, or of North Carolina, which latter ſtate, having no ſea-ports, or none that are good, makes her exportations principally through thoſe of Virginia.

Norfolk is the only port for the ſouthern part of this extenſive ſtate: for, as no veſſels above the burden of a hundred or a hundred and twenty tons can go up to Peterſburg or Richmond, the produce of the back country which is brought to thoſe places by land, is for the moſt part ſent down in lighters to Norfolk, whence it is exported. Thus, this port almoſt ſingly carries on all the commerce of that part of Virginia which lies ſouth of the Rappahannoc, and of North Carolina far beyond the Roanoke.

They are at preſent forming a canal, which, paſſing through the Diſmal-Swamp, is to unite the waters of the ſouth branch of Elizabeth-River, or rather of Dup-Creek which falls into it, with Albemarle-Sound, by the river Paſkotank, and which will thus conſiderably ſhorten and facilitate the communication between North-Carolina and Norfolk. This canal, to which the two legiſlatures of North-Carolina and Virginia have ſeverally given their ſanction, is carried on by ſubſcription: it is three years ſince it was begun; and in three years more it is expected to be finiſhed. It is to be twenty-eight miles in length, and to run through a ſoil which is ſaid to be very favourable for the purpoſe, and eaſily worked. Five miles of it are already dug on the Virginia ſide, which I examined with ſome care, and thought very well executed: the ſame length is alſo dug on the ſide of North-Carolina. The Diſmal-Swamp has leſs ſolidity than any other which I have ever yet ſeen: but the earth which is dug for the paſſage of the canal, hardens in the air, and makes an excellent dike.

What muſt appear very ſurpriſing, is, that, for this canal which already ſeems in ſuch a ſtate of forwardneſs, no levels have been taken. It is not yet known what number of locks may be neceſſary, and even whether any will be requiſite: conſequently it is impoſſible to aſcertain what

may

may be the expence of completing it, or even whether the ſucceſs of the undertaking can be depended on. It is thus almoſt all the public works are carried on in America, where there is a total want of men of talents in the arts, and where ſo many able men, who are perhaps at this moment unemployed in Europe, might to a certainty make their fortunes at the ſame time that they were rendering eſſential ſervice to the country.

The exportations from Norfolk amounted, in 1791, to 1,028,789 dollars—in 1792, to 1,147,414—in 1793, to 1,015,525—in 1794, to 1,687,194—in 1795, to 1,934,827—and already to 1,088,105 dollars for the firſt quarter of the current year (1796). When we conſider the increaſe in the exports for ſome years back, we muſt recollect that the difference is much more conſiderable in the value than in the quantity. The neceſſities of Europe have more than doubled the price: and although it be certainly a fact that the clearing of new grounds augments the quantum of produce, that augmentation bears no proportion to the difference of value preſented by the tables for three years back, ſent in from the different cuſtom-houſes. In giving a combined view of the details of the exportation of the three principal articles of the produce of the country for the laſt five years, I furniſh an additional proof of my aſſertion.

QUANTITIES.	YEARS.				
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
Barrels of Flour	35,071	45,969	52,836	78,[illegible]81	66,527
Buſhels of Indian Corn . . .	341,984	286,834	258,735	211,313	442,[illegible]75
Caſks of Naval Stores . . .	29,376	44,605	26,753	23,2[illegible]0	14,[illegible]4
VALUE OF THOSE ARTICLES.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Doll[illegible]
Flour	191,639	242,357	296,415	436,352	[illegible]
Indian Corn	120,733	104,977	154,264	105,6[illegible]1	132,4[illegible]
Naval Stores	52,333	62,631	45,01[illegible]	45,[illegible]04	33,[illegible]

Thus we ſee that a barrel of flour, whoſe medium value in 1791 was five dollars and fifty-five cents, in 1792 five dollars and three cents, in 1793 five dollars and fifteen cents, in 1794 five dollars and fifty-ſix cents,

cents, roſe in 1795 to nine dollars and thirty-five cents; and that Indian corn, which is an article of only ſecondary demand, was at thirty-ſeven cents the buſhel in 1791, at fifty-four in 1792, at ſixty-one in 1793, at fifty-one in 1794, and at ſixty-ſix in 1795.

The comparative table of the prices of timber for the five preceding years exhibits the ſame augmentation of price.

Years.	Hogſhead Staves				Barrel Staves, per thouſand.		Heading, per thouſand.		Boards, per hundred feet.		Shingles, per thouſand.		Square timber, per hundred feet.	
	White Oak, per thouſand.		Red Oak, per thouſand.											
	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.	Doll.	Cents.
1791.	16.	66	11.	66	„	33	20.	„	1.	50	2.	„	12.	„
1792.	16.	56	13.	50	10.	„	20.	„	1.	50	2.	„	12.	„
1793.	16.	66	15.	„	12.	„	20.	„	1.	50	2.	„	12.	„
1794.	20.	„	15.	„	10.	„	20.	„	2.	„	2.	50	12.	„
1795.	20.	15	14.	50	10.	„	25.	„	2.	50	3.	„	13.	„

With reſpect to the naval ſtores, as they conſiſt of various articles extremely different in value, and as I am not furniſhed with the particulars, I cannot ſubject the amount of the general eſtimates to the ſame compariſon as thoſe of the wheat, Indian corn, and timber.

Excluſive of the flour exported from Norfolk, there is drawn from the ſtate, through that and other ports, a great quantity of wheat, which is taken by the merchants of Philadelphia and New-York, or the millers of Brandiwine, who manufacture it into flour which they export to Europe. Good mills are not very common in Virginia; and the want of capitals to erect a ſufficient number of them does not allow the Virginians to enjoy the great advantages ariſing from the manufacture of flour, which they have hitherto reſigned to the other ſtates. The high price of wheat this year, and the hope that it would riſe ſtill higher, have kept in Virginia a conſiderable quantity of that commodity: and, in conſequence of this ſpeculation, which the preſent ſtate of the market ſhews to have been ill-founded, the planters and the millers have on hand a greater ſtock of the article than they have ever had in the preceding years at the ſame ſeaſon.

The ſame is the caſe with reſpect to the tonnage of the different American ports; its increaſe is in great meaſure owing to the circumſtances of the war, which render the American bottoms the only vehicles that afford any tolerable ſecurity for the tranſportation of thoſe articles of American produce of which Europe and the colonies ſtand in need, and confine in their own ports the merchant ſhips of France, England, Holland, &c. until the return of peace. Ten years ago, Norfolk could not reckon ten large veſſels of her own; whereas at preſent ſhe poſſeſſes fifty of that deſcription, excluſive of fifty others of ſmaller ſize particularly employed in the trade to the Antilles. Under the name of Norfolk are to be underſtood Norfolk and Portſmouth; for thoſe two places, though otherwiſe diſtinct, conſtitute but a ſingle port of entry, and are both ſubject to the ſame cuſtom-houſe. The preſent tonnage of Norfolk is 15,567 tons, excluſive of the veſſels employed in the coaſting trade.

The danger of ſmuggling which might be carried on by veſſels coming from foreign countries, and diſcharging their cargoes in James or York river, induced the congreſs to enact a law prohibiting veſſels bound to Richmond, Peterſburg, or York-town, from entering thoſe rivers without having on board a cuſtom-houſe-officer, whom the captain comes or ſends for to Norfolk. This precaution, which operates as a partial check on that illicit trade, does not however entirely repreſs it; and I have been aſſured that it is carried on to a conſiderable amount along the ſhores of the Cheſapeak, notwithſtanding the vigilance of two ſmall veſſels belonging to the government of the Union, which are conſtantly cruiſing with a view to prevent it.

The exportation of tobacco from Norfolk has, by the diminution of the culture of that article in Virginia, been reduced above one third within the laſt five years. In 1793, it amounted to 15,002 hogſheads—in 1794, to 11,052—and in 1795, to 9,968. I have not been able to procure an accurate ſtatement of the quantities exported in 1791 and 1792.

Many Engliſh commercial houſes are eſtabliſhed at Norfolk; and the merchants

merchants of that nation hate the Americans here as well as throughout almoſt the whole of the United States. They break out into invectives, and are laviſh of contemptuous expreſſions, againſt the country which enriches them. We ought never to wonder at the effects of prejudice and paſſion: yet, in order to account for this prepoſterous conduct, it is neceſſary to recollect that the generality of thoſe merchants, who are but the agents of different houſes in England, are men utterly deſtitute of education: for the better ſort of Engliſh merchants eſtabliſhed in America are not guilty of ſuch blameable conduct.

The animoſity of the Engliſh merchants reſiding at Norfolk is further exaſperated by the preſence of a conſul who is a native of America, a loyaliſt, who bore arms againſt his country during the war between the colonies and Britain, and who, in addition to the politics of the Britiſh cabinet, feels the ſpur of perſonal reſentment for the confiſcations he has ſuffered. Public opinion however is unanimous in his favour with reſpect to his conduct in the war, which was very different from that of ſeveral officers who ſo ſtrikingly derogated from the honourable character which the Engliſh nation is generally allowed to poſſeſs.

This year England procured from Virginia a number of horſes to mount the cavalry which ſhe propoſed to ſend to the French iſlands; and thoſe ſupplies, which at every former period had always been conſidered as warlike ſtores, were by the American miniſtry accounted ordinary merchandize: conſequently their exportation was authorized by law, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the French conſul. But fortune has not proved ſo favourable to the Britiſh plans as the council of the United States: for, of four hundred horſes already ſhipped off, only one hundred and fifty lived to reach the place of their deſtination, and arrived there in bad condition. A veſſel which had about a hundred on board did not preſerve a ſingle one of the number. The precautions, taken for the tranſportation of three hundred more that yet remain at Norfolk, being the ſame as thoſe adopted with reſpect to the former, the ſame reſult muſt inevitably enſue; and the ſame will probably

be the fate of five hundred others now purchaſing in North-Carolina.

If the circle of Engliſh merchants and the creatures of the conſul at Norfolk indulge in angry invective againſt the Americans and the party attached to France, the merchants and other members of the community who have embraced the contrary party, ſupport it with equal warmth: ſo that nought but diviſion reigns at Norfolk in conſequence. But the prevailing opinion there is in favour of the French. This warmth of animoſity, as much as the unhealthineſs of the climate, retards the increaſe of Norfolk, where few new merchants come to ſettle, notwithſtanding its advantageous ſituation for commerce. It cannot however be doubted that the temptation held out by the hope of making a fortune will ſooner or later counterbalance thoſe inconveniences, as it has, in the caſe of thoſe merchants who are already ſettled there, prevailed over the probability of diſeaſes.—I have every-where heard the Preſident of the United States mentioned with great reſpect.

In all Virginia there is but a ſingle bank eſtabliſhed—that of Alexandria, which conſequently affords to the commerce of Norfolk no other aid than that of its paper, which in every part of the ſtate is accepted as caſh, when indorſed with a good name. In Norfolk there are not many opulent houſes, very few whoſe commercial enterprizes are of conſiderable magnitude, but ſeveral that carry on trade to a more limited extent.

Agriculture can hardly be ſaid to exiſt in Norfolk county, or in that of Princeſs Ann, which borders on it. Theſe two counties do indeed produce ſome Indian corn: but the lands would, from their nature, require great attention and labour to render them productive of good crops, eſpecially along the borders of the Cheſapeak and the ſea-coaſt. The landed property is much divided; and the inhabitants, who in general are not in very eaſy circumſtances, devote themſelves rather to the felling of timber than to the cultivation of the ſoil. Scarcely does the ſize of their gardens exceed half a ſcore perches: they cut down trees on their own lands and wherever elſe they find them of any value;

and

and they ſquander their whole earnings on ſtrong liquors, as is the practice with all thoſe who lead that kind of life. Yet they are in the habit of gaining above a dollar per day, deduction being made for the conveyance of the timber to the river-ſide; and the expence of this tranſportation is about one half of the value of the article thus tranſported. This timber is purchaſed by merchants at Norfolk, who derive a conſiderable profit either from the employment or re-ſale of it.

The plantations in the interior parts of theſe counties, being ſomewhat better cultivated than the borders of the ſea or of the rivers, furniſh the Norfolk market with ſalt beef and pork in ſufficient quantity even for exportation.

In all theſe parts, land is ſold at from ſix to ſeven dollars per acre; and often the value of the timber which it offers for the axe amounts to four or five times the price of the original purchaſe.

From eighty to ninety veſſels of different dimenſions are annually built at Norfolk. The price of building is, for the hull on coming from the hands of the carpenter, twenty-four dollars per ton for thoſe of above a hundred and twenty tons. Ready for ſea, they coſt from forty-ſeven to fifty dollars per ton. The prices have riſen above one fourth during the laſt three years. The ſhipwright's wages are two dollars and three quarters per day.—Veſſels of inferior dimenſions are much cheaper. A conſiderable number of them are ſold at Philadelphia, and to great advantage.—Theſe ſmall veſſels are conſtructed for quick ſailing: but this port, in common with almoſt all thoſe of the Cheſapeak, labours under the inconvenience of worms which attack the veſſels from June to September, and do them material injury.

The vicinity of Norfolk is abundantly productive of workmen of every kind—of ſailors, of ſea captains—and Virginia is not in this reſpect dependent on the Northern ſtates, as are Carolina and Georgia. There is at Norfolk a tolerably good ſchool for boys, but it is lately eſtabliſhed: it is what is commonly called a grammar-ſchool. Forty dollars per annum is the ſum paid for each pupil. There is no ſchool for girls, except thoſe where they learn to read: and ſuch parents

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as wiſh to give their daughters any further education, ſend them to Williamſburg or Baltimore.

The courts of the juſtices of the peace for the police of the city and its environs are held at Norfolk; the county-court is held at Suffolk, another town about eight miles diſtant from the former. The priſons are ſmall, and ill conducted: there is no walk for the priſoners: they are fed by the jailor, who receives for each a ſhilling per day.

The market at Norfolk is held every day, but it is not well furniſhed. The beef, however, is better here than at Charleſton: it coſts ten pence the pound; mutton, veal, &c. a ſhilling; flour, fourteen dollars the barrel. A common workman is paid a dollar per day, beſides his board. The cord of fire-wood coſts three dollars; hickory-wood, half a dollar additional. The hire of a negro is from eight to ten dollars per month. The medium rate of houſe-rent is two hundred and thirty dollars. The price of lots in the town is from nine to ten dollars the foot in front, on a depth of ſeventy feet. Fiſh is very abundant in the river and the bay. The Virginia currency is ſix ſhillings to the dollar, ten dollars making three pounds.

Mr. Plume, a native of Ireland, an active and intelligent man, who ſettled at Norfolk before the American war, conducts there a tannery and rope-walk, in which he employs as workmen his own negroes. He manufactures to a large amount, furniſhes a great part of the cordage conſumed in the port, and ſends his leather to every part of America. He procures almoſt all his hemp from the back parts of Virginia; the remainder he derives from Ruſſia. The latter, without being ſtronger than that of Virginia, is more eaſily wrought, and more readily receives the dreſſing. The country ſupplies Mr. Plume nearly with all the hides he has occaſion for: he nevertheleſs gets ſome from the heretofore Spaniſh part of Saint-Domingo.

It was intended that Norfolk ſhould build one of the ſix frigates of which the United States had determined to compoſe their marine: but, ſubſequent conſiderations having influenced the Congreſs to adopt the reſolution of reducing the number to three inſtead of ſix that were voted

two

two years ago, the other three frigates have been countermanded. That which was to have been built at Norfolk is among the number of the latter: it was begun at Goſport, a ſmall dependency of Portſmouth, where there are dock-yards for the conſtruction of the largeſt veſſels. I have ſeen the beginning of the intended conſtruction; only the keel and ſome of the principal ribs are put together: but the timber neceſſary for completing the work is almoſt entirely collected on the ſpot, where it lies without workmen and without protection. It is confidently aſſerted that this collection of fine timber, which has not been procured without conſiderable trouble, and eſpecially an enormous expence, is going to be ſold. It might, one would think, be much more advantageouſly preſerved for the uſe of the United States, who appear, by this order for its ſale, diſpoſed to preclude themſelves from even the poſſibility of reverting to their former reſolution.

The communication between Norfolk and Portſmouth is continual: it is carried on by ſix row-boats belonging to a company, and by three ſcows in which horſes and carriages are conveniently ferried over. The fare for each paſſenger is one-ſixteenth of a dollar: but, on paying ſix dollars, a perſon may become free of the paſſage for twelve months. Theſe boats are managed by negroes belonging to the company. It is not an unintereſting obſervation to remark that one of thoſe negroes, named Semes, aged from thirty to five and thirty years, has learned to read and write by his own unaided exertions. His converſation announces ſolid good ſenſe, together with an earneſt deſire of inſtruction: and, after having ſeen him, it is not eaſy to adopt the opinion of thoſe who refuſe to allow the negro race any conſiderable portion of intellect.

All the country about Norfolk is level, without any elevation. The width and beautiful forms of Elizabeth-River—the little town of Portſmouth on the oppoſite ſhore—the great number of ſhipping, ſome at anchor, ſome at the wharfs, ſome under repair, ſome building, enliven the proſpect, and render it tolerably pleaſing: but, without theſe acceſſaries, it would be dull and inſipid. The navigation of fifteen miles, which muſt be performed in order to reach the beginning of the Diſmal-Swamp canal, lies

through

through a country equally flat, where the houſes are thinly ſcattered, ſmall and mean in appearance, and ſituate each in the centre of a ſmall patch of cleared ground not exceeding two or three acres. All along Elizabeth River and the creeks which flow into it, are built great numbers of ſmall veſſels, which are almoſt all intended for ſale at Philadelphia.

The temperature of the air at Norfolk is conſtantly variable, as is the caſe in many other parts of America. It frequently happens that in the ſame day the diverſity of two or three ſeaſons is experienced. The eaſterly and north-eaſterly winds render the weather cold even in ſummer: from every other point the wind is accompanied with burning heat. At Norfolk, as in almoſt every other part of America, ſpring is unknown. The heat begins to be felt at an early ſeaſon; and at the commencement of April, peaſe, beans, thorn-buſhes, and even roſe-trees, are in bloom.

In every part of America through which I have hitherto travelled, the obliging civilities I have experienced have invariably proved how falſe and groundleſs are thoſe prejudices which the French and Engliſh ſo obſtinately entertain to the diſadvantage of the Americans. Were I in this inſtance to form my ideas from my own perſonal experience alone, they alſo might in like manner be branded with the appellation of prejudice: but I have found my opinion corroborated by that of every traveller whom I have had an opportunity of ſeeing, and who thought proper to judge for himſelf, uninfluenced by partiality. The friendly reception given to travellers in America, eſpecially by thoſe to whom they come recommended, is not confined to a dinner—the uſual return for letters of introduction: it is common to meet men, even men of little leiſure, who devote to you as great a portion of their time as you think proper to engroſs—who ſeek for the means of rendering your ſtay agreeable—and this without compliment, with an appearance of ſincerity and ſatisfaction which ſaves you from being embarraſſed by their complaiſance, and makes you feel it each moment more and more agreeable. As to me, who think myſelf by no means addicted to exaggeration, and who am far from being an admirer of every thing I ſee in America, I confeſs that I ſeldom quit a place where I have made any

ſtay,

ſtay, without thinking and acknowledging myſelf bound to entertain a ſenſe of gratitude, of which I carry away with me a reſolution of ſooner or later proving the ſincerity. Major William Lindſey, Commiſſioner of the Cuſtom-houſe, is, of all the inhabitants of Norfolk, the individual with whom I have the moſt particular reaſon to be ſatisfied. He is a man recommended by ſimplicity of manners and goodneſs of heart, and is held in univerſal eſteem. I am perſonally indebted to him for information on a variety of ſubjects; and to his amiable diſpoſition toward me I am further indebted for the opportunities of acquiring ſuch information as he could not himſelf furniſh me with.

There are three churches in Norfolk: one, Proteſtant-epiſcopalian, which, like all the others of that ſect in Virginia, is ſubject to the inſpection of the Biſhop of Williamſburg: another belongs to the Roman Catholics, and the clergyman derives his powers from Mr. Carrol, Biſhop of Maryland: the third is a Methodiſt church, in which, as in all others of that denomination, there is an abundance of grimaces, howlings, and contortions.

To the port of Norfolk, above any other in the United States, came the greateſt number of coloniſts eſcaped from Saint-Domingo at the commencement of their troubles. The principal cauſe of that choice was the circumſtance that the convoy which ſailed from Cape Français after the conflagration of the town, put into Hampton-Road. Norfolk lies twenty miles from the road: and the warmth of the climate, the ſlavery of the negroes which left it in the power of the refugee coloniſts to employ thoſe whom they had been able to bring off with them, and the kind reception which the inhabitants gave to the ill-fated fugitives, fixed them on the ſpot. Private ſubſcriptions raiſed in all the towns of Virginia, together with further ſums voted by the ſtate legiſlature and by Congreſs, afforded the unfortunate French inconteſtable proofs of the benevolence and generoſity of the Americans. The people of Norfolk ſhowed themſelves very warm advocates of the French cauſe; and, among ſeveral teſtimonies which they diſplayed of that diſpoſition, the

following deſerves to be quoted. The French convoy was preparing to quit the Cheſapeak in order to proceed to the northern part of America: a report was circulated that the friends of * * * * intended to ſend a pilot-boat to Halifax to give intelligence of their departure to the Engliſh fleet; and that very night all the pilot-boats were unrigged.

The number of French reſident at Norfolk has conſiderably diminiſhed. They have diſperſed through the other parts of America, where there is hardly a town that does not reckon ſome of their number among its inhabitants.

I had great pleaſure in meeting at Norfolk my friend Monſieur Guillemard whom I had left ſick at Philadelphia; but we are once more to ſeparate, and to meet again at Richmond.

HAMPTON.

A wherry, employed in tranſporting the mail from Norfolk to Hampton, whence it is forwarded by land to Richmond, is the uſual conveyance for paſſengers who intend to purſue that route. In good weather, the paſſage, which is about eighteen miles, is performed in two hours: we were ten hours in croſſing, for want of wind: and as the tide was low when we arrived at Hampton, on the ſecond of June, our negro ſailors miſſed the narrow channel which leads to the town, and ſo completely ſtranded us on a bar which choaks up the entrance of the creek, that we were obliged to gain Hampton in a boat. This place is a ſmall village, which the difficult entrance of its creek will prevent from ever becoming more conſiderable.

Hampton is the only place where, on proceeding from Norfolk, a perſon can debark who propoſes to travel by land through this part of Virginia. The arrival of the Richmond ſtage three times a week, and the reſidence of a few pilots who were induced to chooſe this ſpot for the place of their abode on account of its proximity to the entrance of the Cheſapeak, give to this petty village ſome little ſhare of activity, though

though indeed it is very little. The inn here is deteſtable, and we could find in it but two ſmall beds to accommodate five paſſengers of us who arrived together. It is ſaid to be in contemplation to erect a more convenient one: ſo much the better for thoſe who may come after us. Fortunately we were to quit this abominable lodging at two o'clock in the morning; and it was already eleven: hence this uncomfortable night was ſoon paſt. But there was not a ſingle morſel of bread to be expected previous to our departure; and I ſtood in very great need of ſome.

Heretofore there was a cuſtom-houſe eſtabliſhed at Hampton. The exportations amounted, in 1791, to 1,393 dollars—in 1792, to 4,961—in 1793, to 11,789—in 1794, to 41,947. In 1795, this cuſtom-houſe was united with that of Norfolk.

YORK-TOWN.

The road from Hampton to York-Town runs all along through woods. The patches of cleared land are yet rare and inconſiderable in this diſtrict. One meets however with ſome fields of Indian corn, meadows, crops of rye. Spots of ſeveral acres are ſeen incloſed with fences, which are even ſometimes well executed by means of a mound of earth a couple of feet in height, forming a kind of wall, on which are planted ſtakes that are afterwards interwoven with pine-branches. But in traverſing America the traveller cannot refrain from aſking in his own mind why the people do not plant quick hedges, which afford a better ſecurity, and are at the ſame time an ornament to the lands.

The ſoil, in the whole of this tract, appears not bad, though by no means of the firſt quality. The moſt common trees in the woods are the pine, the oak, the beech, and the hickory. I have ſeen ſome of conſiderable height. The country is flat. The ground however is thirty feet higher than the river at York-Town: yet the road, with the exception of two or three ſmall riſings, has to the view all the inconveniences of an abſolutely level plain.

York-Town is the place where terminated the American war—where the French effectually aided the Americans to ſhake off the yoke of England—and where Britiſh pride was a ſecond time ſeverely humbled.

I have gone over the part of the country that had been occupied by the encampments and the works of the allied armies: it was quite familiar to me from the plans of it which I had often examined. It is now difficult to diſcover any veſtiges of the batteries, of the parallels, even of the two redoubts ſo brilliantly carried by the American and French grenadiers under the command of Meſſieurs de la Fayette and de Viomeſnil. The earth has preſerved the traces of them no better than many American heads would now wiſh to retain the remembrance. Some of the Britiſh intrenchments in front of the town are more diſtinctly recognizable. But the only really exiſting monument of that memorable ſiege is General Nelſon's houſe, the moſt conſiderable edifice in the whole town, and which, until a few days after the commencement of the ſiege, was Lord Cornwallis's head-quarters. That great houſe, which is built of brick, and which at that period had been recently erected, is pierced in every direction with cannon-ſhot, and bomb-ſhells; and the ſurrounding ſpot of ground every-where diſplays ſtrong traces of their ravages. That houſe, which General Nelſon neglected to have ſpeedily repaired after the ſiege, has, ſince his death, devolved, together with the reſt of his property, to his three ſons; and they not agreeing as to the diſpoſal of the houſe, it remains unrepaired. This conſequence which is detrimental to the intereſts of his family, is, in my opinion, very advantageous to the town, inaſmuch as it preſerves there a curious monument of an event which proved deciſive in favour of American independence, and which at any period would be honourable to any nation. After the ſurrender of York-Town, the Congreſs, in paſſing a vote of thanks to the American and French armies which had thus brought the war to a concluſion, gave orders for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of that tranſaction. The monument is not even yet begun. Such negligence is inconceivable, ſhameful, and unaccountable. The preſent diſpoſition of the American government toward England does

not

not admit of a ſuppoſition that they have at this time any thought of erecting that monument.

York-Town, where we arrived on the third of June, does not preſent any other object of curioſity. It is a ſmall and tolerably well built village, where the Engliſh, contrary to their uſual practice during the American war, deſtroyed no houſes except ſuch as impeded their defence. Its population conſiſts of eight hundred perſons, of whom two thirds are negroes. It is agreeably ſituated, commanding a fine proſpect of the majeſtic ſtream of York-River, which Glouceſter-Point, that lies oppoſite, narrows here to two thirds of a mile, but which above and below the town is two miles wide.

York-Town carries on no trade: but the inhabitants ſay that forty years back it was the emporium of all Virginia. It ſupplied with European commodities all the ſhops and ſtores of the moſt diſtant towns; and it was the port where the planters, who at that time ſold their tobacco directly to the Engliſh merchants, were accuſtomed to ſhip it. Before the commencement of the revolutionary war, there were ſtill ſix or ſeven ſhips annually loaded there for England. Since that period its commerce has been uniformly on the decline; and it has now dwindled to nothing. Norfolk and Baltimore export all the produce of York-River, and furniſh the town with European goods. The inhabitants are of courſe deſtitute of employment: ſome of the number retail ſpirituous liquors and a few ſtuffs: others call themſelves lawyers and juſtices of the peace. In general they have at ſome diſtance from the town ſmall farms to which they every morning pay a viſit. But theſe occupations not engroſſing much of their attention or their time, the inhabitants of York-Town, who live together on terms of the greateſt harmony, much more aſſiduouſly employ both the one and the other in dining together, drinking punch, and playing at billiards. To give a ſomewhat higher zeſt to this monotonous round of life, they often change the place of their meetings.

On the oppoſite ſide of the river, in Glouceſter-County, are annually built a conſiderable number of veſſels.

York-

York-Town is the capital of York County, which contains a population of about ſix thouſand inhabitants, of whom above one half are ſlaves. The town, notwithſtanding the decay of its commerce, has a cuſtom-houſe, to which are ſubject ſeveral little ports in the vicinity. The value of its exportations was 99,811 dollars in the year 1791—154,466 in 1792—34,992 in 1793—7,579 in 1794—and 3,060 in 1795.

I dined with the greater number of thoſe who compoſe the ſociety of York-Town, at the houſe of Mr. Clarkſton, to whom I had letters of introduction. Doctor Griffin, to whom I had alſo a letter, was abſent from town. He is ſaid to be a man of information. I found in Mr. Clarkſton and all the others a very obliging diſpoſition, a great deſire to do every thing which they could conceive likely to prove agreeable to me; in ſhort I obſerved in them all the characteriſtics of an honeſt, ſimple, and frank hoſpitality. Every individual among them preſerves an honourable remembrance of the French troops, on account of their exemplary conduct as well during the ſiege as during the ſpace of ſome months which intervened between the termination of the ſiege and their departure for France. The name of Maréchal Rochambeau is here held in high veneration.

There is no regular market at York-Town: each perſon furniſhes himſelf with meat in the beſt manner he can; and they are ſeldom unſupplied with it. Beef coſts from three to four pence the pound; mutton and veal ſix pence; other articles in proportion. Fiſh is here abundant, and almoſt for nothing. The higheſt rents in the town are from eighty to a hundred dollars. Flour, an article which it is difficult to procure, coſts at preſent fifteen dollars. Although the air of this place be infinitely more ſalubrious than that of Norfolk, the inhabitants nevertheleſs frequently experience intermittent fevers in autumn.

WILLIAMSBURG.

The inhabitants of York-Town being precluded by the narrowneſs of their circumſtances from keeping horſes, of which however they often ſtand in need, one or two perſons have ſome for hire in that little town, conſiſting of only about fifty houſes. I there had an opportunity of procuring one to convey me to Williamſburg, where I arrived on the fourth of June.

The road from York-Town to Williamſburg is in many parts agreeable: the country is ſomewhat more hilly; and cultivation is a little more common. New ſettlements are ſeen which are tolerably well begun; and the pieces of new-cleared land are in almoſt every inſtance ſurrounded with ditches well made and well ſodded: but the houſes uniformly exhibit a mean appearance, and their inhabitants betray ſtrong ſymptoms of poverty. A long tract of woodland is here alſo to be paſſed, where no cultivation is ſeen; but where the oak, the hickory, the liquidambar, the ſaſſafras tree, grow with vigour, and ſeem to indicate a good ſoil. The cattle here, as in Carolina, are conſtantly in the woods: they are poor and ill-favoured, and of a bad breed. They are fed in the ſtable during a few weeks previous to their being killed.—In all this tract, land is ſold at four or five dollars the acre.

Williamſburg is ſituate in a plain five miles from York-River, and at the ſame diſtance from James-River. Two creeks, which empty themſelves into thoſe great rivers, approach within two miles of the town on each ſide, and are there navigable. It is by means of theſe creeks that the commodities of Europe arrive from Richmond, Norfolk, and ſometimes Baltimore, to furniſh the ſtores in the town, which are in general indifferently ſupplied.

Before the revolution, Williamſburg was the capital of Virginia: but at that period the legiſlature choſe Richmond for the place of their meeting, as being more diſtant from the ſea-coaſt; and they have ſince eſtabliſhed themſelves there. This removal has reduced Williamſburg

to

to a village. Every perſon who was connected with government has followed the legiſlature to Richmond; and the number of inhabitants is annually decreaſing at Williamſburg in the ſame manner as at York Town. The preſent population is about twelve or thirteen hundred ſouls, of whom above one half are negro ſlaves.

A ſtate-houſe, of which one part ſerves for the ſittings of the diſtrict-court, bears the name of "the Capitol." It is a tolerably handſome brick building, but is falling to ruin. A marble ſtatue of Lord Botetourt, one of the governors of Virginia under the former ſyſtem, whoſe conduct had entitled him to the reſpect and attachment of the Virginians, ſtands in the periſtyle of this Capitol: but it is in a diſfigured ſtate. The lower claſs of the inhabitants of Williamſburg, actuated by revolutionary animoſity, conſidered as an act of homage to liberty every inſult offered to that monument erected by gratitude in honour of a former lord; and in conſequence they ſhameſully mutilated it. The inſcription engraven on the pedeſtal, expreſſing the grateful ſenſe of the people of Virginia, and which the populace did not deſtroy, forms a ſtriking contraſt with the indignities which the ſtatue has experienced, and honourably vindicates the memory of Lord Botetourt.

This Capitol terminates a ſtreet of a hundred and ſixty feet in breadth, and three quarters of a mile in length, at the oppoſite end of which ſtands the college. This eſtabliſhment, founded in the reign of William and Mary, ſtill bears their names. Its income, before the revolution, was from ſeventeen to eighteen thouſand dollars: at preſent it is reduced to three thouſand five hundred. It aroſe partly from duties on the exportation of tobacco and ſeveral other commodities, and partly from land. The duties fell to nothing in conſequence of the unlimited freedom of the export trade: the twenty thouſand acres of land have alone remained: theſe are let out on long leaſes of two or three lives, and are all in a ſtate of cultivation. Another ſmall duty, on the ſurveying of land, coneurs with the rent ariſing from thoſe twenty thouſand acres in compoſing that ſcanty income of three thouſand five hundred dollars, which the legiſlature does not ſeem inclined to augment.

Mathematics,

Mathematics, natural and moral philoſophy, natural and civil law, with the modern languages, conſtitute the whole round of inſtruction given in this college. The pupils are not ſent thither before the age of fifteen, and generally ſpend two years in purſuing the different courſes of ſtudy. One is aſtoniſhed to learn that not one of them lives in thoſe vaſt buildings deſtined for their reception, but that they are diſperſed, through the different boarding-houſes in the town, at a diſtance from all inſpection. Biſhop Madiſon who is preſident of this ſeminary, and the other profeſſors, who together with him definitively make all the regulations reſpecting the internal police of the college, aſſert that it has been proved by experience, that good order, peace, and even the ſucceſs of their ſtudies, are more effectually promoted by this ſeparation of the ſtudents, than by their being united together within the ſame walls, as the common effects of ſuch union were frequent quarrels and preconcerted mutinies. On hearing their reaſonings, one would be tempted to think that they have paid greater regard to their own eaſe than to the intereſt of the youth entruſted to their care, whom ſtrict watchfulneſs, good management, and attentions proportioned to their age, would have as effectually kept in good order at Williamſburg as in every other college in the world.

The ſtudents pay fourteen dollars to each profeſſor whoſe courſe of leſſons they attend: their board and lodging coſt them from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars: conſequently the expence to their parents amounts to about a hundred and ſixty or a hundred and ſeventy dollars a year. Excluſive of theſe emoluments, each profeſſor receives the annual ſum of four hundred dollars from the funds of the eſtabliſhment. Biſhop Madiſon occupies the chair of natural and moral philoſophy, and has, in addition to his profeſſorial ſalary, two hundred dollars more, as preſident.

The internal adminiſtration of the college is entruſted to the care of the profeſſors, who are nominated by a board of eighteen viſitors choſen throughout the whole ſtate. The houſe—like the generality of thoſe in Williamſburg, York-Town, and even Norfolk—is kept in very indifferent

condition. The college is not ſufficiently opulent to make the requiſite annual repairs; and whenever it becomes neceſſary to undertake ſuch as are in any wiſe conſiderable, it is aided by the legiſlature. It poſſeſſes a library tolerably well furniſhed with claſſical books: it conſiſts almoſt entirely of old books, except two hundred volumes of the fineſt and beſt French productions ſent as a preſent by Louis XVI. at the termination of the American war, but which a merchant at Richmond, who was commiſſioned to forward them to the college, ſuffered to lie forgotten in his cellars amid hogſheads of ſugar and caſks of oil, until, when at length he did forward them, they were totally ſpoiled. The funds of the college do not allow any addition to their library, which moreover is very ill kept in point of order and cleanlineſs.

The legiſlature of Virginia is ſaid to entertain the deſign of founding a new college in a more central part of the ſtate: but it is not known whether that of Williamſburg is to be taken as the ground-work of the intended eſtabliſhment, or ſuffered to continue on its preſent footing and left to its own ſcanty reſources, while the new college ſhould be liberally endowed.

There is beſides at Williamſburg an hoſpital for lunatics, which is ſupported from the public treaſury. It is a fine building; but in it the unfortunate maniacs are rather abandoned to their wretched ſtate than ſubjected to any treatment which might tend to their recovery. From the obſervations made in Virginia on maniacal complaints, the principal cauſes aſſigned for them are enthuſiaſtic devotion and ſpirituous liquors; and it appears that ſuch as ariſe from the latter of theſe cauſes are leſs difficult of cure than thoſe which owe their origin to the former. There are only fifteen lunatics of both ſexes in this hoſpital, which is capable of containing thirty.

The ſoil in the vicinity of Williamſburg is tolerably well cultivated: but here, as in other parts of Virginia, each proprietor poſſeſſes ſo great an extent of land, that he cultivates but a ſmall portion of it. The ordinary rotation of culture here is—Indian corn—next wheat or other grain—then three or four years in fallow, during which the crops of

graſs

graſs furniſh the cattle with good ſuſtenance. After this reſt of three or four years, the ground is again cultivated in the ſame manner. The lands thus managed yield from eight to twelve buſhels of wheat per acre, or from twelve to fourteen of Indian corn. Thoſe few ſpots that are manured with dung produce double that quantity. In the immediate environs of the town, the land in general is indifferent; it ſells for ſeven or eight dollars the acre. The beſt ſpots, eſpecially thoſe which are ſituate near creeks, bear a higher price, as far as twelve dollars: but it is worthy of remark, that while, in almoſt every other part of America, the price of land has encreaſed three and four fold, in theſe lower parts of Virginia it has received no augmentation during the laſt twenty years.

At Williamſburg a regular market is held, and the prices are the ſame as at York-Town. A pair of oxen fit for the plough are ſold for forty dollars. They are ſmall and indifferent. Sheep are in tolerable plenty; but they are of an inferior and ugly breed. Their wool is valued at about a quarter-dollar the pound. The difference in the demand, rather than in the quality, ſometimes cauſes a ſmall variation in the price.

The ſtate taxes are not conſiderable. I ſhall ſpeak of them more at large, when I have had ſufficient opportunities of procuring more complete information on the ſubject. The town-rates are nothing; there being neither pavements, nor public buildings, nor bridges, to be kept in repair: the heavieſt rate is that for the ſuſtenance of the poor. Each houſe-keeper contributes, for himſelf and for each of his negroes above the age of ſixteen years, half a dollar for that purpoſe. The ſum total of theſe contributions is diſtributed by the overſeers of the poor, under the inſpection of the juſtices of the peace, to ſuch families as are deemed to ſtand in need of aſſiſtance. Theſe receive from twelve to thirty-ſix dollars per annum, according to their yet remaining ability to work or their total incapacity for labour.

In a country where it is eaſy to procure a ſubſiſtence and to make ſome reſerve for old age—in a country where population, being extremely productive, conſtantly ſupplies each family with ſome young

branch capable of ſupporting it—one can hardly feel inclined to b[illegible] his approbation on a tax whoſe inevitable tendency is to perpetu[illegible] and even to create idleneſs and improvidence: and it might perhaps with reaſon be ſaid, that, in this pretended charity, there is a greater portion of vanity and indolent inattention than of genuine beneficence and enlightened policy. It was firſt introduced into Virginia becauſe it was eſtabliſhed in England: it has maintained its ground here becauſe a tax of this kind is not eaſily reformed—becauſe it is ſupported by habit—and becauſe, moreover, in a country where ſlavery prevails, and where the poſſeſſion of the ſoil is veſted in ſo few hands, that claſs of whites who do not poſſeſs landed property are more indigent than elſewhere.—The negroes have no ſhare in this public charity.

Mr. Andrews, mathematical profeſſor in the college, and Biſhop Madiſon, did me the honours of the town with that obliging politeneſs which I have been habitually accuſtomed to experience in America. With the former of theſe gentlemen I had become acquainted at Norfolk; to the Biſhop I had letters. In the two days which I ſpent at Williamſburg, they introduced me to the chief part of the ſociety of the place, which appears very much united, and to conſiſt of well-informed men. Biſhop Madiſon is himſelf a man of conſiderable knowledge in natural philoſophy, chymiſtry, and even polite literature. His library, much leſs numerous than that of the college, conſiſts of a more choice ſelection of books, eſpecially of thoſe relating to the ſciences. He annually augments his collection by the addition of the moſt eſteemed ſcientific and new publications. To him the public are indebted for meteorological obſervations very accurately made in different parts of Virginia, and to which he has devoted much time.

The inhabitants of Williamſburg, if we except the profeſſors and the judges, have not much more opulence or employment than thoſe of York-Town: they have as frequent meetings as the others; but it appears that they live leſs "freely," as the country phraſe expreſſes it—that is to ſay, they drink leſs wine and ſpirits.

All the remarks I have hitherto heard on the ſubject of politics in

Virginia

Virginia are in direct oppoſition to the idea that had been given me on that head in the northern ſtates. The general opinion, it is true, is evidently againſt the treaty: people would have wiſhed that it had never taken place, or at leaſt that it had been made on better terms—that the preſident's inſtructions had been more faithfully followed—that he, yielding to what appears to have been his firſt impulſe, had ſent it back to England without communicating it to the ſenate: nor is it thought here that a war would have been the conſequence of ſuch a ſtep. But, from the then exiſting ſtate of the buſineſs, it would have been matter of conſiderable regret to them that the opinion of the oppoſition-party in the late congreſs had prevailed reſpecting the non-appropriation of the funds neceſſary for carrying it into execution; and they ſeem ſatisfied that the long debates, which leave no doubt of the diſapprobation with which the treaty was received, have terminated in the manner that they did.

As I advance farther into the country, I ſhall become better acquainted with the general opinion. I have great pleaſure in obſerving that the French army is here remembered with veneration; it partly remained here for ſeveral months; and each individual recollects with intereſt and gratitude the particular officer with whom he was acquainted. Above all the others, monſieur de Rochambeau and the baron de Viomeſnil have left an honourable remembrance of themſelves in the minds of the inhabitants: and whenever the converſation perſonally turns on the individuals of that army—whether generals, commanders of corps, or aides-de-camp—it appears that the judgement which has been formed of them here was dictated by great benevolence, ſagacity, and juſtice.

JOURNEY TO RICHMOND.

Of all the inconveniences attending the public carriages in America—and the number of thoſe inconveniences is great—one of the moſt mortifying

mortifying is that they almoſt invariably run over the very worſt part of the country through which they travel. The roads are generally, and with good reaſon, laid out in the drieſt ſoils, conſequently in the ſpots which are the leaſt adapted for cultivation. In the ſpace of ſixty miles which I yeſterday travelled from Williamſburg to Richmond, I did not ſee twenty houſes; and ſuch as I ſaw were mean and wretched. A few fields of Indian corn occaſionally met my ſight, and ſome new-cleared grounds of conſiderable extent, but not a ſingle field that was tolerably well cultivated; whereas I am aſſured, that, within four miles on each ſide of the road, the lands are good and the plantations numerous. A few hills, however, occur on the way: and when a traveller's eye has, like mine, been near three months fatigued by that unvarying uniformity of flat ſands and ſtagnant marſhes, a hill proves a ſource of enjoyment: he excuſes its aridity in conſideration of its being a hill: and when, with the diverſity and animation which this change in the face of the country gives to the proſpect, he combines the idea that he has now reached the boundaries of that mephitic ſtagnation which engenders and propagates all ſpecies of maladies with ſuch fatal rapidity, his enjoyments are not confined to the eye alone.

Crowded in the ſtage by ten paſſengers and their baggage, we did not arrive at Richmond before eleven o'clock at night, though we had ſet out from Williamſburg at eight in the morning; the rain, which has been abundant during the laſt two days, having rendered the roads very bad.

TOWN OF RICHMOND.

The poſition of Richmond is truly agreeable. The lower town, which is ſituate along the bank of James-River, lies between that river and a tolerably high hill: but the greater part of the houſes—thoſe indeed of almoſt every perſon who is not engaged in trade—are built on the hill, which commands a proſpect of the river, and whence

whence the view embraces at once the iſlands formed by its waters, the extenſive valley through which it flows, and the numerous falls by which its ſtream is broken. On the oppoſite ſide of the river, the country riſes in a gentle acclivity; and the little but well-built town of Mancheſter, environed by cultivated fields which are ornamented by an infinite number of trees and dotted with ſcattered houſes, embelliſhes the ſweet, variegated, agreeable, and romantic perſpective.

The Capitol is erected on a point of this hill which commands the town. This edifice, which is exremely vaſt, is conſtructed on the plan of the "Maiſon Quarrée" at Niſmes, but on a much more extenſive ſcale. The attics of the Maiſon Quarrée have undergone an alteration in the Capitol, to ſuit them for the convenience of the public offices of every denomination, which, thus perfectly ſecure againſt all accidents from fire, lie within reach of the tribunals, the executive council, the governor, the general aſſembly, who all ſit in the Capitol, and draw to it a great afflux of people. This building, which is entirely of brick, is not yet coated with plaſter: the columns, the pilaſters, are deſtitute of baſes and capitals: but the interior and exterior cornices are finiſhed, and are well executed. The reſt will be completed with more or leſs ſpeed: but, even in its preſent unfiniſhed ſtate, this building is, beyond compariſon, the fineſt, the moſt noble, and the greateſt, in all America. The internal diſtribution of its parts is extremely well adapted to the purpoſes for which it is deſtined. It was Mr. Jefferſon who, during his embaſſy in France, ſent the model of it. Already it is ſaid to have coſt a hundred and ſeventy thouſand dollars; and fifteen thouſand more are the eſtimated ſum requiſite for completing it and remedying ſome defects which have been obſerved in the conſtruction.

In the great central veſtibule, which is lighted by a kind of dome contained in the thickneſs of the roof, has lately been placed a ſtatue of George Waſhington, voted, ten years ſince, by the general aſſembly

bly of Virginia. In addition to the ſentiments of gratitude which they felt in common with the reſt of America, that body entertained moreover a particular affection for him, together with the pride of having him for their countryman. Since that period the preſident has acquired new claims to the general approbation and eſteem. If he be chargeable with ſome errors in adminiſtration, as I think he is, nevertheleſs his devotion to the public weal and the purity of his intentions cannot even be ſuſpected: yet it is doubtful whether at the preſent moment the aſſembly of Virginia would be inclined to vote him ſuch an honour: at leaſt it is certain that the ſame unanimity would not prevail on the occaſion. This ſtatue was executed by Houdon, one of the firſt ſculptors in France. He undertook a voyage to America five or ſix years ſince for the expreſs purpoſe of making a buſt of the preſident from the life. Although the ſtatue be beautiful, and diſplay even a nobleneſs in the compoſition and a likeneſs in the features, it does not bear the marks of Houdon's talent: one cannot trace in it the hand of him who produced the celeſtial Diana which conſtitutes the chief part of that artiſt's reputation.

Near this ſtatue of the preſident ſtands a marble buſt of monſieur de la Fayette, voted at the ſame time by the aſſembly of Virginia, and alſo carved by Houdon, but with greater diſplay of ability.

The population of Richmond amounts to ſix thouſand perſons, of whom about one third are negroes. This town has prodigiouſly increaſed during the years which have elapſed ſince the legiſlature choſe it for the place of their ſittings: but within the laſt two or three years it has remained ſtationary. A few years back, a conflagration conſumed almoſt all the lower part of the town. This accident induced the inhabitants to rebuild in brick not only the houſes conſumed, which had been of wood, but alſo ſeveral others which the owners' fears wiſhed to preſerve from the ſame calamity. At preſent there are few wooden houſes at Richmond.

The trade of this town conſiſts in the purchaſe of the country productions, the number of which is confined to wheat, Indian corn, and

and tobacco—and in ſelling at ſecond hand the articles of domeſtic conſumption, which are generally procured from England. The number of merchants who carry on a direct commerce with Europe is inconſiderable: they keep their ſhips at Norfolk; the river not being navigable for thoſe of large ſize higher up than City-Point, at the diſtance, by water, of ſixty-ſix miles below Richmond. They therefore ſend the produce of the country in ſmaller veſſels to Norfolk, where they eaſily find opportunities of completing their cargo, if needful. The generality of theſe merchants are only the agents or partners of Engliſh houſes: the others hardly carry on any other than the commiſſion trade, which may be conſidered as the real buſineſs of the place.

It is from the merchants of Richmond or Peterſburg that thoſe of Norfolk moſt commonly purchaſe the grain, flour, and tobacco, which the latter export, and which the former have purchaſed at firſt hand. The country produce is paid for by the merchants in ready money or at ſhort credit: they even frequently obtain it on cheaper terms by furniſhing the planters with an advance of money on their crop. The Richmond merchants ſupply all the ſtores through an extenſive tract of back country. As they have a very long credit from England, they can allow a ſimilar indulgence of ſix, nine, or twelve months to the ſhopkeepers whom they ſupply, and from whom they always derive a conſiderable profit, which is ſtill further increaſed when they exact payment in country produce.

Almoſt all the merchants of Richmond have ſhops for the retail-trade. They all deal in bills of exchange on Europe; a trade which often proves extremely profitable to them.

There are few opulent merchants at Richmond; ſtill fewer in eaſy circumſtances; and it is no difficult matter to find good notes at four and five per cent per month. But people have not here, as in the principal towns of America, the reſource of putting theſe notes into the bank: accordingly this kind of traffic is here much more lucrative. The legal intereſt of money, which is only five per cent per annum,

together with the ſcarcity of ſpecie and the general want of confidence render it difficult to obtain money on loan.

RICHMOND CANAL.

The falls of James-River, which obſtructed its navigation from the diſtance of ſeven miles above Richmond, heretofore impoſed a neceſſity of employing land-carriage for that ſpace. At preſent a canal, running parallel with the courſe of the river for thoſe ſeven miles, connects the communication by water, and opens a navigation which extends without interruption two hundred miles above Richmond. This canal, already nearly finiſhed, will be entirely completed during the preſent year, excepting the baſin, which the directors propoſe to form at the entrance of the town, and of a much greater ſize than ſeems neceſſary for the trade of Richmond on any reaſonable ſuppoſition of its future encreaſe. The locks at the opening of the canal are erected: they are ſimple, and the gates are eaſily managed by one or two men, but might be rendered ſtill more eaſy in their movement. Theſe, being three in cloſe ſucceſſion, raiſe the boats to an elevation of ſeventeen feet. Others will be required, if it be intended to carry the canal as far as Rocket, a mile below the town, beyond which point veſſels of forty tons cannot come up on the Richmond ſide: on the other ſide veſſels even of greater burden can come up almoſt oppoſite to the town. The extenſion of the canal to Rocket has for its object to facilitate the direct tranſportation of the back-country produce to City-Point, and ſo on to Norfolk. By this mean, thoſe commodities, which otherwiſe would find no market except at Richmond, might reach Norfolk, and, by exciting a competition between the merchants of both towns, might probably cauſe an encreaſe of profit to the planters. But the expence of theſe additional locks would be very conſiderable. The fund of two hundred and forty thouſand dollars, raiſed by a ſubſcription of ſeven hundred ſhares, is already exhauſted: and a loan

of

of twenty-one thouſand dollars, made by the truſtees of the canal under the authority of the ſtate, and ſecured by a mortgage of the tolls that have already begun to be received on the part which is finiſhed, has been proved ſcarcely ſufficient to complete the execution of the original plan. It appears that the great expence which would attend the addition furniſhes the holders of the canal ſhares with a pretext for oppoſing it, and that the Richmond merchants uſe that as a cloke to cover their wiſh to remain the ſole purchaſers of the produce of the back country, which is the real motive of their oppoſition to the further extenſion of the canal.

INSPECTION OF MERCHANDIZE.

The culture of tobacco is not carried on in the vicinity of Richmond, at leaſt not on an extenſive ſcale. There are nevertheleſs three houſes of inſpection in this town: ſimilar eſtabliſhments are to be found in every diſtrict of Virginia where tobacco is cultivated, and in all the commercial towns. Theſe inſpections, whoſe object is to enſure to foreign purchaſers the quality of the commodity for which they contract, are ordered by the ſtate for tobacco, flour, and other articles. They are eſtabliſhed in like manner in all the ſtates which produce theſe articles. But the inſpection of the tobacco in Virginia, and eſpecially on James-River, is eſteemed to be conducted with a degree of exactneſs and ſeverity which contributes as much as the real ſuperiority of the article itſelf to keep up its price in the market. Every tobacco-planter who intends his crop for exportation packs it up in hogſheads, and thus ſends it to one of the houſes of inſpection. There the tobacco is taken from its caſe, which is opened for the purpoſe; it is examined in every direction and in every part, in order to aſcertain its quality, its homogeneity, its purity; it is rejected as unfit for exportation if any defect is perceived in it; or, if no objection appear, it is pronounced to be exportable. It is then re-packed in its hogſhead, which is branded with a hot iron, marking the place of inſpection and

the quality of the contents; after which, it is lodged in the ſtorehouſes of the inſpection, there to await the diſpoſal of the planter, who receives a certificate of the particulars, ſerving at the ſame time as an acknowledgement of the depoſit. It is by ſelling this "tobacco-note" to the merchant that the planter ſells his tobacco. The purchaſer, on viewing the note, is as well acquainted with the article as if he had himſelf inſpected it: and he has only to ſend the note and transfer to the ſtore where the tobacco lies, and it is immediately delivered out to his order. The tobacco is often ſent by the planter himſelf to the warehouſes of a different inſpection from that where he has it inſpected, either becauſe he thinks them more convenient to the market, or for other private reaſons. This happens at the warehouſes of the Richmond inſpection, which annually receive numbers of hogſheads that have been inſpected elſewhere.

The inſpectors—for there are two in each inſpection—receive as inſpection-fee a dollar and half per hogſhead: from the ſums hence ariſing they receive their ſalaries, which vary from a hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, according to the importance of the office where they are employed. The reſidue of the inſpection-fees conſtitutes a part of the revenues of the ſtate.

Every other ſpecies of produce deſtined for exportation is alſo ſubject to inſpection, as flour, hemp, tar; but theſe articles do not ſeem to undergo the ſame ſevere ſcrutiny as the tobacco. For, at Philadelphia, for inſtance, the Virginia flour, notwithſtanding its being branded with the mark of "ſuperfine," is ſubjected to a new inſpection. The merchants of Virginia attribute this re-inſpection to commercial jealouſy on the part of Philadelphia: but there exiſts in reality ſo prodigious a difference between the flour hitherto manufactured at Richmond, and that from the mills of Pennſylvania and Delaware, that the former is conſtantly taken in the courſe of trade at half a dollar, and ſometimes even at a dollar and half, lower than the latter.

MILLS.

MILLS.

I have ſeen one of the two mills at Richmond: it ſtands below the falls of the river, receives a great power of water, and turns ſix pair of ſtones. It is a fine mill, and unites the advantages of all the new inventions: but it is ill conſtructed: the cogs of the wheels are clumſily executed: it is moreover not ſufficiently roomy. It nevertheleſs coſts a yearly rent of near ſix thouſand dollars to monſieur Chevalier, a Frenchman from Rochefort, heretofore director of the French paquets to America, and now ſettled in Virginia. This mill is generally employed in private manufacture, and ſeldom works for the public; when the latter is the caſe, the terms for grinding are five buſhels for each barrel of flour. Monſieur Chevalier and his partners are in the conſtant habit of ſpeculating on the moment when they ſhall ſend their flour to market. Their ſpeculations have hitherto proved very advantageous to them: but they have reaſon to apprehend a material loſs from a late ſpeculation which determined them two months ſince to refuſe the offer of thirteen dollars per barrel, in hopes of obtaining a ſtill better price. At the preſent moment they could not find a purchaſer at above ten dollars.

MANNERS AND LAWS.

Society here diſplays the characteriſtics of ſimplicity and honeſty: nevertheleſs it is not linked in the bond of unity. The men who belong to oppoſite parties ſeldom viſit each other: but, when they happen to meet, they treat each other with all the politeneſs and civility of well-bred people.

The party oppoſed to government—that is to ſay, the party wiſhing for a change in the exiſting conſtitution, a reſtriction in the executive power—has here many zealous adherents. This party would prefer to their own the new French conſtitution, ſuch as it is: and, from the permanency

permanency of that conſtitution in France, they derive encouragement to effect a change in the conſtitution of the United States.

The party in the Engliſh intereſt conſider the ſupport of the Engliſh conſtitution, even with all its exiſting abuſes, as the mean of overthrowing the preſent conſtitution of France, and ſubſtituting in its ſtead a monarchy; and alſo as a circumſtance calculated to gratify the deſire which they evidently manifeſt of conferring a great additional ſtrength on the executive power of the United States—as well as the deſire, not leſs real though leſs openly avowed, of ſeeing a hereditary monarchy eſtabliſhed in this country.

Between theſe two extremes there is an intermediate claſs whoſe ſentiments are marked with moderation. There are alſo ſome extravagant enthuſiaſts who blindly embrace the French or the Engliſh party without any ulterior political conſideration, and merely through intereſt or paſſion. The commercial body, for inſtance, at Richmond, as almoſt every-where elſe, are excluſively attached to England, becauſe it is with her they have all their dealings, and have no proſpect of credit or profit except by her means: and at Richmond, as in nearly all the trading towns, the commercial body enjoys a certain degree of ſuperiority. During the late diſcuſſion of the treaty in Congreſs, the majority of this town informed their repreſentatives in the national legiſlature that they wiſhed them to vote for its ratification. I have ſeen all ſorts of company, and in none have I heard the preſident mentioned otherwiſe than in terms of reſpect.

Mr. Edmond Randolph, heretofore ſecretary of ſtate to the Union, and become ſo famous in conſequence of monſieur Fauchet's letter, follows here the profeſſion of a lawyer, to which he had devoted all that part of his life that was not employed in public affairs. He has great practice, and ſtands in that reſpect nearly on a par with Mr. J. Marſhall, the moſt eſteemed and celebrated counſellor in this town.

The profeſſion of a lawyer is here, as in every other part of America, one of the moſt profitable. But, though the employment be here more

more conſtant than in Carolina, the practitioner's emoluments are very far from being equally conſiderable. Mr. Marſhall does not from his practice derive above four or five thouſand dollars per annum, and not even that ſum every year. In Virginia the lawyers uſually take care to inſiſt on payment before they proceed in a ſuit: and this cuſtom is juſtified by the general diſpoſition of the inhabitants to pay as little and as ſeldom as poſſible. I have heard phyſicians declare that they do not annually receive one-third of what is due to them for their attendance; that they have ſome of theſe debts of five and twenty years' ſtanding; that their claims are frequently denied; and that, in order to recover payment, they are obliged to ſend writs, carry on law-ſuits, &c. &c. &c.

The derangement of affairs occaſioned by expences exceeding the bounds of income, and eſpecially by gaming—and, above all, the want of delicacy reſulting from that derangement and from the habit of thinking lightly of debts—are the cauſes of this immoral order of things; and it is in ſome degree encouraged by the laws of the ſtate, which do not allow the ſeizure of lands or other immovable property for the payment of debts. This law, which the Virginians ſay they originally derived from England, has been preſerved by them in all the reforms which they have made in their legal code, and has been preſerved by them alone. Slaves and movable property are ſeizable: but whoever is acquainted with the manners of the country may readily conceive how great the facility of making a feigned ſale of them: and then, by holding them as hired, they are placed beyond the reach of ſeizure.

Gaming is the ruling paſſion of the Virginians: at pharo, dice, billiards, at every imaginable game of hazard, they loſe conſiderable ſums. Gaming-tables are publicly kept in almoſt every town, and particularly at Richmond. Yet a law of the ſtate, enacted no longer ago than in December 1792, expreſsly prohibits all games of hazard, all wagers at horſe-races or cock-fights, of which the Virginians are paſſionately fond—forbids the loſing of more than twenty dollars at cards within four and twenty hours—places all the holders of banks on

on the footing of vagabonds—orders the juſtices of the peace, on the ſlighteſt information, to enter the places where they are held, to break the tables, ſeize the money, &c. &c. Nevertheleſs, to the preſent hour, the greater number of thoſe who enacted that law—of the preſent legiſlators, the juſtices of the peace, and the other magiſtrates—are aſſiduous in their attendance at thoſe feats of gambling. The bank-holders are every-where received and acknowledged as "gentlemen;" and their profeſſion is envied, as being a very lucrative one. The part of this law which is ſaid to be the moſt punctually executed is that which cancels the debts contracted at the gaming-table, and prohibits the payment of them.

It is not uncommon to witneſs ſcenes of bloodſhed at theſe gaming-houſes. Since my arrival here, a young man, of a family of conſequence in Virginia, fancying, in his impatient heat at a billiard-party, that he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the behaviour of a marker whom he thought deficient in due reſpect to him,—after diſcharging a volley of abuſe on the man who with much difficulty bore it—thruſt him through the body with a kind of cutlaſs which he wore by his ſide. The marker did not die in conſequence of the wound: but, even if he had, the young man would have equally eſcaped proſecution. The latter has quitted the town for a few days, and will ſhortly reappear, and reſume his uſual purſuits, as if he had been abſent only on account of ill health; although nobody denies the commiſſion of that public act, or attempts to palliate it.

The law againſt inoculation is more rigidly enforced. It prohibits every perſon from having himſelf or any of his family inoculated without permiſſion obtained from all the juſtices of the county, who, on his petition, are to aſſemble, and enquire into the motives of his requeſt, its neceſſity, its propriety. If they acquieſce, their permiſſion, which is to be given in writing, is ſtill of no avail: that of all the neighbours for two miles round is moreover required; and the refuſal of a ſingle one prevents the inoculation. Any phyſician who ſhould preſume to inoculate without theſe precautions, would be puniſhed by a

fine

fine of ten thouſand dollars. Whoever is accidentally attacked by the ſmall-pox is carried to a lonely houſe in the middle of the woods, and there he receives medical aſſiſtance. If the village, the town, the diſtrict, to which he belongs, catch the infection, theſe places are cut off from all communication with the reſt of the country, and are permitted to have recourſe to inoculation: otherwiſe it is never allowed; for it is eaſy to perceive that the faculty of obtaining permiſſion for the purpoſe by the unanimous vote of the magiſtrates of the county and the general conſent of the neighbours, in a country where prejudices receive ſuch additional ſtrength from the law, is a mere illuſion.

People are often heard to murmur againſt this abſurd law: yet it is punctually obeyed: and nobody can allege as a pretext for this prejudice, that the Virginians are afraid of "tempting God," as was the cant of our prieſts in France, who, in this inſtance as in many others, have done all the miſchief in their power. Thoſe who are aſked a reaſon for ſuch a regulation adduce the fear of propagating a dangerous diſeaſe with which they aſſert that Virginia has never been otherwiſe than partially and accidentally infected. They repeat the aſſertions which in Europe had long proved a bar to the extenſion of that admirable diſcovery. They ſay that the practice of inoculation, by rendering the diſeaſe more common, increaſes the number of its victims far beyond what nature intended; that inoculation is itſelf full of dangers; that the attendant expences, which are conſiderable, do not lie within the ability of the poor (for, in Virginia, as elſewhere, ſome *popular* reaſon muſt be given), &c. &c. &c. One is aſtoniſhed to hear from the mouths of enlightened men theſe arguments which the old women of Europe have long ceaſed to repeat. Population does not ſuffer a greater decreaſe in Pennſylvania or the other American ſtates where inoculation is permitted, than in Virginia where it is prohibited; on the contrary, it daily increaſes. This entire iſolation of the place where the ſmall-pox breaks out, ſuch as the laws of Virginia preſcribe, cannot be carried into effect with all the conditions neceſſary to render it ſalutary. May not the infection be conveyed by the phyſicians,

whom the law does not ſubject to quarantine? And might not the neceſſary expences of inoculation, which are known to be ſo moderate, be confined by the provident attention of government to a ſum which no family ſhould feel burdenſome? To all theſe palpable truths no ſolid anſwer is given: yet the advocates of inoculation are far from having any hope of being able to effect an alteration in the law.

* I have heard alleged, as the real motive for the regulation, the fear entertained by the planters of being obliged to inoculate their negroes, if the practice of inoculation ſhould become ſo general as to render that precaution neceſſary to preſerve them from the danger of its epidemic ravages. It is difficult to credit ſuch a reaſon, when the expence is ſo trifling, when the proceſs is ſo eaſy, and when beſides they are in the habit of not paying their phyſicians. The moſt probable cauſes are heedleſſneſs, want of reflection, and cuſtom. Yet the firſt right of man, that of preſerving his own life, is prohibited by this Gothic legiſlation. Political ſyſtems too often reſemble ſyſtems of religion: each man, according to his private intereſt, frames one for himſelf, which is compoſed of the groſſeſt abſurdities and the moſt glaring contradictions; and his conſcience becomes gradually accuſtomed and reconciled to it.

The civil laws of Virginia have ſtruck me as wiſely ordained. That which relates to perſons dying inteſtate, divides the property equally among the children—aſſigns to the mother one third of the whole—and conducts with great foreſight and juſtice the diviſion of the fortune of the deceaſed in default of children, wife, father, mother, brother, ſiſter, &c. But the freedom of teſtamentary deviſe is allowed to ſubſiſt in unbounded latitude; and the manners of the country almoſt univerſally incline the teſtators rather to follow the ancient cuſtoms, than to regard the intentions of the more recent law: the conſequence of which is that the eldeſt ſon inherits almoſt the whole property, and the males are provided with fortunes at the expence of the females.

The ſlave-laws are much milder here than in any of the other coun-

tries

tries through which I have hitherto travelled. Juſtice, I grant, is not the ſame for the maſter as for the ſlave, for the white man and the black. Legiſlation is always partial in this inſtance; but that partiality is a cruel and almoſt unavoidable conſequence of the admiſſion of ſlavery; and this truth ought alone to be ſufficient to occaſion its abolition among an enlightened people, who retain any idea of morality. The Virginians have gone farther in reforming the barbarity of the ancient laws reſpecting ſlavery, than any other people of the United States—perhaps than any other nation upon earth where ſlavery prevails in full force.

In 1772 the legiſlature of Virginia petitioned the king of England to authorize the governor to give his ſanction to a law prohibiting all further importation of negroes into the province: and his refuſal to grant their requeſt is one of the grievances on which the moſt bitter complaints are made againſt his Britiſh majeſty in the preamble to the new conſtitution framed in 1776. Accordingly an act forbidding all future importation of negroes into the ſtate was one of the firſt laws paſſed by the legiſlature after the adoption of the new conſtitution.

A negro who raiſes his hand againſt a white man is acquitted if it be proved that he has done it in ſelf-defence; otherwiſe he receives thirty laſhes. The ſlave is judged by five juſtices of the peace, whoſe unanimous voice is requiſite to paſs ſentence of death. Slaves are called upon to give evidence on the trials of other ſlaves in criminal cauſes; but they are cautioned by the judges, that, if their teſtimony be proved falſe, their ears will be cut off. No man who is in the ſlighteſt degree intereſted either for or againſt a negro is allowed to ſit in judgement on or give evidence againſt him. If juſtice diſpoſes of the perſon of a negro, the owner is paid the full value of his ſlave; a regulation which renders the maſters leſs inclined to ſcreen their ſlaves from the ſeverity of the laws.

The courts of juſtice in Virginia are innumerable. The coſts of law are not conſiderable: and in conſequence litigation is frequent. Suits for the recovery of debts occupy above one half of the time allotted for

the ſeſſions. The beſt proved debt cannot be recovered within a ſhorter period than eighteen months: and it often happens that ſeveral years are not ſufficient to put the creditor in poſſeſſion of his right. The natural averſion to the payment of debts finds in chicanery a thouſand means of gratifying itſelf: and on that head, here as well as in every other country, the manners of the people aid and ſtrengthen the reſources of chicanery.

Diſputes reſpecting the title to lands are alſo one of the moſt frequent cauſes of law-ſuits.

The criminal code is nearly the ſame here as in the other ſtates which have not followed the laudable example of Pennſylvania: it is even ſomewhat milder. It is with pain, however, that one obſerves that the foreigner who indents himſelf as a ſervant is liable to the puniſhment of the whip for various offences, even thoſe which only concern his maſter's ſervice. The other puniſhments are, as elſewhere, hanging, whipping, burning in the hand, &c. *

The ſtate of Virginia has no public debt, except a hundred thouſand dollars in which ſhe was found debtor to the Union on the ſettlement of the accounts of the ſtates with the general government—and a claim of between three and four millions of livres, made, on the part of France, by Monſieur de Beaumarchais, for arms and military ſtores of every kind, furniſhed to her during the war. The people here have the juſtice to allow the goodneſs of thoſe ſupplies, and the abſolute neceſſity of them at the time when they were ſent: they even acknowledge the greater part of the debt; nevertheleſs they do not ſeem diſpoſed to give any formal deed of acknowledgement; the ſtate being as little inclined to the payment of debts as the individuals who compoſe it.

* Since the writing of this journal, the legiſlature of Virginia, on the 22d of December 1796, paſſed a law, that now lies before me, by which the puniſhment of death is ſolely confined to caſes of premeditated murder. All other crimes, even that of high treaſon, are puniſhable only by confinement for a ſhorter or a longer term. At length the Pennſylvania ſyſtem, reſpecting the penal code and the management of priſons, is now eſtabliſhed in Virginia.

The

The ſtate even poſſeſſes a capital which is eſtimated at above ſixty thouſand dollars. But this capital, which is daily encreaſing, ariſes from a ſource that muſt ſooner or later be productive of diſturbance: it is the grants of land. Purſuant to an exiſting law, the ſtate diſpoſes of vacant lands at the rate of two cents per acre, or twenty dollars for a thouſand acres; which is the uſual proportion of thoſe grants. To obtain ſuch grants, it is ſufficient to declare that the lands for which application is made, and of which the boundaries are deſcribed in the petition, have no owner: whereupon the ſtate—that is to ſay, the land-office, which in this inſtance repreſents the ſtate—grants a warrant, or an order for a ſurvey. The grantee has his grant ſurveyed by the ſtate ſurveyor: it is regiſtered; and a very moderate annual tax which he pays for his land, ſecures to him the poſſeſſion of it. But it frequently happens that ſucceſſive applications are made by ſeveral perſons for the ſame land—not preciſely for the ſame tract bounded by the ſame limits—but for a tract, which, having different boundaries, includes a greater or leſſer part of that already granted; of which the remainder is included in another ſimilar application. Theſe again fall under others of the ſame kind in endleſs ſucceſſion; ſo that the ſame identical acres are often claimed by five or ſix grantees, or even more.

The ſtate does not warrant to the grantee that the lands have not already been granted; it is his buſineſs to acquire ſuch information as ſhall ſecure to him the future poſſeſſion of the property. But, in an uninhabited country, with a ſingle office, where lands belonging to the ſtate at large (without any ſubdiviſions into townſhips or counties) are granted, it is impoſſible to acquire the neceſſary information; and men of the moſt upright intentions are often deceived on the occaſion. The ſpeculators find their account in this obſcurity: and in this kind of ſpeculation, which is very prevalent in Virginia, the inhabitants of Pennſylvania and the other northern ſtates take a deep ſhare. The ſtate alſo derives a profit from theſe double or triple ſales, by the money thence accruing. But, beſides that it is the duty of a government to preſerve the governed from impoſition, and ſtill more to abſtain

abſtain from all participation in the fraud—it is eaſy to foreſee that a time will come when the grantees of thoſe land, mortified at ſeeing themſelves thus duped, and incenſed by a refuſal on the part of government to refund their money, will carry into that country a new germ of diſcontent, and conſequently of diſturbance.

This ſtate of affairs is generally known at preſent: and accordingly Virginian lands are fallen into diſcredit. The quantity is immenſe: the courſe of annual migration tends rather to diminiſh than increaſe the population of Virginia: thus the period when the uncultivated lands, of which there are very extenſive tracts, ſhall come to be inhabited, is much farther diſtant there than in any other ſtate of the Union. Meanwhile pretty numerous demands are already made to the court which is appointed to take cognizance of ſuch affairs; but that court, barely deciding in favour of the oldeſt titles, pronounces the money to be abſolutely loſt which the ſecond or third grantees have paid to the ſtate for their lands, and to the ſurveyors for the expences of ſurveying. Theſe laſt ſums amount to double the price of the purchaſe, that is to ſay, to four cents per acre.

From the condition of the finances of the ſtate of Virginia, it follows that the burdens impoſed on the citizens are, as I have already remarked, by no means heavy. The duty on the inſpection of tobacco tends to render them ſtill lighter. They conſiſt of five ſhillings on every hundred pounds eſtimated value of lands, divided into four claſſes (and the lands are always eſtimated below their real value)—two dollars and one twelfth on every three hundred and thirty-three dollars eſtimated value in city-lots—one ſhilling and eight pence on each ſlave below * the age of twelve years, except thoſe who are exempted from taxation by the corporation of the place on account of their infirmities—a ſum on each ſtallion, whether horſe or aſs, equal to the price demanded for his covering—four pence for every other horſe, mare, or mule—forty ſhillings for every ordinary licence—fifty dollars

* *Au-deſſous* in the French. Is it not a fault of print for *au-deſſus, above?*

for

for each billiard-table—ſix ſhillings per wheel on every four-wheeled carriage, except phaëtons and waggons, which pay but four—and ten ſhillings per wheel on every two-wheeled carriage. Such are the taxes voted in the laſt ſeſſion for the expences of 1796. They vary in proportion to the greater or leſſer amount of public expenditure ordered.

Independent of theſe taxes, there are duties impoſed on proceedings in the ſupreme court—on transfers of certificates of the ſurveys of land—on certificates and contracts drawn by notaries—on certificates given by the county courts or thoſe of the towns—and, finally, on certificates paſſing the great ſeal of the ſtate. The valuation of the lands was made in 1781 and 1782, and is permanent. Lands recently granted by the ſtate are ſubject to the tax.

The ſheriffs in the different counties are, by virtue of their office, collectors of all the taxes. They are annually nominated by the governor of the ſtate, from a liſt of three juſtices of the peace, drawn up by the county-courts. They cannot be continued in office above two years. They muſt give ſecurity to the amount of thirty thouſand dollars. They receive a commiſſion of five per cent on the ſums by them collected. The commiſſioners (generally two in each county) who aſſeſs the taxes, receive a dollar per day during the time they devote to that buſineſs. The duties on judicial proceſſes are received by the county clerks, and by the officers who iſſue them.—Every immigrant artiſan who arrives in the ſtate enjoys during five years an exemption from every other tax except that on land, if he follows a trade.—The taxes being light are well paid in Virginia. The ſeizure of movable property, and even of ſlaves, enſures the regular collection of all the funds.—The expences of the government of Virginia annually amount to a hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars.

The counties impoſe no taxes unleſs when they have bridges, priſons, or court-houſes, to build. In ſuch caſes the lands at the value eſtimated for the ſtate-taxes, and the negroes, are taken as data by which to regulate the temporary impoſitions which are deemed neceſſary.—I have already

already remarked that the roads are made and repaired by the labour of the inhabitants.

The town-taxes are in general confined to thoſe for the ſupport of the poor. At Richmond they embrace a variety of objects: they are impoſed on carriages, and the letting of houſes; they comprize moreover an impoſition of two ſhillings per head on negroes above ſixteen years of age, &c. but they do not in any particular wear the features of an arbitrary capitation-tax, from which ſeveral of the other ſtates are not exempt.

The ſtate of Virginia, like moſt of the other ſtates of the Union, is unprovided with arms for her militia, and cannon for her artillery. The late aſſembly has ordered a yearly proviſion to be made of four thouſand ſtand of arms with military accoutrements, and ten pieces of cannon. Each artillery company is to have one. The magazine for their reception is appointed to be at Point-of-Fork on James-River; and the arms are fabricated at New-London in Bedford-County.

A wiſe law of Virginia, intended to act on the electors as a ſtimulus to attend the numerous elections held in this ſtate, ſubjects to a double tax all thoſe who abſent themſelves on ſuch occaſions, unleſs they can plead ill health as their apology.

There has not for a conſiderable time been any eſtabliſhment of free ſchools in Virginia. Every thing remained to be done in that reſpect —the diviſion of counties into ſchool-diſtricts—organization of their adminiſtration—erection of ſchool-houſes, &c. A law of the twenty-ſecond of December 1776, has provided for all theſe objects with prudence, foreſight, and conſummate judgement. Some years however muſt yet elapſe before ſuch eſtabliſhments can take place in every part of the ſtate: but the foundations are already laid: and we may anticipate the period when the ſyſtem of gratuitous public education will flouriſh in Virginia for the whites, as it does in Maſſachuſetts and Connecticut for all the inhabitants.

The conſtitution of Virginia, framed in 1776, eſtabliſhes the ſame

diviſion

diviſion of powers as the conſtitutions of the other ſtates. Each of the counties, which are eighty-eight in number, ſends two members to the houſe of delegates: Norfolk, Williamſburg, and Richmond, which are privileged towns, ſend one each. They are elected annually. The qualifications for eligibility are, that the candidate poſſeſs the rights of a citizen of Virginia, and have attained the age of twenty-one years.

The ſenate is compoſed of twenty-four members—two for each diſtrict; the ſtate being, for this ſingle purpoſe, divided into twelve imaginary diſtricts. The ſenators are elected for four years; and one quarter of their number annually vacate their ſeats. The age of twenty-five years is required for election into the ſenate. The electors muſt poſſeſs a hundred acres of uncultivated land, or twenty-five acres under cultivation, or a houſe or lot in a town.

The governor, the executive council (without whoſe concurrence he can do nothing), the judges of the ſupreme court, the attorney-general, the treaſurer, the director of the land-office, and the commander in chief of the militia, are choſen by ballot by both houſes.

The governor is elected for one year, and cannot continue in office above three years in ſeven. The executive council is compoſed of eight members, two of whom are removed every three years by a ballot of both houſes, and are not re-eligible during the three years next enſuing. The preſident of the executive council, who is elected by the council itſelf, acts as governor of the ſtate in caſe of the death, incapacity, or abſence, of the governor.

The judges continue in office during good behaviour.—The treaſurer is appointed only for one year, but is re-eligible.

The juſtices of the peace are propoſed by the county-courts to the governor, who appoints them without the power of rejection. The ſubordinate officers of juſtice are nominated by the courts to which they belong, and the conſtables by the juſtices of the peace.

The governor cannot give his opinion on the laws: he cannot grant a pardon without the conſent of his council. Of all the ſtates

the Union, Virginia is that in which the governor poſſeſſes the leaſt power, and the ſalaries of office are the loweſt. The public functionaries here receive very ſlender remunerations: and accordingly employments are habitually refuſed by the very men who are beſt qualified to hold them, but who, by accepting them, would loſe a conſiderable portion of the income which they can derive from their profeſſions, and who thus could lay up no reſerve for the eſtabliſhment of their families.

This conſtitution, framed during the war with the mother-country, is preceded by a preamble enumerating the grievances with which Virginia ſo juſtly reproached the * * * * government.

The organization of the judicial ſyſtem is more complex in Virginia than elſewhere. Each county has a monthly court: four or five counties conſtitute a diſtrict, where are held the circuit-courts, the general court, orphans' court, chancellor's court, &c. &c. The Virginians are unanimous in aſſerting that the ſeats of judges are, with a few exceptions, very ill filled: and among the exceptions they mention the poſt of chancellor, held by Mr. Whyte, who enjoys the general eſteem. Thoſe who are better qualified to fill the places of judges refuſe them becauſe they are laborious and productive of little profit.

Perfect freedom of religion is allowed by the laws of Virginia: but few nations are leſs addicted to religious practices than the Virginians. At Richmond there is no church. Prayers are ſometimes read in the Capitol, in one of the halls deſtined for the legiſlature: and then they are read by an epiſcopalian clergyman, becauſe thoſe who call themſelves members of that profeſſion are more numerous than the others. Meetings of anabaptiſts, methodiſts, and even quakers, are more regularly held, but in private houſes, as none of thoſe ſects have any public building appropriated to the practice of their religion.

The colonization of Virginia, or rather its firſt ſettlement, dates from the year 1584, at which period Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter Raleigh the property of all the lands he could diſcover beyond the ſeas, uninhabited by any Chriſtian nation. This property extended

to

the diſtance of two hundred leagues from any habitations which the new colony might eſtabliſh within ſix years. The queen reſerved for herſelf only a fifth part of the produce of any gold or ſilver mines which might be diſcovered. It was in the iſle of Roanoke, which now conſtitutes a part of North-Carolina, that the new ſettlers firſt landed: and hence they afterward proceeded to Hatoraſk in the bay of Cheſapeak. This eſtabliſhment, which was not aided by any public aſſiſtance from England, already coſt Sir Walter Raleigh forty thouſand pounds ſterling. He was therefore obliged to form a partnerſhip with Thomas Smith and other adventurers, to whom, in return for conſiderable ſums of money received from them, he granted an unlimited freedom of trade and a ſhare in the proprietorſhip. But in 1603 Sir Walter was arreſted by order of the Engliſh court; and it has never ſince been known what became of the ſmall number of coloniſts at that time ſettled in his immenſe grant.

From the misfortunes of Sir Walter Raleigh ſome rich proprietors and merchants of London, who were jealous of his poſſeſſion, conceived the idea that he had no longer any claim to it; and this opinion received confirmation from the conduct of king James, who, by letters patent, granted to Sir Thomas Gates, the Earl of Saliſbury, and ſome others, for themſelves and their heirs, all the lands of Virginia, to the extent of two hundred miles north and ſouth of Point Comfort, together with the adjacent iſlands within a hundred miles of the coaſt, &c. &c. This company was incorporated under the name of "treaſurers and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the firſt colony in Virginia." This patent, iſſued in 1609, granted and allowed freedom of commerce with England, exemption from all taxes, and the rights of an Engliſh ſubject, to every perſon born in the new colony. The council, which was to ſit in London for the direction of the enterprize, was choſen by the nomination of the company. Never was patent granted in ſuch extenſive latitude.

The Indians, as in every other inſtance, aſſiſted the riſing colony: they had ſhown themſelves equally kind and hoſpitable to Sir Walter

Raleigh: but here alſo, as every-where elſe, they in the end became objects of perſecution; and wars between them and the coloniſts ſhook and diſturbed the new ſettlement.

In 1621, a ſort of conſtitution had been given to the colony by the company, who were its proprietors. This conſtitution appointed an annual aſſembly compoſed of two repreſentatives from each town, plantation, or hundred—a privy council nominated by the company—and a governor, alſo of their nomination, who poſſeſſed a negative on the laws propoſed by the aſſembly.

In 1622, Charles the Firſt, diſſatisfied with the conduct of the company, took the government of the colony into his own hands, in violation of the charter granted by his predeceſſor, which deprived him of that right. This change of maſters, however, did not affect either the rights or the opinions of the coloniſts.

It was under the reign of Charles the Firſt that Lords Baltimore and Fairfax obtained a diſmemberment of the juriſdiction, government, and territory, of Virginia.

In 1650, after the depoſition of that prince, the Engliſh parliament forbade the colonies to carry on any commerce with foreign nations: and this was the firſt ſtep in that prohibitory ſyſtem, of which the ſupport and the conſequences have ſince been attended with the loſs to England of her colonies in North America.

The colony of Virginia for ſome time refuſed to acknowledge the authority of Cromwell and the republican parliament: but in 1651 the coloniſts laid down their arms, and received from parliament a new charter confirming them in the enjoyment of all their former rights, except the poſſeſſion of that portion of their territory antecedently granted to Lords Baltimore and Fairfax. But, after the reſtoration of royalty in England, the ſucceeding kings paid no greater reſpect to this charter than Charles the Firſt had ſhown to the former. The aſſembly was now divided into two houſes: appeals were carried from the tribunals of Virginia to London: the prohibition of foreign trade was again enforced—

forced—the territory of Virginia diminiſhed—the inhabitants of the colony thrown into priſon, tranſported to England, &c. &c.

Virginia, thinking herſelf more ſeverely aggrieved by England than any other of the American colonies, was one of the firſt to take a part in the revolution: and no one of the ſtates made more vigorous efforts, expended greater ſums, or diſplayed more ſignal energy, to accompliſh that happy object.

DEPARTURE FROM RICHMOND.—MANCHESTER.—JOURNEY TO PETERSBURG.

The bridge that unites Richmond to Mancheſter is one of the worſt and moſt dangerous of all poſſible bridges. In its length it is divided by two iſlands: but, from one end to the other, it is nothing better than an irregular aſſemblage of unjoined unfaſtened planks laid upon joiſts which bend in conſequence of their length, and which themſelves reſt on piers, partly of wood partly of ſtone, the tottering remains of a ſomewhat better bridge that was deſtroyed a few years ſince by an extraordinary ſwell of the river. Theſe remnants of the former piers are moreover of unequal height, ſo that this bridge poſſeſſes every imaginable characteriſtic of inſolidity. It is called a temporary bridge, becauſe the people talk of building another: but the ſame thing has been ſaid for the laſt five or ſix years, during which period the paſſage has continued in its preſent ſtate. There are not even any funds pointed out for that object; and it would require conſiderable ſums to erect the intended bridge in ſuch manner as to ſecure it againſt thoſe annual freſhes which are very powerful, and which acquire additional violence in paſſing the falls, at the foot of which the bridge ſtands. Thoſe yearly ſwells of the river, particularly at the cloſe of winter, riſe from twenty-five to thirty feet in height.—In addition to its other defects, this wretched bridge is unprovided with rails or parapets; and not a year paſſes without witneſſing ſome melancholy accidents in conſequence.

Mancheſter.

Mancheſter is a very neat little village, well built, and ſtanding on a very gentle declivity. Gardens and trees abound within it, and it preſents, as I have before obſerved, a beautiful proſpect from Richmond. But the country over which a traveller paſſes on his way from Mancheſter to Peterſburg, is flat, and for the moſt part barren: very little culture appears; but an almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of woods, broken however by here and there ſome fields which yield four or five buſhels of wheat per acre, or from eight to ten of Indian corn. Theſe fields are never manured; hardly even are they ploughed; and it ſeldom happens that their owners for two ſucceſſive years exact from them theſe ſcanty crops.

Oſborne's, at the diſtance of fifteen miles from Richmond, is the only village on the road. It is ſituate on the bank of a river which winds in numerous mæanders. From Oſborne's to Peterſburg, the face of the country continues the ſame: it preſents indeed a ſomewhat greater number of log-houſes, but every where exhibits the features of lazineſs, of ignorance, and conſequently of poverty. Although a great part of theſe lands be naturally bad, nevertheleſs, with greater induſtry and more judicious management, they might be cultivated to advantage; for they produce trees of tolerable height and good quality.

PETERSBURG.

Peterſburg is built on the Appomattox. At the town and ten miles below it, this river is but four or five feet deep. The veſſels therefore which can come up to Peterſburg are ſtill inferior in point of tonnage to thoſe which can go up to Richmond. Broad-bay, eight miles below Peterſburg, is the place where the veſſels are loaded.

The trade of Peterſburg is ſimilar to that of Richmond: but, as this town lies nearer to North-Carolina, it receives a greater quantity, than the other, of the produce of that ſtate, ſuch as wheat, tobacco, ſalt proviſions, and ſome hemp. Its exportations are for the ſame

reaſon

reaſon more conſiderable than thoſe of Richmond, although, generally ſpeaking, the produce it receives is inferior in quality. Tobacco, for inſtance, which ſells at Richmond for ſix or ſeven dollars the hundred weight, does not fetch quite five at Peterſburg. The cauſe of this difference is the ſuperiority of the ſoil, and it is ſaid alſo of the cultivation, in the lands on the banks of James-River and to the right of it, where grows the tobacco that is almoſt excluſively carried to Richmond. The price of tobacco has experienced a riſe of two fifths within the laſt two or three years, becauſe the increaſed price of wheat has induced the planters to appropriate to the culture of that grain conſiderable tracts of land which were before devoted to the raiſing of tobacco, and the two laſt crops of this plant have moreover been very indifferent.

Flour-mills are more numerous at Peterſburg and in its vicinity than at Richmond: but, if we may judge of the flour that is exported, by that of which they make the bread that is eaten in the beſt houſes and even at the tables of the mill-owners, it muſt be very far inferior to that of Philadelphia. It is not white; and the millers ſay that good wheat is difficult to be procured. The grain which I have ſeen of the preſent crop—for the harveſt is every-where nearly finiſhed—is ſmall and light. Nevertheleſs the flour ſells at thirteen and even fourteen dollars; and the millers of Peterſburg, expecting a further encreaſe in the price, paid, two months ſince, ſo high as two dollars and a half per buſhel for wheat, even for very conſiderable quantities. The intelligence from Europe, however, threatens them with a prodigious diſcount on the expected profits of their ſpeculation; ſince there has lately arrived at Boſton a veſſel which had ſailed from Norfolk in February, and which has brought back to America her cargo of three thouſand barrels of flour, for which ſhe could not obtain above eight dollars per barrel either in France or England. That article has recently been ſold for ſeven and half at Alexandria and Norfolk.

At Peterſburg, as well as at Richmond, the mills are upon a good conſtruction.

conſtruction. Five buſhels of wheat yield a barrel of firſt flour: ſix are required to produce a barrel of ſuperfine flour, excluſive of the ſecond flour, the pollard, and bran. The miller's claim is one eighth; ſometimes, when buſineſs is dull with him, he contents himſelf with a tenth. By the way, it appears that the dexterity of the Virginian millers in making the moſt of their griſt is in no wiſe inferior to that of the millers in Europe.

Peterſburg is a tolerably neat little town, built along the river-ſide, only two ſtreets deep, and a mile and half in extent, on a hill of pretty rapid elevation. Blandford, which is now united with Peterſburg into one corporation, is the part which is more remarkable for elegant and well-built houſes.

Society at Peterſburg appears polite, obliging, and hoſpitable. Political opinion, divided here as every-where elſe, is by a great majority in favour of oppoſition. This difference of ſentiments however is leſs productive here, than at Richmond, of diſunion between the individuals of oppoſite parties. Colonel Peachy, Doctor Stone, Mr. Euſtis, brother to my friend Doctor Euſtis of Boſton, Major Gibbon, Mr. Campbell, are the perſons in whoſe company I have oftener been during my ſhort ſtay in this town. The laſt-mentioned gentleman has lately married Mademoiſelle de la Porte, a French lady, niece to Monſieur de Tubeuf, who, after having ſettled about three years ſince in the back country of Virginia, was there murdered by two Iriſhmen, who ſuppoſed him to be poſſeſſed of a great deal of money.

The prices of the neceſſaries of life are nearly the ſame here as at Richmond: and Peterſburg is equally deſtitute of churches.

PRESQU'ILE, Mr. DAVIES RANDOLPH's PLANTATION.

At Peterſburg I had met Mr. Davies Randolph, for whom I had a letter; and, in conſequence of his invitation, I went to his houſe and there ſpent a day. He lives at City-Point or Bermuda-Hundred, the place where the river Appomattox diſcharges its ſtream into James-River.

River. Here the water is ſufficiently deep to admit ſhips of any tonnage; and this in the place where the larger veſſels diſcharge their cargoes into lighters, and thus forward to Richmond and Peterſburg the merchandize which they have brought. City-Point is the ſpot where the cuſtom-houſe is eſtabliſhed for thoſe two places. If the towns of Richmond and Peterſburg had been erected at City-Point, their commerce would have been more conſiderable, their intercourſe with Europe more direct, and Norfolk would not, as now is the caſe, have engroſſed almoſt the entire trade of that part of Virginia. But City-Point lies low, and is ſurrounded by ſwamps. The air in the vicinity is not ſalubrious; and, in all probability, the detriment which the inhabitants muſt have ſuffered in point of health would have been ſufficient to counterbalance the advantage of ſuperior opulence.

At a half-mile from the cuſtom-houſe ſtands the habitation of Mr. Davies Randolph, in one of thoſe long windings which James-River forms in this part: from which circumſtance it is that this plantation bears the name of Preſqu'île (or Peninſula).

Mr. Davies Randolph is fully entitled to the reputation which he enjoys of being the beſt farmer in the whole country. He poſſeſſes ſeven hundred and fifty acres of land, of which three hundred and fifty are at preſent ſuſceptible of cultivation; the reſt are all ſwampy grounds, which may probably be drained at a conſiderable expence, but which have not yet undergone that proceſs. Eight negroes (of whom two are little better than children), two horſes, and four oxen, cultivate thoſe three hundred and fifty acres, which he has divided into fields of forty acres incloſed. Of thoſe three hundred and fifty acres, only forty, which are ſubdivided into ſix portions, are alternately dunged; the remainder never has been ſo.

The common rotation of culture in the country is, Indian corn, wheat, fallow, and thus again in regular ſucceſſion. The lands produce from five to eight buſhels of wheat per acre, and from twelve to fifteen of Indian corn, according to their quality. Mr. Randolph has deviated from this ſyſtem of culture on his eſtate: that which he purſues

is as follows—Indian corn, oats, wheat, rye, fallow; and he raiſes from ten to twelve buſhels of wheat per acre, and from eighteen to twenty-five of Indian corn. The riſe in the price of wheat has induced him to vary the rotation of his crops, and to ſubſtitute that of wheat, oats or rye, wheat, two years' fallow. By purſuing this method, he reaps from thirteen to ſixteen buſhels of wheat. He ſeparately cultivates the Indian corn in one or two fields according to his former rotation. He has proved by experience that manuring with dung triples the produce. His lands are good; and, compared with the reſt of the country, they are kept in very excellent condition, though very indifferently in compariſon with the moſt ordinary huſbandry of Europe. He keeps no cows except for the purpoſes of the dairy, and to furniſh him with calves for his own conſumption. His cows are very fine, and of his own rearing. His labouring oxen are of a ſmall breed; and it is thought in the country that thoſe of larger ſize could not ſtand the heat. He purchaſes thoſe labouring oxen at thirty dollars the pair. Mr. Randolph feeds thirty ſheep, but merely for the ſupply of his own table.

He declares that each of his negroes laſt year produced to him, after all expences paid, a net ſum of three hundred dollars, although he ſold his wheat for no more than a dollar the buſhel. He expected that they would this year have cleared him four hundred dollars each: but the fall in the prices of produce will diſappoint his hopes.

The ſituation of his houſe gives him alſo the means of annually ſelling eight or nine hundred dollars' worth of fiſh—ſturgeon, ſhad, and herrings, which he ſalts.

His ſwampy grounds ſupply him with abundance of timber for fuel and fences: but they produce a ſtill greater abundance of noxious exhalations which prove a ſource of frequent and dangerous diſeaſes. Mr. Randolph is himſelf very ſickly; and his young and amiable wife has not enjoyed one month of good health ſince ſhe firſt came to live on this plantation. Accordingly Mr. Randolph intends to quit it, and remove to Richmond, where moreover he has frequent buſineſs in

conſequence

conſequence of his office, which is that of marſhal to the ſtate. He wiſhes to ſell this plantation, which, in the worſt years, has brought him in eighteen hundred dollars, and which, for the laſt two years, has yielded him three thouſand five hundred. It is in very good condition: but he cannot find a purchaſer for it at the ſum of twenty thouſand dollars, which he demands. This fact furniſhes a proper idea of the low price of land in Virginia. I have been aſſured, that, although ſome of the lands have doubled their value during the laſt twenty years, a much greater portion have fallen in their price.

BERMUDA-HUNDRED — EXPORTATIONS FROM RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG.

During my ſtay at the houſe of Mr. Davies Randolph I had an opportunity of learning, with ſome degree of minuteneſs, the amount and value of the exports from Bermuda-Hundred or City-Point, the emporium and cuſtom-houſe of the two towns of Richmond and Peterſburg. I received the details of particulars from Mr. Helt, the collector of the cuſtoms at that place.

Statement of the Exportations from Bermuda-Hundred or City-Point.

Years.	Flour.		Indian corn, including meal.		Wheat.		Tobacco.		Other articles.	Total value.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Value.	
	Barrels.	Dollars.	Buſhels.	Dollars.	Buſhels.	Dollars.	Hogſhds.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1791.	10,000	48,125	21,180	6,354	165,635	137,477	29,994	1,029,876	41,293	1,263,126
1792.	10,708	54,653	47,722	14,316	75,146	67,382	27,660	1,075,447	24,771	1,236,571
1793.	28,877	164,018	262	133	88,115	99,783	15,043	556,584	25,000	845,620
1794.	5,853	30,904	2,097	1,153	31,212	32,252	11,995	443,828	13,317	521,456
1795.	8,102	81,753	33,358	33,301.	....	....	9,475	375,826	16,365	507,306
firſt ſix months of 1796.	3,000	48,483	....	....	....	....	4,473	293,456	12,704	354,650

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

In the column of flour, the ſeconds and even the pollards are included with that of the firſt quality.

From the different ſtatements included in the above table, it reſults,

1°. That, during the laſt five years and half, the ſeveral articles have individually riſen more or leſs in price, but all in general very conſiderably.

2°. That the exportation of tobacco has undergone a diminution of one half, in point of quantity; but that the article has doubled in value.

3°. That the quantity of flour has exceſſively diminiſhed, at leaſt ſo far as regards the direct exportation: for it is certain that the greateſt quantity is exported by the way of Baltimore.

4°. That the exportation of wheat has dwindled to nothing: a circumſtance which, excluſive of the ſame common cauſe that has contributed to diminiſh the exportation of flour, has moreover for its particular reaſon the number of mills which are daily erected in Virginia.

RETURN TO RICHMOND—FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THAT TOWN.

Monſieur Guillemard had accompanied me to Preſqu'île; and we returned together by the ſame road which we had travelled on the preceding day.

Mr. Hopkins, commiſſioner of the loan-office of the United States—Monſieur Chevalier, his brother-in-law, of whom I have already made mention—Doctor Maclue, a native of Scotland, a phyſician of high repute, and a well-informed man—Governor Brooke—Mr. John Marſhall—Mr. Campbell—Doctor Foulchie, with whom the affairs of one

one of my friends brought me acquainted—Meſſrs. Brown and Burton, Engliſh merchants—are the perſons with whom I was moſt frequently in company at Richmond. The political opinions of thoſe ſeveral gentlemen are extremely different: but in the ſocial circle there prevails among them a degree of politeneſs which would prevent a ſtranger from perceiving that difference if he were not previouſly apprized of it.

There are no doubt at Richmond, as in every other part of Virginia, a certain number of individuals, who, diſſatisfied with the commercial treaty, carry their reſentment of it to an exceſſive length, and would wiſh for ſuch a change in the conſtitution of the United States as ſhould render it more democratic: but I have never heard even the moſt violent of that claſs expreſs a wiſh for ſeparation or diſunion: and indeed it muſt be confeſſed, that, under the preſent mediocrity of wealth in the ſtate of Virginia, the paucity of her population in proportion to her extent, and her backwardneſs in point of agricultural improvement, the inhabitants could not reaſonably entertain a deſire of ſuch an event.

Mr. J. Marſhall, conſpicuouſly eminent as a profeſſor of the law, is beyond all doubt one of thoſe who rank higheſt in the public opinion at Richmond. He is what is termed a federaliſt, and perhaps at times ſomewhat warm in ſupport of his opinions, but never exceeding the bounds of propriety, which a man of his goodneſs and prudence and knowledge is incapable of tranſgreſſing. He may be conſidered as a diſtinguiſhed character in the United States. His political enemies allow him to poſſeſs great talents, but accuſe him of ambition. I know not whether the charge be well or ill grounded, or whether that ambition might ever be able to impel him to a dereliction of his principles—a conduct of which I am inclined to diſbelieve the poſſibility on his part. He has already refuſed ſeveral employments under the general government, preferring the income derived from his profeſſional labours (which is more than ſufficient for his moderate ſyſtem

of

of economy), together with a life of tranquil eaſe in the midſt of his family and in his native town. Even by his friends he is taxed with ſome little propenſity to indolence: but even if this reproach were well founded, he nevertheleſs diſplays great ſuperiority in his profeſſion when he applies his mind to buſineſs.

DEPARTURE FROM RICHMOND FOR THE MOUNTAINS. DOVER COAL-MINE.

On the 20th of June, Mr. Guillemard and myſelf ſet out for the mountains; Monticello, the habitation of Mr. Jefferſon, was the object of this part of our journey. Meſſrs. Graham and Havans, merchants of Richmond, and owners of a coal-mine, were ſo kind as to conduct us thither. This mine is ſcarcely wrought. Several pits have been ſunk, and relinquiſhed again, in hopes of diſcovering coals of a ſuperior quality, and in greater abundance, in other places. It appears to be very rich, and to form a part of the ſame bed which is found in the environs, and has been worked for many years on the weſt ſide of the river. But theſe gentlemen, who are neither chemiſts nor mechanicians, are content to grope their way without applying for advice to more enlightened men; for there is not one perſon throughout America verſed in the art of working mines *.

This is one of the objects, in regard to which literary ſocieties might render themſelves extremely uſeful in the United States. They might eaſily inſert in the public papers extracts of the beſt works, written in Engliſh, French, and German, on this ſcience, which has been brought to ſuch perfection in Europe. Nor would it be an arduous taſk to hold on this head, as on all ſubjects of univerſal utility, a correſpondence with men of letters in Europe. The publication of this correſpond-

* The Duke muſt apply this obſervation to the natives; for many Europeans, ſkilled in the working of mines, have certainly emigrated to America. *Tranſlator.*

ence,

ence, would introduce into America a knowledge of the progreſs and diſcoveries made in the ſcience of mines, and all the unpleaſant trouble and ruinous expence of fruitleſs experiments would be prevented.

Meſſrs. Graham and Havans employ about five hundred negroes in this mine, and the buſineſs of the farm, in the province of which it is ſituated. In the loweſt ground the vein runs one hundred and twenty feet below the ſurface, and is, in general, twenty-four feet thick. The ground from the ſurface down to the vein conſiſts of a good red and yellow clay, interſperſed with ſtone, eaſily reducible to duſt. The vein is enveloped in a ſmall layer of imperfect ſlate, and reſts on a bed of granite; a circumſtance, which, in the opinion of my friend, Mr. Guillemard, muſt puzzle all the naturaliſts of Europe. The coals of this mine, and indeed of all thoſe which have hitherto been opened in this country, are very ſmall, and the moſt ſolid pieces which can be obtained crumble into duſt at the ſlighteſt ſhock, ſo that they are more adapted to be uſed in the forges of ſmiths, than to be burned in grates. Some veins, it is ſuppoſed, contain more ſolid coals; if this ſhould be the caſe, the mine would prove far more profitable for the owners: but this ſuppoſition remains as yet a matter of mere conjecture.

This farm, compoſed of three hundred and fifty acres of land, which is for the moſt part of the very beſt quality, and containing a mine, the exiſtence of which was not unknown to the vender, brought three years ago no more than five thouſand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, which makes about eighteen dollars per acre. The farm is managed in the common ſtyle of the country, that is, very badly; but as it chiefly conſiſts of low grounds, the crops are in general better than on other eſtates, where the culture of the ſoil is equally neglected.

The road from Richmond to Dover (this is the name of the place where the mine is found), lies through woods of a middling quality; the ſoil is poor, and partly cultivated, though in a very indifferent manner.

manner. The houſes are ſmall, bad, and not numerous. They are inhabited by white people, who do not ſeem to be in eaſy circumſtances.

On paſſing the creek of Fuckehoe, you quit the county of Henrico, in which Richmond is ſituated, and enter that of Goochland.

GOOCHLAND COURT-HOUSE.

The country between Dover and Goochland court-houſe, where we ſtopped at night, is more variegated than before; you find there more heights, and ſome fine proſpects, eſpecially on Mount Pleaſant, which commands a wide extenſive vale, entirely cleared, and full of houſes, and clumps of trees, which have been left ſtanding near the habitations and in the middle of the fields.

This day was a court-day at Goochland. The juſtices of the peace of the county meet here every month for the adminiſtration of juſtice. The ſeſſion aſſembles here, beſides the neighbouring judges, lawyers, and parties whoſe cauſes are to be tried, numbers of idle people who come leſs from a deſire to learn what is going forwards than to drink together.

It was near nine o'clock at night when I arrived, before Mr. Guillemard. The company was about to break up; the accounts were ſettled; every one had already mounted his horſe, and nothing prevented their ſeparation but the irreſolution and prattle common to drunken people, and the uſual attachment between them when they meet to get intoxicated together. By my manner of talking Engliſh to the landlord, the company eaſily diſcerned that I was a Frenchman. Immediately they jumped all off their horſes, pulled me down from mine, claſped me in their arms, and exclaimed—"You are a Frenchman—well, you are our friend, our dear friend; we would all of us die for every Frenchman; we are good republicans, we would kill all the Engliſh; that would be an excellent thing, would not it? Oh, our friend, our dear friend!"—"He is a Frenchman," they ſaid to each other,

other, "the brave dear gentleman is a Frenchman! But as you are a Frenchman, you muſt drink ſome grog with us."—They embraced me, pulled me about in every direction, and ſhook me by the hand.—"Do pray tell us what we can do for you; you are our brother." I was overwhelmed by their number and careſſes to ſuch a degree, that I was hardly able to bring my foot to the ground. Although their drunken profeſſions were rather of too ſentimental a complexion, yet I could not be diſpleaſed with their purpoſe and intention; on the contrary, in this reſpect they gave me great ſatisfaction. I anſwered them as well as circumſtances would admit: but my anſwer, as may be eaſily conceived, was drowned in the noiſe of their joyful profeſſions. During this time arrived a large bowl of grog, and we drank one after another, toaſting the French, France, America, Virginia, and M. de la Fayette, whoſe name they mentioned with enthuſiaſm. In ſpite of my little diſpoſition for drinking, I was obliged two or three times to drink in my turn; for it was abſolutely neceſſary to empty the bowl. It was with great difficulty I prevented the arrival of a ſecond; and the inn-keeper having told them that the Frenchman (ſpeaking of me) had made a long journey, and conſequently wanted repoſe, I was at length able to diſengage myſelf from the officious hands of theſe good people, who would all take me home, ten, fifteen, or twenty miles diſtant from the place of our meeting.

Another circumſtance which favoured our ſeparation, was the tragic return of one of the gueſts, who had left the company before my arrival to fight another drunkard. This poor young man, who arrived in his battle-array, that is, quite naked, was covered with blood from a blow which tore away a part of his ear, and from another on his eye, which ſeemed ſtarting out of his head. The tender affections of my friends were now turned towards their wounded companion, and I rejoined Mr. Guillemard, who had arrived during the feſtive reception which I experienced; but hearing that the Engliſh were rather ſeverely treated, did not think it convenient to join us.

In Virginia, where the villages are leſs numerous than in other

parts, and inns very ſcarce, there is generally one adjoining the Court-Houſe, without which the juſtices, lawyers, and parties, would have no means to procure either a bed or food. We were very well lodged in the houſe deſtined for the judges, where we ſhared the parlour with three counſellors, very civil and ſober men, and good companions. Their ſentiments in favour of France and her ſucceſſes, clothed in language more ſenſible than that of my firſt acquaintances in the place, bore a ſtrong appearance of ſincerity and candour. They told us, that, by what they had learned, France had demanded of America twenty thouſand troops to aſſiſt her in the preſervation of her colonies in the Weſt Indies, and they entertained no doubt but that America, mindful of her obligations to France, would readily comply with the demand. It is evident that theſe good gentlemen were by no means poſſeſſed of correct information relative to the diſpoſition of their government, and over-rated the extent of national gratitude. However this may be, you hear in Virginia the ſame language expreſſive of attachment to France, of hatred and eſpecially of diſtruſt in regard to England, and of affection for M. de la Fayette, which you meet with in every other part of the United States that is not ſituated in the immediate vicinity of great towns, and places abſorbed in mercantile ſpeculations. In general, the inhabitants of the country, and thoſe of large towns—thoſe who live at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea-coaſt, and thoſe who belong to trading places—are two deſcriptions of people altogether diſtinct from each other in point of manners and opinions. The truth of this remark, which is obvious in all countries, is more ſtrikingly ſo in America, where the people are only divided into the two claſſes of traders and cultivators, where trade and commerce, which are almoſt entirely in the hands of England, naturally find their intereſts interwoven with thoſe of that kingdom, and where the merchants and traders acting upon this principle, and poſſeſſed of that powerful influence which is generally derived from ſuperior wealth, form, as it were, a diſtinct nation within a nation; while, on the other hand, the country people, attached by their own intereſts to the proſperity of that country only

only which they inhabit, deſire it ſincerely and excluſively, and are merely liable to thoſe errors into which ignorance may betray their good diſpoſition.

M. DE RIEUX. BIRD-ORDINARY.

The road grows ſtill duller after you leave Goochland Court-Houſe. It is every where ſurrounded with woods, and the eye diſcerns no difference of hills and dales but that of the road, from its riſes and falls. The plantations become conſtantly leſs frequent, and leſs extenſive; and cultivation is ſtill more confined. Inns are very ſcarce on this road; the next is nearly ſeventeen miles diſtant from that where we paſſed the night. I went a mile farther on to ſtop at one which I knew was kept by a Frenchman, whoſe houſe, I had alſo learned, was lately deſtroyed by fire. This Frenchman formerly kept a ſtore at Charlotte-Ville. Having there experienced misfortunes not occaſioned by miſconduct, he eſtabliſhed himſelf where he now is, on the ſtrength of an aſſurance which had been given him, that, from the general diſſatisfaction expreſſed at the management of the neighbouring inn, his houſe would be much frequented by travellers. In this he has not been deceived; they all put up at his inn. The unfortunate fire, in which he loſt all his furniture and ſtock in trade, which he eſtimates at upwards of fifteen hundred dollars, is attributed to his great ſucceſs, and the jealouſy excited by it in the breaſt of the miſtreſs of the rival neighbouring inn. His name is *Plumard de Rieux*, and he is a native of Nantes. If he belongs, as he ſays, to the family of Rieux, which however appears not to be the caſe from his name Plumard, he would appertain to one of thoſe to which ancient opinions aſſigned the firſt rank in France. He is brother of a lieutenant in the navy, who, ſharing the political ſentiments of the ancient navy, has refuſed to ſerve ſince the beginning of the revolution. M. de Rieux married in America the daughter of Mr. Mazzei an Italian, who had ſettled on that continent, and who during the revolution acted the part of a zealous republican, but afterwards

wards returned to Europe, where, from his reputation of being a friend of liberty, he was appointed *chargé d' affaires* at Paris by the King and the Republic of Poland.—He has ſince, it is ſaid, retired to Piſa.

Madame de Rieux is young and amiable, and poſſeſſes a well-informed mind. M. de Rieux is beloved and reſpected by all who know him; he ſupports with courage and gaiety all the misfortunes which have happened to him. A very conſiderable inheritance has been lately left to him by an aunt, who remained in France and enjoyed his eſtates. He hopes to obtain this inheritance, yet he is at the ſame time aware, that under the preſent circumſtances there is as much probability againſt as in favour of his wiſh, although he left France long before the revolution.

I felt at M. de Rieux's what I always experience on meeting with good, honeſt, and ſenſible Frenchmen, a ſatisfaction and intereſt which I never feel in America under any other circumſtances. Is it prejudice, is it weakneſs? It may be ſo, but it is what I conſtantly experience, what I have always experienced in foreign countries, even previouſly to the calamitous events of the revolution, and what I feel diſpoſed alſo to experience in future. Ah! how conſoling would it prove on meeting with an honeſt and unfortunate countryman, ſurrounded by a wife and numerous family, to promote by a loan of ſome value the reſtoration of his proſperity, without wounding the delicacy of his feelings. The loſs of an enjoyment of this nature is not the leaſt painful reſult of ſevere misfortunes in point of property and wealth.

M. de Rieux only tenants the houſe which he inhabits, and the three hundred and fifty acres of land that belong to it, and pays for the whole a yearly rent of ninety-eight dollars. This affords an additional proof of the moderate value of land in Virginia, as that which he cultivates is very good.

After having ſpent nearly the whole day at M. de Rieux's, we went ten miles farther on to *Bird-ordinary*, where we ſtopped for the night. Plantations become now leſs frequent and poorer; yet all theſe planters,

planters, however wretched their condition, have all of them one or two negroes. Theſe ſlaves, who are in general well treated in Virginia, are upon the whole much more ſo by theſe poor farmers, who ſhare with them the toils of the fields, and who, although they do not clothe and feed them well, yet treat them, in this reſpect, as well as they do themſelves: while on the plantations of wealthy coloniſts the negroes are allowed meat but ſix times a-year, and ſubſiſt entirely on Indian corn, and ſometimes on butter-milk.

MILFORD;

A very ſmall village, built within theſe few years on the Rivanna, a rivulet which empties itſelf into James-River. Before you reach the village you croſs Melhaneck-Creek, which flows into the Rivanna. They are both fordable, but the fords are frequently rendered very dangerous, nay impaſſable, by a ſudden riſe of the waters, at leaſt for ſome hours; for the inclination of their beds is ſo conſiderable, that in leſs than half a day they return to their uſual depth, which is only three feet.

MONTICELLO. MR. JEFFERSON; HIS AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE COUNTRY.

Monticello is ſituated four miles from Milford, in that chain of mountains which ſtretches from James's-River to the Rappahannock, twenty-eight miles in front of the Blue-Ridge, and in a direction parallel to thoſe mountains. This chain, which runs uninterrupted in its ſmall extent, aſſumes ſucceſſively the names of the Weſt, South, and Green Mountains.

It is in the part known by the name of the South-Mountains that Monticello is ſituated. The houſe ſtands on the ſummit of the mountain, and the taſte and arts of Europe have been conſulted in the formation of its plan. Mr. Jefferſon had commenced its conſtruction before the American revolution; ſince that epocha his life has been conſtantly engaged in public affairs, and he has not been able to com-

plete

plete the execution to the whole extent of the project which it ſeems he had at firſt conceived. That part of the building, which was finiſhed has ſuffered from the ſuſpenſion of the work, and Mr. Jefferſon, who two years ſince reſumed the habits and leiſure of private life, is now employed in repairing the damage occaſioned by this interruption, and ſtill more by his abſence; he continues his original plan, and even improves on it, by giving to his buildings more elevation and extent. He intends that they ſhould conſiſt only of one ſtory, crowned with baluſtrades; and a dome is to be conſtructed in the centre of the ſtructure. The apartments will be large and convenient; the decoration, both outſide and inſide, ſimple, yet regular and elegant. Monticello, according to its firſt plan, was infinitely ſuperior to all other houſes in America, in point of taſte and convenience; but at that time Mr. Jefferſon had ſtudied taſte and the fine arts in books only. His travels in Europe have ſupplied him with models; he has appropriated them to his deſign; and his new plan, the execution of which is already much advanced, will be accompliſhed before the end of next year, and then his houſe will certainly deſerve to be ranked with the moſt pleaſant manſions in France and England.

Mr. Jefferſon's houſe commands one of the moſt extenſive proſpects you can meet with. On the eaſt ſide, the front of the building, the eye is not checked by any object, ſince the mountain on which the houſe is ſeated, commands all the neighbouring heights as far as the Cheſapeak. The Atlantic might be ſeen were it not for the greatneſs of the diſtance, which renders that proſpect impoſſible. On the right and left the eye commands the extenſive valley that ſeparates the Green, South and Weſt Mountains from the Blue-Ridge, and has no other bounds but theſe high mountains, of which, on a clear day, you diſcern the chain on the right upwards of a hundred miles, far beyond James's-River; and on the left as far as Maryland, on the other ſide of the Potowmack. Through ſome intervals, formed by the irregular ſummits of the Blue-Mountains, you diſcover the Peaked-Ridge, a chain of mountains placed between the Blue and North Mountains, another

more

more diſtant ridge. But in the back part the proſpect is ſoon interrupted by a mountain more elevated than that on which the houſe is ſeated. The bounds of the view on this point, at ſo ſmall a diſtance, form a pleaſant reſting-place; as the immenſity of proſpect it enjoys is, perhaps, already too vaſt. A conſiderable number of cultivated fields, houſes, and barns, enliven and variegate the extenſive landſcape, ſtill more embelliſhed by the beautiful and diverſified forms of mountains, in the whole chain of which not one reſembles another. The aid of fancy is, however, required to complete the enjoyment of this magnificent view; and ſhe muſt picture to us thoſe plains and mountains ſuch as population and culture will render them in a greater or ſmaller number of years. The diſproportion exiſting between the cultivated lands and thoſe which are ſtill covered with foreſts as ancient as the globe, is at preſent much too great: and even when that ſhall have been done away, the eye may perhaps further wiſh to diſcover a broad river, a great maſs of water—deſtitute of which, the grandeſt and moſt extenſive proſpect is ever deſtitute of an embelliſhment requiſite to render it completely beautiful.

On this mountain, and in the ſurrounding valleys, on both banks of the Rivanna, are ſituated the five thouſand acres of land which Mr. Jefferſon poſſeſſes in this part of Virginia. Eleven hundred and twenty only are cultivated. The land left to the care of ſtewards has ſuffered as well as the buildings from the long abſence of the maſter; according to the cuſtom of the country it has been exhauſted by ſucceſſive culture. Its ſituation on declivities of hills and mountains renders a careful cultivation more neceſſary than is requiſite in lands ſituated in a flat and even country; the common routine is more pernicious, and more judgment and mature thought are required, than in a different ſoil. This forms at preſent the chief employment of Mr. Jefferſon. But little accuſtomed to agricultural purſuits, he has drawn the principles of culture either from works which treat on this ſubject, or from converſation. Knowledge thus acquired often miſleads, and is at all times inſufficient in a country where agriculture is well underſtood; yet it is preferable to mere practical knowledge, in a country where a bad

bad practice prevails, and where it is dangerous to follow the routine, from which it is ſo difficult to depart. Above all, much good may be expected, if a contemplative mind, like that of Mr. Jefferſon, which takes the theory for its guide, watches its application with diſcernment, and rectifies it according to the peculiar circumſtances and nature of the country, climate and ſoil, and conformably to the experience which he daily acquires.

Purſuant to the ancient rotation tobacco was cultivated four or five ſucceſſive years; the land was then ſuffered to lie fallow, and then again ſucceeded crops of tobacco. The culture of tobacco being now almoſt entirely relinquiſhed in this part of Virginia, the common rotation begins with wheat, followed by Indian corn, and then again wheat, until the exhauſted ſoil loſes every productive power; the field is then abandoned, and the cultivator proceeds to another, which he treats and abandons in the ſame manner, until he returns to the firſt, which has in the mean time recovered ſome of its productive faculties. The diſproportion between the quantity of land which belongs to the planters and the hands they can employ in its culture, diminiſhes the inconveniences of this deteſtable method. The land, which never receives the leaſt manure, ſupports a longer or ſhorter time this alternate cultivation of wheat and Indian corn, according to its nature and ſituation, and regains, according to the ſame circumſtances, more or leſs ſpeedily the power of producing new crops. If in the interval it be covered with heath and weeds, it frequently is again fit for cultivation at the end of eight or ten years; if not, a ſpace of twenty years is not ſufficient to render it capable of production. Planters who are not poſſeſſed of a ſufficient quantity of land to let ſo much of it remain unproductive for ſuch a length of time, fallow it in a year or two after it has borne wheat and Indian corn, during which time the fields ſerve as paſture, and are hereupon again cultivated in the ſame manner. In either caſe the land produces from five to ſix buſhels of wheat, or from ten to fifteen buſhels of Indian corn, the acre. To the produce of Indian corn muſt alſo be added one hundred pounds of

leaves

leaves to every five buſhels, or each barrel, of grain. Theſe leaves are given as fodder to the cattle. It was in this manner that Mr. Jefferſon's land had always been cultivated, and it is this ſyſtem which he has very wiſely relinquiſhed. He has divided all his land under culture into four farms, and every farm into ſix fields of forty acres. Each farm conſiſts, therefore, of two hundred and eighty acres. His ſyſtem of rotation embraces ſeven years, and this is the reaſon why each farm has been divided into ſeven fields. In the firſt of theſe ſeven years wheat is cultivated; in the ſecond, Indian corn; in the third, peaſe or potatoes; in the fourth, vetches; in the fifth, wheat; and in the ſixth and ſeventh, clover. Thus each of his fields yields ſome produce every year, and his rotation of ſucceſſive culture, while it prepares the ſoil for the following crop, increaſes its produce. The abundance of clover, potatoes, peaſe, &c. will enable him to keep ſufficient cattle for manuring his land, which at preſent receives hardly any dung at all, independently of the great profit which he will in future derive from the ſale of his cattle.

Each farm, under the direction of a particular ſteward or bailiff, is cultivated by four negroes, four negreſſes, four oxen, and four horſes. The bailiffs, who in general manage their farms ſeparately, aſſiſt each other during the harveſt, as well as at any other time, when there is any preſſing labour. The great declivity of the fields, which would render it extremely troubleſome and tedious to carry the produce, even of each farm, to one common central point, has induced Mr. Jefferſon to conſtruct on each field a barn, ſufficiently capacious to hold its produce in grain; the produce in forage is alſo houſed there, but this is generally ſo great, that it becomes neceſſary to make ſtacks near the barns. The latter are conſtructed of trunks of trees, and the floors are boarded. The foreſts and ſlaves reduce the expence of theſe buildings to a mere trifle.

Mr. Jefferſon poſſeſſes one of thoſe excellent threſhing-machines, which a few years ſince were invented in Scotland, and are already very common in England. This machine, the whole of which does

not weigh two thouſand pounds, is conveyed from one barn to another in a waggon, and threſhes from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty buſhels a day. A worm, whoſe eggs are almoſt conſtantly depoſited in the ear of the grain, renders it neceſſary to threſh the corn a ſhort time after the harveſt; in this caſe the heat, occaſioned by the mixture of grain with its envelope, from which it is diſengaged, but with which it continues mixed, deſtroys the vital principle of the egg, and protects the corn from the inconveniences of its being hatched. If the grain continued in the ears, without being ſpeedily beaten, it would be deſtroyed by the worm, which would be excluded from the eggs. This ſcourge, however, ſpreads no farther northwards than the Potowmack, and is bounded to the weſt by the Blue Mountains. A few weeks after the corn has been beaten, it is free from all danger, winnowed and ſent to market. The Virginia planters have generally their corn trodden out by horſes; but this way is ſlow, and there is no country in the world where this operation requires more diſpatch than in this part of Virginia. Beſides the ſtraw is bruiſed by the treading of horſes. Mr. Jefferſon hopes that his machine, which has already found ſome imitators among his neighbours, will be generally adopted in Virginia. In a country where all the inhabitants poſſeſs plenty of wood, this machine may be made at a very trifling expence.

Mr. Jefferſon rates the average produce of an acre of land, in the preſent ſtate of his farm, at eight buſhels of wheat, eighteen buſhels of Indian corn, and twenty hundred weight of clover. After the land has been duly manured, he may expect a produce twice, nay three times more conſiderable. But his land will never be dunged as much as in Europe. Black cattle and pigs, which in our country are either conſtantly kept on the farm, or at leaſt return thither every evening, and whoſe dung is carefully gathered and preſerved either ſeparate or mixed, according to circumſtances, are here left grazing in the woods the whole year round. Mr. Jefferſon keeps no more ſheep than are neceſſary for the conſumption of his own table. He cuts his clover

but

but twice each ſeaſon, and does not ſuffer his cattle to graze in his fields. The quantity of his dung is therefore in proportion to the number of cattle which he can keep with his own fodder, and which he intends to buy at the beginning of winter to ſell them again in ſpring; and the cattle kept in the vicinity of the barns where the forage is houſed, will furniſh manure only for the adjacent fields.

From an opinion entertained by Mr. Jefferſon, that the heat of the ſun deſtroys, or at leaſt dries up in a great meaſure, the nutritious juices of the earth, he judges is neceſſary that it ſhould be always covered. In order therefore to preſerve his fields, as well as to multiply their produce, they never lie fallow. On the ſame principle he cuts his clover but twice a ſeaſon, does not let the cattle feed on the graſs, nor incloſes his fields, which are merely divided by a ſingle row of peach trees.

A long experience would be required to form a correct judgment, whether the loſs of dung which this ſyſtem occaſions in his farms, and the known advantage of fields encloſed with ditches, eſpecially in a declivous ſituation, where the earth from the higher grounds is conſtantly waſhed down by the rain, are fully compenſated by the vegetative powers which he means thus to preſerve in his fields. His ſyſtem is entirely confined to himſelf; it is cenſured by ſome of his neighbours, who are alſo employed in improving their culture with ability and ſkill, but he adheres to it, and thinks it is founded on juſt obſervations.

Wheat, as has already been obſerved, is the chief object of cultivation in this country. The riſe, which within theſe two years has taken place in the price of this article, has engaged the ſpeculations of the planters, as well as the merchants. The population of Virginia, which is ſo inconſiderable in proportion to its extent, and ſo little collected in towns, would offer but a very precarious market for large numbers of cattle. Every planter has as many of them in the woods, as are required for the conſumption of his family. The negroes, who form a conſiderable part of the population, eat but little meat, and this little is pork. Some farmers cultivate rye and oats,

but they are few in number. Corn is ſold here to the merchants of Milford or Charlotte-Ville, who ſhip it for Richmond, where it fetches a ſhilling more per buſhel than in other places. Speculation or a preſſing want of money may at times occaſion variations in this manner of ſale, but it is certainly the moſt common way. Money is very ſcarce in this diſtrict, and, bank-notes being unknown, trade is chiefly carried on by barter; the merchant, who receives the grain, returns its value in ſuch commodities as the vender ſtands in need of.

Mr. Jefferſon ſold his wheat laſt year for two dollars and a half per buſhel. He contends, that it is in this diſtrict whiter than in the environs of Richmond, and all other low countries, and that the buſhel, which weighs there only from fifty-five to fifty-eight pounds, weighs on his farm from ſixty to ſixty-five.

In addition to the eleven hundred and twenty acres of land, divided into four farms, Mr. Jefferſon ſows a few acres with turnips, ſuccory, and other ſeeds.

Before I leave his farm, I ſhall not forget to mention, that I have ſeen here a *drilling-machine*, the name of which cannot be tranſlated into French but by "*machine à ſemer en paquets.*" By Mr. Jefferſon's account, it has been invented in his neighbourhood. If this machine fully anſwers the good opinion which he entertains of it, the invention is the more fortunate, as by Arthur Young's aſſertion not one good drilling-machine is to be found in England. This machine, placed on a ſort of plough-carriage, carries an iron, which gently opens the furrow as deeply as is required. Behind this iron, and in the upper part of the machine, is a ſmall trough, containing the grain which is intended to be ſown. This grain is taken out of the trough by a row of ſmall receivers, ſewed on a leather band, or ribbon, and turning round two pivots placed above each other at the diſtance of from ſeven to eight inches. The ſmall receivers take the grain from the trough, and turn it over into a ſmall conduit, which conveys it into the furrow made by the iron. The diſtance of one of thoſe receivers from another determines that of the places in which the grain

grain is depoſited in the ground; and a harrow, fixed on the machine behind the conduits through which the ſeed falls into the furrow, covers it again. The *endleſs* chain of the receivers, which forms the merit of the machine, may be compared with that which is uſed for drawing water from a great depth, or ſtill more properly with a heaver of flour in Evans's mills. It is put in motion by a light wheel, which moves along the ground as the machine advances, and is fixed in ſuch a manner that it is not obſtructed in its movements by the inequalities of the ground, nor even by the ſtones which it may find in its way. If this machine really anſwers the intended purpoſe, it is difficult to conceive why it ſhould not have been invented before, as it is extremely ſimple, compoſed of movements well known, and of powers frequently employed. In my opinon it admits, however, of great improvements.

My readers will undoubtedly find that I beſtow peculiar attention on agriculture, by ſpeaking of Mr. Jefferſon as a farmer, before I mention him in any other point of view.

They muſt be very ignorant of the hiſtory of America, who know not that Mr. Jefferſon ſhared with George Waſhington, Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Jay, and a few others, the toils and dangers of the revolution, in all its different ſtages; that in the famous congreſs which guided and conſolidated it, he diſplayed a boldneſs and firmneſs of character, a fund of talents and knowledge, and a ſteadineſs of principles, which will hand down his name to poſterity with glory, and enſure to him for ever the reſpect and gratitude of all friends of liberty. It was he, who in that famous congreſs; ſo reſpectable, and ſo much reſpected—in that congreſs, ever inacceſſible to the ſeduction, fear, and apparent weakneſs of the people—who jointly with Mr. Lee, another deputy of Virginia, propoſed the declaration of independence. It was he, who, ſupported principally by John Adams, preſſed the deliberation on the ſubject, and carried it, bearing down the wary prudence of ſome of his colleagues, poſſeſſed of an equal ſhare of patriotiſm, but leſs courage. It

was

was he, who was charged with drawing up this maſter-piece of dignified wiſdom, and patriotic pride. It was he, who being afterwards appointed governor of Virginia at the period of the invaſion of Arnold and Cornwallis, acquired a peculiar claim on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. It was he, who, as the firſt ambaſſador of the United States in France, filled at that momentous epocha that diſtinguiſhed poſt to the ſatisfaction of both nations. In fine, it was he, who, as Secretary of State in 1792, when the ridiculous and diſorganizing pretenſions of Mr. Genêt, and the lofty arrogance of the * * * miniſter, endeavoured alternately to abuſe the political weakneſs of the United States, induced his government to ſpeak a noble and independent language, which would have done credit to the moſt formidable power. The long correſpondence carried on with theſe two deſigning agents would, from its juſt, profound, and able reaſoning, be alone ſufficient to confer on its author the reputation of an accompliſhed ſtateſman.

Since the beginning of 1794, Mr. Jefferſon has withdrawn from public affairs. This was the time when the malevolent ſentiments of * * * * * * were diſplayed againſt the United States in the ſtrongeſt manner, and when her unjuſt proceedings were reſented with the utmoſt indignation from one end of America to the other. This was the moſt important epocha of the policy of the United Sates, becauſe they propoſed to act with energy and vigour. The preference which under thoſe circumſtances the Preſident was accuſtomed to give to the advice of Mr. Hamilton, which continually carried along with it the opinion not only of General Knox, but alſo of Mr. Randolph, then attorney-general of the Union, over that of Mr. Jefferſon, cauſed him to embrace this reſolution. Immediately after this ſtep, Mr. Jefferſon was conſidered by the ruling party as the leader of Oppoſition; he was ſuſpected of revolutionary views; he was accuſed of an intention to overturn the conſtitution of the United States, of being the enemy of his country, and of a wiſh to become a tribune of the people. It is ſufficient to know that Mr. Jefferſon is a man

of

of ſenſe, to feel the abſurdity of theſe ſcandalous imputations; and whoever is acquainted with his virtue, muſt be aſtoniſhed at their having ever been preferred againſt him. His ſpeeches are thoſe of a man firmly attached to the maintenance of the Union, of the preſent conſtitution, and of the independence of the United States. He is the declared enemy of every new ſyſtem the introduction of which might be attempted, but he is a greater enemy of a kingly form of government than of any other. He is clearly of opinion, that the preſent conſtitution ſhould be carefully preſerved, and defended againſt all infringements ariſing from an extenſion of the prerogatives of the executive power. It was framed and accepted on republican principles, and it is his wiſh that it ſhould remain a republican conſtitution. On ſeveral occaſions I have heard him ſpeak with great reſpect of the virtues of the Preſident, and in terms of eſteem of his ſound and unerring judgement.

But the ſpirit of party is carried to exceſs in America; men who embrace the opinion of Mr. Jefferſon, attack their opponents with imputations, no doubt, equally unfounded. In all party-proceedings neither reaſon nor juſtice can be expected from either ſide, and very ſeldom ſtrict morality with reſpect to the means employed to ſerve the favourite cauſe; one cauſe alone appears good; every thing beſides is deemed bad, nay criminal, and probity itſelf ſerves to miſlead probity. Perſonal reſentments aſſume the colour of public ſpirit, and frequently, when the moſt odious acts of injuſtice have been committed, and the moſt atrocious calumnies ſpread, but few members of the party are in the ſecret, and know that they are the effuſions of injuſtice and falſe repreſentation. The truth of theſe obſervations being evident to all men who have lived amidſt parties, ſhould lead to mutual toleration and forbearance.

In private life Mr. Jefferſon diſplays a mild, eaſy and obliging temper, though he is ſomewhat cold and reſerved. His converſation is of the moſt agreeable kind, and he poſſeſſes a ſtock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In Europe he would hold a diſtinguiſhed

ſtinguſhed rank among men of letters, and as ſuch he has already appeared there; at preſent he is employed with activity and perſeverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and purſues in the minuteſt detail every branch of buſineſs relative to them. I found him in the midſt of the harveſt, from which the ſcorching heat of the ſun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nouriſhed, clothed, and treated as well as white ſervants could be. As he cannot expect any aſſiſtance from the two ſmall neighbouring towns, every article is made on his farm; his negroes are cabinet-makers, carpenters, maſons, bricklayers, ſmiths, &c. The children he employs in a nail-manufactory, which yields already a conſiderable profit. The young and old negreſſes ſpin for the clothing of the reſt. He animates them by rewards and diſtinctions; in fine, his ſuperior mind directs the management of his domeſtic concerns with the ſame abilities, activity, and regularity, which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to diſplay in every ſituation of life. In the ſuperintendence of his houſehold he is aſſiſted by his two daughters, Mrs. *Randolph* and Miſs *Mary*, who are handſome, modeſt, and amiable women. They have been educated in France. Their father went often with them to the houſe of Madame *d'Enville*, my dear and reſpectable aunt, where they became acquainted with my family, and as the names of many of my friends are not unknown to them, we were able to converſe of them together. It will be eaſily conceived, that this could not but excite in my mind ſtrong ſenſations, and recollections, ſometimes painful, yet generally ſweet. Fifteen hundred leagues from our native country, in another world, and frequently given up to melancholy, we fancy ourſelves reſtored to exiſtence, and not utter ſtrangers to happineſs, when we hear our family and our friends mentioned by perſons who have known them, who repeat their names, deſcribe their perſons, and expreſs themſelves on ſo intereſting a ſubject in terms of kindneſs and benevolence.

Mr. Randolph is proprietor of a conſiderable plantation, contiguous to

to that of Mr. Jefferſon's; he conſtantly ſpends the ſummer with him, and, from the affection he bears him, he ſeems to be his ſon rather than his ſon-in-law. Miſs Maria conſtantly reſides with her father; but as ſhe is ſeventeen years old, and is remarkably handſome, ſhe will, doubtleſs, ſoon find, that there are duties which it is ſtill ſweeter to perform than thoſe of a daughter. Mr. Jefferſon's philoſophic turn of mind, his love of ſtudy, his excellent library, which ſupplies him with the means of ſatisfying it, and his friends, will undoubtedly help him to endure this loſs, which moreover is not likely to become an abſolute privation, as the ſecond ſon-in-law of Mr. Jefferſon may, like Mr. Randolph, reſide in the vicinity of Monticello, and, if he be worthy of Miſs Maria, will not be able to find any company more deſirable than that of Mr. Jefferſon.

The ſituation of Monticello exempts this place from the peſtilential effluvia which produce ſo many diſeaſes in the lower countries. From its great elevation it enjoys the pureſt air; and the ſea-breeze, which is felt on ſhore about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, reaches Monticello at one or two in the afternoon, and ſomewhat refreſhes the atmoſphere, but the ſun is intolerable from its ſcorching heat; as indeed it is in all the ſouthern States. The places that enjoy ſome advantage over others are thoſe which, like Monticello, are expoſed to its direct rays, without experiencing their reflection from more elevated mountains, or neighbouring buildings.

Mr. Jefferſon, in common with all landholders in America, imagines that his habitation is more healthy than any other; that it is as healthful as any in the fineſt parts of France; and that neither the ague, nor any other bilious diſtempers are ever obſerved at Monticello. This is undoubtedly true, becauſe he aſſerts it, in regard to himſelf, to his family, and his negroes, none of whom is attacked by theſe maladies; but I am, nevertheleſs, of opinion, that an European, who during this ſeaſon ſhould expoſe himſelf too much to the air from nine in the morning until ſix at night, would not long

enjoy a good ſtate of health. During the ſeven days I continued there, not one paſſed without ſome moments of rain, and yet the intenſity of the heat was not in the leaſt abated by it.

In Virginia mongrel negroes are found in greater number than in Carolina and Georgia; and I have even ſeen, eſpecially at Mr. Jefferſon's, ſlaves, who, neither in point of colour nor features, ſhewed the leaſt trace of their original deſcent; but their mothers being ſlaves, they retain, of conſequence, the ſame condition. This ſuperior number of people of colour is owing to the ſuperior antiquity of the ſettlement of Virginia, and to the claſs of ſtewards or bailiffs, who are accuſed of producing this mongrel breed. They are liable to temptation, becauſe they are young, and conſtantly amidſt their ſlaves; and they enjoy the power of gratifying their paſſions, becauſe they are deſpots. But the public opinion is ſo much againſt this intercourſe between the white people and the black, that it is always by ſtealth, and tranſiently, the former ſatisfy their deſires, as no white man is known to live regularly with a black woman.

Before I cloſe this article I muſt ſay, that during my reſidence at Monticello I witneſſed the indignation excited in all the planters of the neighbourhood by the cruel conduct of a maſter to his ſlave, whom he had flogged to ſuch a degree as to leave him almoſt dead on the ſpot. Juſtice purſues this barbarous maſter, and all the other planters declared loudly their wiſh, that he may be ſeverely puniſhed, which ſeems not to admit of any doubt.

But it is time to take leave of Mr. Jefferſon, whoſe kind reception has perfectly anſwered what I had a right to expect from his civility, from our former acquaintance in France, and from his particular connection with my relations and friends. Mr. Jefferſon is invited by the republican party, named anti-federaliſts, to ſucceed George Waſhington in the Preſident's chair of the United States, the latter having publicly declared, that he will not continue in this place, although he ſhould be re-elected by the majority of the people of the United States.

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The other party is deſirous of raiſing John Adams to that ſtation, whoſe paſt ſervices, and diſtinguiſhed conduct in the cauſe of liberty, together with his place of Vice-Preſident, give him alſo, no doubt, very powerful claims. In the preſent ſituation of the United States, divided as they are between two parties, which mutually accuſe each other of perfidy and treaſon, and involved in political meaſures which it is equally difficult to retract and to purſue, this exalted ſtation is ſurrounded with dangerous rocks; probity, a zealous attachment to the public cauſe, and the moſt eminent abilities, will not be ſufficient to ſteer clear of them all. There exiſts no more in the United States a man in a ſituation ſimilar to that of George Waſhington. On his firſt election, the confidence and gratitude of all America were concentrated in him. Such a man cannot exiſt in the preſent conjuncture of circumſtances, and the next preſident of the United States will be only the preſident of a party. Without being the enemy of one of the pretenders, one cannot, therefore, concur in the wiſh which he may entertain of being elevated to that eminent poſt. The fleeting enjoyment of the vanity of him, who ſhall be elected preſident, may, perhaps, be followed by the kneeneſt pangs of grief in his remaining days.

The two ſmall towns of Charlotte-Ville and Milford trade in the produce of the country ſituated between them and the mountains. They alſo form a ſort of depôt for the commodities of more diſtant parts of the country; eſpecially Milford, where the navigation begins, and does not experience any farther interruption from this point to Richmond. The water-carriage of merchandize and commodities coſts one third of a dollar per hundred weight. The trade, which in a ſmall degree is alſo carried on with money, is chiefly managed by barter, becauſe money is ſcarce, and notes are not readily received. The price of land is from four to five dollars per acre, and the quantity of land to be ſold is very conſiderable. Meat, that is, mutton, veal and lamb, fetches fourpence a pound; beef cannot be had but in winter. The wages of white workmen, ſuch as maſons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, and ſmiths, amount to from one and a half dollar to two dollars

a day, according as they are ſcarce in the country. During the preſent ſeaſon maſons obtain the higheſt pay; there are not four ſtone-maſons in the whole county of Albemarle, where Monticello is ſituated, which I left on the 29th of June.

WOODS-TAVERN. CULTURE OF TOBACCO.

The road to *Woods-tavern*, which runs along Jekney-creek, and through woods, is tolerably good and even. The plantations continue to be thinly ſcattered, and the proprietors cultivate as much tobacco as they can employ negroes. But here, as on James-River, and in fact throughout Virginia, tobacco is yearly replaced by wheat, which becomes gradually almoſt the general object of culture; and the preſent fall in the price of wheat does not ſeem to render the planters leſs attached to this change in their ſyſtem of cultivation.

The culture of tobacco is difficult, troubleſome, and uncertain. It is ſown in the month of March, in a fat and rather moiſt ground.

Before the ſowing time the land is covered with ſmall branches of trees, which are burnt for the purpoſe of deſtroying the herbs and roots, that might injure the growth of the plant, and alſo in order to increaſe the fertility of the ſoil by their aſhes. The tobacco is thickly ſown on a bed in the moſt ſheltered corner of the field. This bed is covered with branches, leſt the froſt ſhould hinder the unfolding of the ſeed, and prevent the ſprouting of the plants. When they are three or four inches high, they are tranſplanted into a field, which has been well manured and prepared for their reception. A negro heaps earth around the plants, which are ſet four feet diſtant from each other on all ſides. The ground is conſtantly kept clean of weeds, and all the leaves are taken from the plant, which it is thought might injure its perfect growth, beginning always with thoſe that are next the ground, and which might be affected by the wet. More earth is heaped around the ſtalk; and its head bruiſed with the nail, to prevent its running up too high; all the ſprouts which ſhoot forth below the leaves are cut away,

away, and all the leaves ſucceſſively torn off, except eight or nine, which alone are left on the ſtalk. At laſt when the plant is ſuppoſed to be ripe, which happens in the month of Auguſt, it is cut, left ſeveral days in the field to dry in the ſun, and then carried into the barns, where every plant is ſeparately ſuſpended by its undermoſt part. In this poſition the leaves attain by deſiccation the laſt degree of maturity, but not all of them at the ſame time; for this deſiccation, which in regard to ſome is completed within two days, takes with reſpect to others ſeveral weeks. When the leaves are perfectly dry, they are taken from the ſtalk, and laid one upon another in ſmall parcels. The moſt perfect leaves muſt be put together, and thoſe of an inferior quality ſeparated into different claſſes; this is, at leaſt, the method followed by ſuch planters as pay moſt attention to the fabrication of their tobacco. Theſe ſmall parcels of leaves, tied together by their tails, are then brought under the preſs, and afterwards preſſed down into hogſheads. This proceſs varies more or leſs in the different plantations, but the variations are not by any means conſiderable.

The ſorts of tobacco, cultivated in Virginia, are the *ſweet-ſcented*, the moſt eſteemed of all; the *big* and *little*, which follow next; then the *Frederick*; and, laſtly, the *one-and-all*, the largeſt of all, and which yields moſt in point of quantity. The tobacco produced in theſe parts is ſold either at Milford or Richmond. The price is the ſame, and ſo is the freight, which amounts to one third of a dollar per hundred weight; this is alſo the caſe in regard to other articles of merchandize. This year it has been ſold for ſix dollars and two thirds per hundred weight. Three years ago it brought no more than from three to four dollars. A negro can cultivate two acres and a half, and as each acre yields, upon an average, one thouſand pounds of tobacco, each negro can, conſequently, produce two thouſand five hundred pounds. But the culture of this plant is, as has already been ſtated, extremely troubleſome; it is expoſed to a great variety of accidents, which cannot always be avoided, and which deſtroy many ſtalks, or ſpoil at leaſt many leaves: 1ſt. After the plant has been tranſplanted,

tranſplanted, the root is frequently attacked by a ſmall worm, which cauſes the leaf to turn yellow, and which muſt be taken out of the ground with the fingers, to ſave the plant; 2d. humidity communicates *the rot* to the plant, that is, covers it with red ſpots, which cauſe it to moulder away, and the ſtalk is loſt; 3d. violent winds break the ſtalk; 4th. when the leaves are at the point of attaining their maturity, horn-worms neſtle in them, attack them, and completely deſtroy the plant, unleſs they can be torn off; 5th. when the tobacco is cut and ſpread on the ground to dry, the wet impairs its quality. The ſeed for the next year is obtained from forty to fifty ſtalks per acre, which the cultivator lets run up as high as they will grow, without bruiſing their heads.

Mr. Wood cultivates no tobacco on the farm where he keeps his inn, but on another, ſeven miles farther diſtant, and the only ſort he attends to is *one-and-all*. Near his inn he cultivates wheat and Indian corn, like all the other farmers of the diſtrict; but he dungs his fields now and then, and thus prolongs the term of their fertility. He frequently obtains thirty buſhels of wheat per acre, and all his produce in wheat as well as tobacco is ſold at Milford.

The price of land is in this diſtrict the ſame as in the vicinity of Mr. Jefferſon.

Mr. Wood's inn is ſo good and cleanly—he, his wife, and whole family, are ſo kindly officious and obliging, that I cannot forbear mentioning thoſe circumſtances with pleaſure. Mr. Wood is a lively, agreeable, old man; thirty-five years ago he ſettled in this part of Virginia, where he arrived from Ireland, and has amaſſed a conſiderable fortune.

NORTH-GARDEN-MOUNTAINS.

A few miles beyond Mr. Wood's inn, you paſs by the North-garden-Mountains. This is a ſmall circle of mountains, almoſt entirely cloſed, which contains about ten thouſand acres of the very beſt land.

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The richneſs of the ſoil, and the variety of ſituations, which fits it for all ſpecies of culture, have obtained for this diſtrict the name it bears. A planter has made there within theſe few years a ſucceſsful trial with the vine; he puts into his wine brandy and ſugar, and imagines that the wine is made in the ſame manner in all countries whence it is exported in large quantities. He does not as yet produce wine enough for ſale, but the Virginians who have taſted it allow it to be excellent, and he will, of courſe, find a ready market when he ſhall be able to make a ſufficient quantity.

ROCKFISH.

During the whole journey, until you reach the foot of the *Rockfiſh*, you continually aſcend and deſcend, but the ground riſes all along by ſenſible degrees; the plantations are more numerous, but the buildings conſiſt of ſmall miſerable log-houſes, although the cultivated fields which ſurround them are tolerably extenſive. The nearer you approach the mountains the more the tobacco-fields grow ſcarce, and you at laſt ſee nothing but wheat and Indian corn. Among all the farmers I have met with, I found but one who was not diſſatisfied with the fall in the price of wheat, and who expreſſed himſelf on this ſubject with moderation and judgement; all the reſt perceive in the decreaſe of the value of their commodities their approaching ruin, and lament it with the utmoſt grief. At length you reach the foot of the Blue-Mountains, which you aſcend by a road two miles in length, that has a gentle riſe, and is well cut. A ſmall additional expence would have rendered it completely good by turning off ſeveral ſprings, which ſpoil it in different places. From this mountain you enjoy an extenſive proſpect over all the heights you have juſt traverſed; but the country is covered with wood to ſuch a degree, that their tops only can be diſcerned. On the ſummit of Rockfiſh-Mountain you find a few miſerable houſes, the moſt conſiderable of which is an abominable inn, full of bugs, fleas, and all kinds of ordure. I ſtopped there;

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for I had no choice. All the inhabitants of the place meet here, as they generally do in the ſmall inns in America, to ſmoke their pipes, to drink whiſky, and relate the toils of the day: politics take up but little of their converſation. Newſpapers do not reach Rockfiſh, and the number of families is too ſmall to ſupply matter for the "*chronique ſcandaleuſe*;" but ſegars and whiſky ſatisfy theſe good people, who thus ſpend in a quarter of an hour in the evening the earnings of the whole day. The landlord of the inn has alſo a diſtillery of whiſky, which he diſtills from Indian corn and wheat, mixed in equal proportion, and thus increaſes its ſtrength. This whiſky fetches eight ſhillings per gallon. The addition of Indian corn augments, in my opinion, the unwholeſomeneſs of this liquor; but this is immaterial for the inn-keeper, whoſe only care is to diſpoſe of it at a profitable rate. A ſtore, eſtabliſhed on the top of the mountain, buys the produce of the adjoining country, which is offered there for ſale, and retails the merchandize drawn from Richmond by the way of Milford. The ſtore-keeper tranſmits alſo to Milford the commodities of the country, if they are not ſent by direct conveyance to Richmond. The carriage to Milford coſts two thirds of a dollar per hundred weight. All the goods ſold at this ſtore are ſeventy-five per cent dearer than in Philadelphia.

The land, even on the ſummit of the mountain, is tolerably good; it is ſown with wheat, and produces from eight to twelve buſhels per acre. The culture of tobacco terminates at the foot of this chain of mountains; on the other ſide not a leaf is produced, neither the ſoil nor climate being fit for it. It is alſo here that ſtill more fortunately the ſcourge entirely ſtops, known under the name of *weevils*, and that the grain can be preſerved as long as it ſuits the convenience of the owner, without being threſhed. The laſt farmer I converſed with, before I reached the foot of the mountain, told me, that his grain was infected with that inſect.

JOURNEY

JOURNEY FROM ROCKFISH TO STAUNTON.

The mountain, whoſe ſummit cannot be reached from the other ſide till after aſcending two miles, is deſcended by a road which, at moſt, is only three quarters of a mile in length, though it ſlopes as gently as the former, a circumſtance which proves how much the ground riſes from one ridge to another in this ſeries of mountains, which contains four ſuch ſtages. The country, as far as Staunton, is thus conſtantly riſing. The habitations are in this diſtrict more numerous than on the other ſide of the Blue-Mountains, but the houſes are miſerable; mean ſmall log-houſes, inhabited by families which ſwarm with children. There exiſts here the ſame appearance of miſery as in the back parts of Pennſylvania. The inhabitants are moſt of them emigrants from the county of Lancaſter, from Maryland, and the environs of Reading and Carliſle. They purchaſe land in theſe back parts of Virginia at a cheaper rate than they ſold that which they quitted. They clear an additional portion of land, and ſell it again on the firſt opportunity, in order to remove into Kentucky, or Teneſſee. Theſe are the main points of direction for the emigration from Virginia, where moſt of the families from Pennſylvania and Maryland ſettle only for a certain time. Some of the ancient inhabitants of Virginia emigrate alſo to the weſtern parts, and it is a certain fact, that the ſtate loſes yearly more than it gains by emigration. In the county of Auguſta, which is entered after paſſing the Blue-Ridge, the price of land is higher than in the county of Albemarle. It is difficult to account for this fact, as the produce of the country is retailed at a rate ſomewhat cheaper, although the increaſed expence for the carriage to market ſhould, it ſeems, raiſe its price. Land coſts from ten to twelve dollars the acre. All ſpecies of grain, hemp, and flax, are cultivated here, but with as little ſkill as in the preceding counties. As there are no rich planters in this diſtrict, the number of negroes is inconſiderable; yet all theſe petty planters, however poor and wretched they apparently are, have one ſlave who ſhares in their toils and diſtreſs.

STAUNTON, AND THE PRINCIPAL MINERAL SPRINGS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

On deſcending the Blue-Mountains, the South-River, or ſouthern branch of the Shenandoah, is croſſed; and, before Staunton is reached, the creeks Chriſtian and Lewis are paſſed, which, at a few miles diſtance from that ſpot, empty themſelves into the Shenandoah.

Staunton is the capital of the county of Auguſta. From its being in the centre of a group of hills, it is one of the places in Virginia where the heat is moſt intenſe, and, above all, moſt oppreſſive and intolerable. Some houſes conſtructed on the heights enjoy a little more air, but they are commanded by other neighbouring mountains, which frequently prevent the air from reaching them, and very ſeldom ſuffer it to circulate. The land in the neighbourhood is not remarkably fruitful. It would be difficult to account for this ſpot having been choſen for the ſite of a town in preference to others, but for the numerous ſprings of excellent water, and a rivulet, which burſting from a hill near the town, turns two mills, and might turn many more if there were money enough to eſtabliſh them, and a ſufficient quantity of corn to be ground. The ſmall rivulet forms the *Middle-River*, which empties itſelf into the Shenandoah.

The moſt frequented road to the *ſweet*, *warm*, and *hot ſprings* at *Greenbriar*, and from thence to Kentucky, paſſes through Staunton, and makes it a conſiderable thoroughfare. Eight inns are eſtabliſhed there, three of which are large, and frequently full. The *warm* and *hot ſprings* are in the county of Auguſta, towards the ſource of James-River. They are eight miles diſtant from each other, and ſtrongly impregnated with ſulphur. The temperature of the *warm ſpring* is ninety-two degrees of Fahrenheit, which are equal to twenty-ſix degrees and two thirds of Reaumur; that of the *hot ſprings* one hundred and twelve degrees of Fahrenheit, equal to thirty-ſix degrees and five ninths of Reaumur. Theſe two ſprings are conſidered to be very efficacious in rheumatic complaints, and in all caſes where it is neceſ-

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ſary to purify the blood. The *ſweet ſprings* are in the county of *Botetourt*, forty miles from the others, and near another ſource of James-River. They are quite cold. The accommodations are not remarkably good in any of theſe three places, although they are much frequented.

Staunton contains about eight hundred inhabitants, a fourth of whom are negroes. The houſes are tolerably well built. From fifteen to eighteen ſtores receive the produce of the back country, which chiefly conſiſts in wheat, Indian corn, rye, hemp, linſeed, wax, and honey. Pretty large quantities of bear-ſkins and beaver-ſkins are alſo carried thither, as well as ox-hides, for the ſupply of a tan-yard, which has been eſtabliſhed in the place. The goods ſold by the ſtore-keepers are brought directly from Baltimore, yet more frequently from Philadelphia, as the ſmall capitals of the merchants of Richmond do not allow them to give as long credit as the Staunton traders can obtain in thoſe two large cities, where they alſo find a cheaper market. The trade of Staunton has decreaſed of late years on account of the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral ſmall towns in the county of Greenbriar, as the ſtore-keepers in thoſe places buy up ſome of the commodities which were formerly brought to Staunton, and ſupply the ſame parts of the country with articles of merchandize which were originally ſupplied by Staunton.

Two market-days are weekly kept in the town, but the market is badly furniſhed with proviſions. Meat ſells at ſix pence a pound. Flour fetches about eleven dollars the barrel; it is fine and white, and of a taſte infinitely ſuperior to that on the other ſide of the Blue-Mountains. The price of a town-lot of one acre varies according to its poſition, from ſixty to a hundred dollars. This country is not free from bilious fevers in autumn, yet they are leſs frequent than in the low countries. Four phyſicians are eſtabliſhed in this ſmall town, whoſe practice is very extenſive.

A newſpaper is publiſhed at Staunton twice a-week, and another is received there every week from Wincheſter. Theſe papers, it is true,

are rather warm in defence of the French cauſe, yet they are written with moderation, and never attack directly or indirectly the government of the United States. As far as I am able to judge, they are but little read.

I had a conſiderable inflammation in my eyes, which increaſed to ſuch a degree, that on my arrival at Staunton I was abſolutely blind. In order to get rid of it, I was obliged to have recourſe to bleeding, phyſic, and bliſters, and to remain four days in that ſmall town. This diſtemper, which I caught at Monticello, is very common throughout this country in the hotteſt part of the ſeaſon, eſpecially with thoſe who expoſe themſelves to the ſun.

During my ſtay at the inn where I lodged, I ſaw great numbers of travellers paſs by, who were either merchants or ſellers of land, going to Greenbriar and Carolina, or perſons on their way to the medicinal ſprings for relief from rheumatic pains, or other maladies, which they had contracted in the low countries. The political opinions they delivered in the courſe of converſation were remarkably good. The declaration made by the Preſident, that he will not be a candidate at the next election, was the common topic; and while they unanimouſly declared that Mr. Jefferſon ſhould be his ſucceſſor, they were at the ſame time clearly of opinion that nothing could repair his loſs.

A preſbyterian church has been built at Staunton; it is well frequented every Sunday by the followers of that ſect, as well as by perſons of different religious perſuaſions. A Baptiſt preacher delivers now and then a ſermon in this church, which does not, however, make the leaſt alteration in the compoſition of the audience.

The inhabitants of Staunton, like the generality of Virginians, are fond of gambling and betting. I witneſſed there two miſerable horſe-races. The beſt horſe was not worth ſixty dollars, and the bets amounted to three or four hundred. But as money is by no means plentiful, they lay knives, watches, &c. &c. I have ſeen twelve watches depoſited in the hands of the ſame umpire. With reſpect to the

the manners of the people here, they are in general much like thoſe of Richmond, nor are they actuated by a ſuperior deſire to diſcharge the debts which they contract.

TOUR FROM STAUNTON TO WINCHESTER. KEYSSEL-TOWN.

The road from Staunton to Wincheſter runs into two directions, ten miles from the former place, but the two roads thus formed join again thirty miles farther on. We had been adviſed to ſtrike into the old road, as being the beſt, and we preferred it accordingly; I ſay *we*, for Mr. Guillemard had rejoined me. The road as far as that fork, and even far beyond it, offers no intereſting objects; it is good, but, to judge from the nature of the ground, it muſt be almoſt impaſſable in winter. Rocks are very numerous; the habitations do not ſtand at a great diſtance from the road, but they have a mean appearance.

Fourteen miles from Staunton, a woman who keeps an inn, or at leaſt who aſſumed the title in an advertiſement over her door, was not able to furniſh us a breakfaſt in her hut, the moſt filthy and naſty I have hitherto met with throughout America. Three miles farther on, we were at conſiderable pains to obtain one, which fell much ſhort of ſatisfying the calls of hunger. As we could not entertain the leaſt hopes of getting a dinner at Snap's (this is the name of the maſter of this ſecond inn), we were compelled to brave the intolerable heat of the noon-tide ſun, and to proceed four miles farther on, to Keyſſel-Town, a town which, though only twenty years old, is already falling into decay. It is an aſſemblage of about twenty miſerable houſes, four of which are whiſky-houſes. The land is generally good, and fetches upon an average from fifteen to ſeventeen dollars the acre; but uplands ſell only for four or five. Keyſſel-Town ſtands cloſe to the Peaked-Mountains, a ridge which ſtretches, without the leaſt interruption, from the northern branch of the Shenandoah to Newton, that is, about ſixty miles in a direction parallel

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to the Blue-Mountains, which are fifteen miles diſtant. This chain is, in fact, only a continuation of the ſame mountain; for the ſummit forms throughout its whole extent a ſtraight line, uninterrupted by ſlight differences in point of form. The ſtate of culture is here much the ſame as in all the preceding diſtricts; large quantities of land in poſſeſſion of the ſame owner, and put into cultivation until they are completely exhauſted. Hemp, which grows very fine, is cultivated throughout the whole of this country, but flax is merely attended to on account of the ſeed. The number of cattle is very conſiderable, but they are conſtantly kept in the woods. There are but very few farmers who ſtall them, even in winter, although the froſt is for three months very ſevere: they then ſtrew a few handfuls of bad hay before the door, which theſe poor lean animals come to eat; and this muſt laſt until the next day, when they return for the ſame ſcanty ſupply. Dung is conſequently little valued in this country. Although this is the general method, yet there are ſome exceptions for the better.

On the journey from Staunton to Keyſſel-Town we paſs the northern branch of the Shenandoah, and the Middle-Creek. Two phyſicians and four inn-keepers conſtitute the principal population of Keyſſel-Town. One of the phyſicians is alſo maſter of an inn; the other, a German by birth, formerly employed in the Dutch ſervice at Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope in the hoſpitals, enjoys, it is ſaid, ſome reputation in the country. We were told that people frequently come forty miles to conſult him. His name is Dr. Hall; we ſaw him; he ſeems to poſſeſs more knowledge than phyſicians generally do in this country; but this diſtinction is no peculiar ground of praiſe. This doctor, who arrived in America fourteen years ago, has ſucceſſively reſided in the ſtate of New-York, Jerſey, and different parts of Virginia. In the laſt inſtance he quitted the weſtern mountains, three years ſince, to ſettle in Keyſſel-Town; he ſold for fifteen hundred dollars ninety acres of land, and a houſe, which two years before he had purchaſed for two hundred and forty, and where he had actually made ſome improvements.

improvements. I mention this fact, becauſe inſtances of a ſimilar kind ſeldom happen in this country. They depend undoubtedly on peculiar circumſtances; for, as has already been obſerved, the increaſe of the price of land in Virginia is far from keeping pace with the rapid progreſſion it experiences in the northern States, and which ſeems to commence in South-Carolina. Meat is ſold for three pence a pound, and freſh pork for from four to five. Some inhabitants of theſe parts buy up ſalt pork in *Greenbriar-County*, and retail it here. They purchaſe it for five pence, and ſell it for nine. We ſaw at Mr. Snap's a waggon loaded with thirty hundred weight of this article, which was to be ſold in the environs of Frederickſburg. The ſoil conſiſts in general of calcareous earth, and the uppermoſt layer is clay, which is frequently ſo red, that you would ſuppoſe it to be of a ferruginous nature. The habitations are pretty numerous, but mean and poor. Some mills on the creek do not look quite ſo wretched; but there is not one good houſe, not one good ſtable, and not one good barn, even on the eſtates of the moſt conſiderable farmers.

FREY.

The houſe of one *Pickering*, twelve miles from Keyſſel-Town, had been pointed out to us as a comfortable manſion. We did not find Pickering there, but *Frey*, a German, to whom the former ſold it laſt year, and who had eſtabliſhed himſelf here ſome weeks before our arrival. The houſe was in ſo wretched a ſtate as to be ſeen through on all ſides; there was nothing to eat either for man or horſe, nor was there any drink to be got but whiſky. We were, however, obliged to content ourſelves with this hut; for it was night, and we ſhould have been obliged to travel four miles more in ſearch of another inn, which perhaps might not have been better. We accordingly accommodated ourſelves to circumſtances, and were informed that this Frey, the ſon of a German, came laſt year from Reading, and paid three hundred and twenty dollars for his houſe, two diſtilleries, which belong

belong to it, and ſixty-two acres of good land. This tract of country is peopled by one and the ſame ſort of emigrants, who come from Lancaſter and Reading, good ſubjects, honeſt people, middling cultivators; but awkward, rude, uninformed, and dirty. Theſe qualities and inconveniences characterize all the ſettlers in America who are Germans, or ſons of Germans.

The air here is ſo intenſely hot, and the rays of the ſun beat with ſuch violence, at this ſeaſon of the year, that to render travelling during the day at all tolerable, it is neceſſary to depart even before day-break; and to reſt from ſeven or eight in the morning till five in the evening; when the traveller muſt ſet forward again, to make a moderate day's journey before the arrival of night. With theſe hours one can ſeldom proceed more than five and twenty miles a day; for it is neceſſary, both to the rider and his horſe, to travel at an eaſy pace. The ſun begins to ſcorch as ſoon as it riſes; at five in the morning the heat is already inconvenient; in the evening it is exceſſive till ſun-ſet; and even long after the ſun is down, the ground and all the ſurrounding objects are impregnated with heat, and continue to reflect it upon the traveller. But after all, though the air is ſultry through the whole day, I have always ſuffered leſs from it than from the burning rays of the ſun, which to me were terrible. And very often, in deſpight of the management I have talked of, the traveller loſes the advantage of part of his precautions, from the want of inns at convenient diſtances; being compelled, whatever he may endure, to proceed further into the morning than eight o'clock, and to begin his journey again earlier than five in the evening. This happened to us yeſterday, which was the 5th of July. We could find no place to reſt at, till noon; and were obliged to ſet out again at four, to reach our miſerable inn by the time night began to fall. Travelling in this manner defeats the intention of one who travels from curioſity; for, beſide his being in danger of falling ſick, he arrives at the end of his day's journey ſo fatigued as to be incapable of exertion, and unfit for enquiry. He can ſcarcely go twenty paces from his inn, to ſee an object worthy of being viſited; and has barely ſtrength to ſupport a languid exiſtence.

Newmarket

Newmarket was the firſt place where we ſtopped; it is eight miles diſtant from our wretched night-quarters, from which we were not able to ſet out as ſoon as we could have wiſhed. The aſpect of the country does not offer the leaſt variety of views. On ſome farms we now and then ſee barns, better ſtocked then they generally are in this part of the country; but the dwellings are all ſmall log-houſes, and the culture is bad. Between Frey's inn and Newmarket the two branches of the road join again into one. Newmarket is a more conſiderable place than Keyſſel-Town; the buildings are much of the ſame conſtruction, but in a better condition. It is alſo ſituated in a more extenſive plain than we have ſeen in our travels between the mountains. As to the price of commodities, the manners of the inhabitants, and the culture of the ſoil, the difference is ſo very trifling, as not to deſerve any notice.

THE VALLEY AND RIVER SHENANDOAH. PEATON.

After an up and down hill journey of five miles farther on a road filled with looſe ſtones, we entered the valley of Shenandoah, where meadows become more frequent. The heat of the day did not allow us to proceed farther than Peaton's houſe, where, contrary to what we had been led to expect, we found the beſt accommodation we have met with ſince we left Staunton. Peaton kept formerly an inn, but having bought, a twelvemonth ſince, a pretty conſiderable eſtate at the foot of the Blue Mountains, this new acquiſition engroſſes almoſt his whole time and attention. His wife and children continue, however, in his ancient habitation, where he has taken down the ſign, but continues to receive travellers who chooſe to ſtop at his houſe. The difference between theſe houſes, which are pretty numerous in Virginia, and inns, or *ordinaries* as they are called in this State, is, that in the latter all perſons are admitted without diſtinction, but in the former none are received but travellers. They

are thus exempted from noiſe, drunken quarrels, bad payment, and the charges for a licence. For ſuch houſes, therefore, if they are well known, it is a clear profit to take down the ſign. But the inn-keepers look upon them with a jealous eye, and do not point them out to travellers; and but for the heat of the ſun, which forced us to ſeek ſhelter wherever we hoped we might be able to obtain it, we ſhould not have ſtopped at Peaton's. We were very well treated there, and if we had not been fortunate enough to have ſtopped, we ſhould have been obliged to go ten miles farther to find even a bad inn. Beſides, it was high time for us to ſtop; for I felt already the ſymptoms of a fever, which prevented me from proceeding any farther in the evening air.

Wheat is cultivated in this part of the country, as in all the preceding diſtricts. The harveſt has but juſt begun, although the wheat is over-ripe. It is much infected with the rot, and mowed with the ſickle, as in Europe. On the other ſide of the Blue Mountains, prejudices, ignorance, and the habits of the negroes, oppoſe the introduction of the ſickle, although ſome farmers, who are aware that the uſual mode of mowing with the ſcythe cauſes a conſiderable loſs of grain, wiſh to introduce it. But moſt of them are incapable of obſervation or reflection. Mowing with the ſcythe being the uſual way, they think, in common with the negroes, that it is the beſt. But here, where the white people work themſelves with the negroes, and where a great number of huſbandmen arrive from countries where the ſickle is made uſe of, they find no difficulty in mowing with the ſickle. The price of land is here much the ſame as in Keyſſel-Town; it is conſequently twice as dear as land of the ſame quality on the other ſide of the Blue Mountains.

We meet frequently in the road heavy waggons, covered with ſtrong linen, and ſometimes alſo with bear-ſkins, drawn by four or ſix horſes. It is in ſuch waggons that the produce of the country of Teneſſee, Kentucky, and the back parts of Virginia, as well as ſkins

and

and hides, are conveyed to the ports of Alexandria, but more frequently to thoſe of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and they bring back in return the productions of Europe and the colonies.

JOURNEY TO STRASBURGH.

A quarter of a mile from Peaton's houſe we croſs the river Shenandoah, which is rather narrow, but very clear there, and flows in a deep bed, often obſtructed by rocks. The banks of it are, in ſome inſtances, covered with fine natural graſs. The country we traverſe, as far as *Woodſtock*, has but few hills, is tolerably inhabited, and is more open than before; but the houſes gain nothing either in point of convenience or outward appearance. Woodſtock is the capital of the county of Shenandoah. This town chiefly conſiſts of log-houſes, and contains from ſeventy to eighty houſes, a court-houſe, and a bad priſon, like all the towns of the county. It was formerly named *Millers-Town*, after the name of the proprietor of the ground on which it was built; but the legiſlature of Virginia, which ſeveral years ago had changed this ſyſtem of nomenclature, has given it the preſent name. Some ſaddlers, carpenters, ſmiths, hatters, and even watch-makers, have eſtabliſhed themſelves in this ſmall town, which is inhabited by Germans, as, in fact, are all the other places in this part of Virginia. Negroes are not numerous, and only to be found in large families; there are no more than five hundred of them in this county, and the whole population amounts nearly to 12,000 inhabitants.

Between Woodſtock and *Straſburgh*, formerly *Stovers-Town*, the ground is extremely ſtony, and the habitations are very few. A mile on this ſide Straſburgh the ſpecies of wood ſhews that the ſoil is better; the whole ſcene is changed, the country opens, the chain of *Peaked Mountains* terminates, and we deſcend into what may be called the valley of Shenandoah; for it is on this point where it really begins, at leaſt for the traveller. Meadows well furniſhed with timothy-graſs and clover are interſperſed with fields of wheat and Indian

corn, and with orchards, which abound with apple-trees in this diſtrict. Land coſts here from eighteen to twenty-eight dollars the acre, and there is but little to be ſold in this town, which is entirely inhabited either by Germans, or children of Germans. The fields are manured, and produce from fifteen to twenty-five buſhels of wheat per acre. They plough with horſes, none of which can be bought under one hundred and twenty dollars, although the recent fall in the price of flour has alſo leſſened their value, as well as that of all commodities.

The farmers find no difficulty in procuring white labourers, whom they pay at the rate of ten dollars per month, or half a dollar per day, and four ſhillings during the harveſt. The cows are very fine, they are bred in the country, and ſold for twenty dollars. Conſiderable numbers of cattle are reared, and more particularly fattened in the paſtures, and then, as well as the ſheep and pigs, which are alſo very numerous, ſent to the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia. The wool, not uſed in families for manufacturing neceſſary clothing, ſerves to ſupport ſome hat-manufactories, which have been eſtabliſhed in the country. Some merchants of the town purchaſe of ſmall farmers the whole produce of their land, but the rich landholders ſend it themſelves to Philadelphia. Flour fetches, at this moment, but ſeven dollars per barrel at Straſburgh, and meat three pence a pound. Straſburgh contains two churches; an Anglican, which is called the high church in this country, and a Preſbyterian-meeting.

Before we reached the town, we found in the woods ſeveral ſnakes near the road; among others, a black ſerpent, thin, long, and which glides with great ſwiftneſs, and the ſnake known by the name of the glaſs-ſnake, from its being as tranſparent and brittle as glaſs. They were about two or three feet long, and neither of them venomous.

NEW-

NEW-TOWN.

The country continues beautiful and open as far as New-Town, but is leſs inhabited than I expected from what I had read and heard. One or two handſome houſes of planters are ſeen from the road; they are more numerous, it is ſaid, on the banks of the river Shenandoah, from which we conſtantly removed to a greater diſtance, after we had paſſed Peaton's houſe, fifteen miles diſtant from New-Town. The land is good, and its culture and produce are much the ſame as in the vicinity of Straſburgh. New-Town, formerly named *Stevenſburg*, is a ſmall town, ſomewhat leſs conſiderable than Straſburgh. It contains five hundred inhabitants, and is peopled, like the whole country, by German families. White labourers are procured there as eaſily as at Straſburgh, and receive nearly the ſame wages; yet during the laſt harveſt they refuſed to work for leſs than a buſhel of wheat per day, which the farmers were obliged to give, leſt they ſhould loſe their harveſt. The market-price at Alexandria, whither all the flour of the country is carried, fixes that of New-Town, with the difference of two dollars and a half, which are deducted for freight. Laſt year a barrel of flour brought as much as twelve dollars and a half at New-Town; but at this time it coſts no more than ſix dollars. Great planters only have at New-Town, as in every other part of the valley, a conſiderable number of negroes; ſmall farmers keep only one or two, and work along with them.

There is no church at New-Town; we ſeldom meet with any in Virginia where divine ſervice is performed; from time to time we ſee indeed old buildings called meeting-places, but no ſermons are delivered there, no prayers read, and they do not of courſe deſerve the name of church.

At New-Town we took leave of Mr. Dandridge, who ſlept at Peaton's the ſame night we did, and in whoſe company we travelled the laſt two days. Mr. Dandridge was ſecretary to the Preſident, and left

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left him two or three months ago. The circumſtance that the Preſident had appointed another ſecretary in his room was recorded in the *chronique ſcandaleuſe* of Philadelphia, with a variety of comments and ſpeculations on the motives of this ſeparation; in ſhort, this domeſtic tranſaction in the houſe of the Preſident was canvaſſed with all the curioſity, ignorance, and loquacity, of a large ſociety of idlers; and the newſpapers re-echoed this empty noiſe of ſuppoſition and conjecture, which are apparently without any ground. However this may be, Mr. Dandridge was returning from the county of Greenbriar, where he had inſpected ſome eſtates belonging to the Preſident, and was now going to rejoin him at Mont-Vernon. We found in him a very pleaſant companion, and he ſeemed as much concerned at his parting from us as we were to leave him. He is a man of a very reſpectable character.

WINCHESTER.

The plantations increaſe both in number and ſize, as we approach Wincheſter, which lies but eight miles from New-Town. It is the capital of Frederick-County, contains upwards of two thouſand inhabitants, and is built tolerably well, in the midſt of rocks, which circumſtance, however, does not prevent many of the inhabitants from building houſes of wood. It is very difficult to conceive the motives that led to the conſtruction of a town on this ſpot, where only as much water is found as is required for the uſe of the houſes, and which is upwards of twenty miles diſtant from all navigation; it would have been far more advantageouſly ſituated on the banks of the Shenandoah. The rivulet which ſupplies the families of Wincheſter with water in abundance, is the ſource of Opeckan-Creek, that empties itſelf in a north-eaſt direction into the Potowmak. Wincheſter carries on a conſiderable trade for its inland poſition, in the midſt of a country which is, as yet, ſo thinly inhabited. It ſends to Alexandria the whole produce of the upper country, and draws

draws from Baltimore, but eſpecially from Philadelphia, all ſorts of dry goods: the traffic, both in buying and ſelling, is carried on with ready money.

The preference which is given here to Philadelphia over Alexandria, in regard to the purchaſe of dry goods, reſts on the ſame grounds as it does in other places of this upper part of Virginia. From the greater wealth poſſeſſed by the merchants of that city, they are able to give longer credit; they receive the goods from the firſt hands, and conſequently can ſell them cheaper; their warehouſes being plentifully ſtocked with merchandize, the buyers can alſo ſuit themſelves better—circumſtances, none of which take place at Alexandria, and which being leſs combined at Baltimore than at Philadelphia, cauſed the latter to be reſorted to in preference to the former, notwithſtanding its greater diſtance: it is by land that all theſe productions and commodities are conveyed to Alexandria, and arrive from Philadelphia. The carriage from Philadelphia to Wincheſter coſts from four to five dollars per hundred weight; and from Wincheſter to Alexandria, two dollars and a half, as it does from New-Town. Heavy merchandize, ſuch as grocery, is at times ſent by ſea from Philadelphia to Alexandria, whence it is conveyed to Wincheſter in waggons, which, if not obliged to go back empty from want of a load, are paid at the rate of one dollar and a half per hundred weight. The produce ſent from Wincheſter conſiſts chiefly of flour. The environs of this place, as well as the back country, whence it draws the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions, abound in wheat; mills are very numerous in that diſtrict; hemp, ſome linſeed, hats and hardware, great quanties of which are manufactured in Frederick-County, are alſo productions of this country. Upwards of thirty well-ſtocked ſtores, or ſhops, have been opened at Wincheſter; the value of European goods which it yearly draws from Philadelphia, or Baltimore, is eſtimated at two hundred thouſand pounds, or ſix hundred ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix dollars; they ſell at Wincheſter thirty per cent dearer than in the former places.

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The profeſſion of a lawyer is as lucrative in Wincheſter as in all the other parts of Virginia. More than twenty of them find conſtant practice, and are in thriving circumſtances. Mechanics are found in abundance; even a coach-maker, and ſeveral watch-makers, have ſettled there. Five churches have been built at Wincheſter; a Roman Catholic, an Anglican, a Preſbyterian, a German Lutheran church, and a Methodiſt meeting-houſe, but without any miniſters being peculiarly attached to them. The Engliſh miniſter reſides on the other ſide of the Blue Ridge, and only comes from time to time. The Roman Catholic curate, who lives in Maryland, viſits this place alſo when he chooſes; and ſo do the reſt. The methodiſt meeting-houſe excepted, divine ſervice is thus performed here by itinerant prieſts, who are not in the habit of travelling much in Virginia for the purpoſe of propagating religious truths. But, on the other hand, it is certain that the number of gaming-tables has of late much increaſed in this town, and they are all of them aſſiduouſly frequented. This is a ſort of worſhip, in the obſervance of which but few Virginians incur the charge of infidelity.

Beſides an indifferent priſon, and a very decent court-houſe, Wincheſter contains a fine building deſtined for the poor. The expence of this houſe, which is kept but very careleſsly, is raiſed by a poll-tax on white people and negroes. The poor, however, do not derive all the advantage it might afford if the public money were huſbanded with more economy. I have not been able to procure much minute information relative to the management of this houſe, but I have ſeen enough of it, to induce me not to wiſh for further particulars. Beſides my opinion on this ſpecies of eſtabliſhments is fixed: They afford in a bad and imperfect manner the aſſiſtance which the poor have a right to claim from ſociety. The care of old and infirm people, ſupported by the public, would be far more uſefully entruſted to private families for a reaſonable compenſation; and thus public charity would be confined to the ſole claſs of the poor who really deſerve it. Alms-houſes for the indigent are ſources of poverty; for they

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muſt be inhabited, and even filled. The idler conſiders them as unfailing reſources, and is thus encouraged in his idleneſs; while a wicked ſon ſees in them a certain retreat for his father and mother, which hardens him in his guilty diſpoſition not to aſſiſt them in diſtreſs, &c. &c.

If in old ſtates, which are extremely populous and gangrened with miſery and vice, the eſtabliſhment of hoſpitals for the poor ſhould be deemed uſeful, their number ought at leaſt to be confined within the bounds of indiſpenſable neceſſity. Now this neceſſity exiſts not, nor can it exiſt, in an infant country like America, which abounds in the means of ſubſiſtence, placed within the reach of every body; where every family may eaſily ſupport ſuch of its members as are reduced to penury by old age or infirmities; where the number of thoſe who have no relations to retreat to in ſuch a ſituation, if there ſhould exiſt any, is at leaſt very ſmall; and where private charity is excited by the very ſcarcity of thoſe who need alms.

It is a painful duty to acknowledge that poor-houſes are far more frequently the reſults of the vanity of cities, and of the indolence of thoſe who ought to attend to the relief of the poor, than the effects of true humanity. The importance of enacting wiſe laws with reſpect to mendicants is not yet ſufficiently felt: the taſk is, indeed, difficult; but they are intimately connected with the proſperity of a great nation, and with the happineſs of all its members.

Two or three pitiful ſchools form all the reſources of the inhabitants of Wincheſter for the education of their children.

The town contains ten or twelve inns, large and ſmall, which are often full. It lies in the way of all travellers who proceed to the back parts of Virginia, to Teneſſee, or to the mineral ſprings in the counties of Auguſta and Berkley. Many families which are emigrating into the new countries alſo paſs through Wincheſter. In the courſe of laſt year upwards of four thouſand perſons paſſed through the place, who were going to ſettle in Teneſſee or Kentucky.

A well-ſtocked market is held there twice a week. The price of

meat is five pence a pound; a pair of fowls coſts from two to three ſhillings, and butter eleven pence a pound. Every inhabitant has a garden, which produces the neceſſary vegetables for his conſumption. Board and lodging coſt five dollars a week. Negroes are very numerous in Wincheſter; but white labourers are not eaſily procured, and receive higher wages than in moſt places of the neighbouring counties.

The population of the county amounts to above twenty-one thouſand ſouls, four thouſand five hundred of whom are negro ſlaves.

BERKLEY-COUNTY. CHARLESTOWN.

Although dwelling-houſes and plantations are tolerably numerous between Wincheſter and Charleſtown, yet the country is ſtill covered with wood to ſuch a degree, that the eye does not enjoy any of the pleaſant views which this fine tract of land, bounded on the right and left by the beautiful chains of the Blue and North Mountains, would offer, if it were well cleared. A few miles from the town the road takes a north-eaſt direction towards the Potowmack. Along the firſt part of this road only ſmall and wretched habitations are to be ſeen; and it is not until we enter the county of Berkley, eleven miles from Wincheſter, that the plantations become more conſiderable, the fields more extenſive, and better cultivated, and that the whole landſcape aſſumes an appearance of wealth. The dwelling-houſes are, in general, better built, and ſome which belong to rich planters have a handſome appearance: but woods predominate ſtill too much, and more ground lies uncleared than would ſuffice to ſupport a population thirty times more numerous than it is at preſent.

Charleſtown is a ſmall place, built within theſe ten or twelve years, conſiſting of about forty houſes. The inhabitants of this place and its environs are moſtly emigrants from the lower parts of Virginia. A few of them came from Pennſylvania, and theſe are all Germans. This diſtrict is inhabited by more opulent planters than any other of the valley we have hitherto traverſed. The number of negroes is conſequently

ſequently conſiderable; and white labourers are ſcarce in proportion: it is with great difficulty that any of the latter can be procured during the harveſt at the rate of two dollars per day. The difficulty of finding labourers at that important period obliges the farmer to have his wheat cut with the ſcythe, although he is fully aware of the inconvenience which attends this operation, and which is more conſiderable here than elſewhere, for the thickneſs of the crops obſtructs the action of the ſcythe, and a greater quantity of corn is accordingly ſhaken out by the additional force required in mowing it down.

Landed property for ſome miles round Charleſtown is more divided, perhaps, than in any other part of Virginia. Very few of the planters poſſeſs more than two thouſand acres of land, and few even ſo much. The culture is better, the fields are better ploughed, better huſbanded, and are even a little dunged. An acre produces from twenty to twenty-five buſhels of wheat; oats are cultivated in abundance; numbers of cattle are kept in the meadows. The whole produce is diſpoſed of in the ſame manner as that of the environs of Wincheſter, Straſburgh, &c. &c. But it is from Wincheſter that the ſtores or ſhops of Charleſtown receive their ſupplies: none of the ſhop-keepers is ſufficiently rich to draw merchandize directly from the ſea-ports.

Two tolerably good ſchools, one for Engliſh, and another for Latin, are eſtabliſhed at Charleſtown, to which children are frequently ſent from Wincheſter. The price of inſtruction for each pupil at theſe ſchools amounts to five dollars for Engliſh, and ſeventeen for Latin. The corporation is building a houſe in which theſe two ſchools are to be united, and is deſirous that a native of France would fix himſelf here as teacher of the French language.

A Preſbyterian and a Methodiſt church have alſo been erected in this ſmall town, and the Epiſcopalians have built another two miles farther. Theſe three churches have miniſters, ſupported by voluntary contributions; but their allowance is not ſufficient to relieve them from the neceſſity of being alſo paid by other congregations, ſo that divine ſervice is performed at Charleſtown every fortnight

only, and it is ſaid that even on theſe days the churches are but little frequented.

No market having been as yet eſtabliſhed in Charleſtown, every one ſupplies himſelf with proviſions as well as he can. Meat coſts ſix pence a pound, butter nine pence, and fowls two ſhillings a pair.

This town is increaſing every year, and many new houſes are building. The inhabitants aſſured us, as in fact they did every-where, that the air is extremely ſalubrious; and, to judge from the aſpect of the country, nothing ſeems here to contradict the aſſertion.

The culture of wheat extends five or ſix miles beyond Charleſtown. The fields are all of a vaſt extent, and the crops of Indian corn are remarkably fine. The meadows are alſo very rich, but they are few in number.

PASSAGE OF THE POTOWMACK THROUGH THE BLUE-MOUNTAINS. HARPER'S FERRY.

Two or three miles from Potowmack you find a ledge of ſmall heights, which always precede and follow the high chains of mountains; they are ſtony, and but little cleared of wood, and the roads are dreadful.

At laſt we reach the celebrated point, ſo much extolled by travellers, and the celebrity of which has been greatly increaſed by Mr. Jefferſon's *Notes*—the point where the Potowmack, on receiving the Shenandoah, ſeems to have broken through the Blue Ridge, to open for its waters a paſſage acroſs this grand obſtacle, by which nature intended to obſtruct its courſe. The view is beautiful and majeſtic. The Shenandoah ſweeps in a ſouth-eaſt direction along the Blue Mountains, and ſeems deſtined thus to prolong its rapid courſe all along this ridge, when the Potowmack, which flows ſmooth and ſtill from weſt to eaſt, encounters it at a right angle, and increaſing the impetus and rapidity of the Shenandoah, arreſts the natural direction of the latter, and carries it along acroſs theſe high mountains,

mountains, which ſeem to open for the ſole purpoſe of letting them paſs. The ſcene is grand; it deſerves to be viewed, and is worthy of the admiration of travellers who delight in the magnificent operations of nature. But, however I was pleaſed with the ſight, it did not excite in me thoſe emotions of enthuſiaſm which I expected, which I have ſeveral times experienced in the courſe of my life, and which laſt year affected me ſo ſtrongly at the view of the falls of Niagara. The ſlight impreſſion made upon my mind by the ſudden encounter of the Potowmack and Shenandoah, and by their paſſage through the Blue-Ridges, is it to be aſcribed to the idea I had preconceived, and to the high expectations raiſed in my mind by the accounts I had heard and read on this ſubject? But I arrived laſt year with ſimilar, nay ſtronger, preconceptions at the ſtupendous cataract of Niagara, and my aſtoniſhment and admiration were not diminiſhed; on the contrary, they grew ſtronger and ſtronger every moment, while I was contemplating this wonder of nature, which engaged, as it were, every power of my ſoul; and the emotions it excited are ſtill preſent to my mind. Is the want of enthuſiaſtic feeling, perhaps, owing to my actual diſpoſition, which renders me leſs ſuſceptible of the charms of enchantment? This may be; my ſoul has ſince laſt year undoubtedly ſuſtained ſome loſs in this reſpect; yet I am not become abſolutely cold and inſenſible to the beauties of nature; and I indulge in a belief, that I ſhall not ſtand unſupported in my opinion on this grand and beautiful ſcene, which I have viewed with admiration and delight, but which appeared to me inferior to the deſcriptions given of it.

I muſt here obſerve, by way of a remark on the climate of America, that a very hot day was ſucceeded, at *Harper's Ferry*, by an evening ſo exceſſively cold, that I was obliged to put on my great coat to be able for ſome time to remain in the open air, and that I was ſoon obliged to ſtep into the houſe and ſhut ſome of the windows. This temperature of the air is not, however, common in this place; and the inhabitants were as ſtrangely and diſagreeably affected by it as myſelf.

The beautiful valley of Shenandoah, which has alſo been more extolled, in my opinion, than it deſerves, terminates at this point. It is a

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fine country, inhabited by an induſtrious and active people; a country, formed by nature to be rich, and which we do not expect to find between theſe two chains of mountains, at leaſt not in Virginia, after having travelled through other parts of that State, where ſo much activity and induſtry are conſidered as things utterly impoſſible; yet it is but thinly inhabited in proportion to its extent, and to the length of time ſince it firſt began to be ſettled. Scarcely any part of it is cultivated with careful attention and ſkill; the price of land is very low, improvements proceed but ſlowly; and if we call to recollection the plains on the Mohawk-River in the north of the State of New-York, we muſt allow, that the valley of Shenandoah deſerves the praiſe of being the fineſt part of Virginia, but not of all America, as is frequently aſſerted in written and verbal accounts of this valley. It is from a ſort of ſpirit of juſtice that I thus expreſs myſelf, on this part of the country, in a manner different from that of many others, whoſe opinion may, undoubtedly, have more weight than mine; but I have, nevertheleſs, paſſed through this valley with ſatisfaction and pleaſure; and I wiſh, for the happineſs of the Virginians, that many other parts of their State reſembles this. The want of population would ſoon be ſupplied, and none of the preſent inhabitants would emigrate into other States.

In the valley of Shenandoah are many home-manufactories, which is rarely the caſe in any other part of Virginia. The richeſt counties in this plain are thoſe of Shenandoah, Frederick, and Berkley, eſpecially the latter. Pigs are bred here in great numbers; they run now and then into the woods, as they do in other parts of Virginia, but they return home almoſt every day, and are fed there. A conſiderable trade in ſalt pork is carried on in this valley. The population of Berkley-County amounts nearly to twenty-three thouſand inhabitants, three thouſand of whom are ſlaves. In this county, near the Potowmack, is ſituated the moſt frequented medicinal ſpring in the United States. Although it poſſeſſes leſs powerful qualities than the ſprings in the county of Auguſta, and is leſs hot; yet the beauty of the country, and its vicinity to the maritime provinces, which are the moſt popu-

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lous, the neighbourhood of ſome ſmall towns, tolerably inhabited, and the great variety of accommodations which the village that ſurrounds the ſpring offers to the gueſts, induce the majority of patients to prefer it to the other ſprings.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VIRGINIA.

On croſſing the Potowmack we enter the ſtate of Maryland. But before I bid a laſt farewel to Virginia, I cannot forbear making ſome general obſervations on this State, which is ſo highly intereſting on account of its vaſt extent, the great number of repreſentatives it ſends to Congreſs, the influence which it is ſuppoſed to have over the Union in general, and over the ſouthern States in particular; and, laſtly, on account of the difference of opinion entertained by its partiſans and foes.

Nature has done much for Virginia, perhaps more than for any other ſtate of the Union. The ſoil is, in general, good, and extremely varied; the climate, no doubt, is rather hot in ſummer; the heat, however, is but little troubleſome, for the inhabitants are eaſily accuſtomed to it; on approaching or paſſing the mountains it becomes more moderate, and tolerable even in the midſt of ſummer: vegetation is wonderfully powerful in Virginia, and the climate favours the culture of almoſt all known productions. Virginia, it is true, has no port on the Atlantic; but ſhe poſſeſſes a multiplicity of harbours on her numerous and beautiful rivers, the navigation of which admits of ſailing up very high to receive the produce of remote diſtricts; and, as has been already obſerved, the ſituation of North-Carolina is ſuch, that the overplus of the produce in grain of that extenſive State muſt in a great meaſure paſs through the hands of the merchants of Virginia. The want of ſea-ports, which is not attended with any inconvenience for Virginia, is, on the other hand, productive of the great advantage of being ſecure in time of war from the inſults of the enemy, who, in order to burn its towns or plunder the country, would be obliged either

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to land in another State, or to venture into the Cheſapeak. Theſe immenſe advantages are incontrovertibly poſſeſſed by Virginia, whoſe lower parts, although unhealthful, yet are not more ſo than thoſe of Maryland, of ſome diſtricts of Pennſylvania, and of the State of New-York, and are certainly more ſalubrious than the lower parts of the two Carolinas and Georgia. Virginia alſo enjoys the great additional advantage of being almoſt entirely free from all dangerous animals. The rattle-ſnake is uncommon to ſuch a degree, that a great many inhabitants who live in the woods never heard it mentioned. Let us now conſider, whether Virginia has improved theſe great advantages by her conſtitution, laws, and civil relations; what is her real ſtrength, her ſtrength in relation to the other ſtates, and what are her reſources.

The conſtitution of Virginia was formed the firſt of any of the United States; it is likewiſe the moſt imperfect. Repreſentation, the firſt baſis of every democratical conſtitution, is unequal in this ſtate. Each county ſends two repreſentatives to the legiſlature: but theſe counties vary in point of population ſo very much, that ſome furniſh only one company of militia, while others raiſe four battalions. Thus the proportional difference of repreſentation between the counties is as one to ſixteen. The organization of the ſenate is, in this point of view, equally defective. In regard to the election of ſenators the State is divided into twelve diſtricts, which are compoſed of an unequal number of counties. Ten of theſe diſtricts lie between the ſea and the Blue-Ridge, and two only are ſituated beyond the mountains. In this latter part of the State the population is not ſo great as in that which is called Old Virginia: but it will ſoon become equal to it, becauſe many of the inhabitants of the old ſettlements emigrate either into the weſtern diſtricts, or beyond the mountains; at preſent even, it is more than half that of the other. There is, then, a ſtriking inequality likewiſe in the repreſentation of the ſenate, which is not compoſed, like that of the ſenate of the Union, and of ſome other States, of elements different from thoſe of the houſe of repreſentatives. The governor

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is a mere ſhadow of authority, he has not the power of performing any act but by the advice of his executive council, compoſed of eight perſons, two only of whom go out every year, according to the choice of the legiſlature. Thus the poſſibility that many of the members will hold their ſeats in the council for life gives them conſiderable influence, and adds a total want of authority to the impoſſibility of acting in which the governor is placed by the conſtitution.

This conſtitution is alſo objected to on the ground of its not being the work of a convention appointed *ad hoc*, but having been made by the legiſlature which exiſted under the Engliſh dominion, and which, after having ſhaken off the Britiſh yoke, modelled the conſtitution, without having been elected and aſſembled for that purpoſe, as in the other ſtates. This reproach might have had ſome foundation, although the circumſtances in which the legiſlature was placed at that time reduce it almoſt to nothing; but at this time it is altogether unfair, becauſe the conſtitution, made by an aſſembly whether competent or otherwiſe, has been adopted by the whole ſtate, and followed theſe twenty years paſt without the leaſt objection. Whatever, therefore, may be its advantages or inconveniences, its origin ſhould not be now a matter of reproach. Such as it is, it meets with much cenſure in the ſtate; and the number of thoſe who loudly demand an alteration, although from different motives, is very conſiderable. The law which places landed property out of the reach of creditors in the recovery of debts would be immoral in any country, and under any government whatever. In countries where ariſtocracy forms the leading principle of government, and it is intended to have a rich nobility and a ſucceſſion of opulent families, that principle is ſupported by fiduciary ſubſtitution. For family eſtates being there conſidered as permanent property, it is held, that the title of their preſent occupiers is confined to a mere uſufruct. This law, unjuſt as it is under ariſtocratic governments as any-where elſe, is there at leaſt a politic meaſure, in the ſenſe which under this ſort of government is attached to that term, and is moreover confined to the property of ſome families. But in a

country where democracy forms the baſis of government, and whoſe conſtitution is preceded by a declaration of the rights of man, this law, deſtitute even of a pretext, is expoſed in all the diſgraceful nakedneſs of its native immorality. The law which goes ſo ſtrong againſt gambling is undoubtedly very moral and good: but ſo far from being duly enforced, it is publicly violated every day; gaming being no-where more practiſed, or productive of greater diſorders, than in Virginia. It would, therefore, be much better for the ſtate were gambling authorized by law; for of all diſorders, that of a public contempt of the laws is the moſt deſtructive to a civilized ſtate. Another great diſorder in the ſtate of Virginia is the habitual want of punctuality in the payment of debts; for, independently of the immorality of this part of the public manners, this bad habit, which enriches not even thoſe who do not pay, deprives the public wealth of many reſources, and injures all ſorts of improvements. The reſources of chicanery afford in Virginia, as they do every-where elſe, a ſtrong ſupport to this diſpoſition of the Virginian people; ſince the definitive ſentence of payment in regard to the cleareſt and moſt incontrovertible debt may be retarded full five years.

As to trade and commerce, Virginia, although very advantageouſly ſituated for the moſt extenſive commercial operations, yet carries on but a very inconſiderable trade. The merchants are neither poſſeſſed of the ſame capitals, nor enjoy the ſame credit, as in the other trading ſtates of North America. So far are they from ſupplying with proviſions the back parts of the ſtate, that the latter draw them directly from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The total value of the exports of the different ports of Virginia amounted in the year 1791 to 3,131,863 dollars; in 1792 to 3,512,823; in 1793 to 2,987,097; in 1794 to 3,320,636; and in 1795 to 3,190,043 dollars.

The population of Virginia ſhould ſeem very conſiderable, if we reflect that this ſtate ſends twenty-one members to the Congreſs of the Union, and that the population of each ſtate ſhould regulate the number

ber of its repreſentatives at that general council. But this population, which by the cenſus of 1791 amounts to ſeven hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ten perſons, comprizes two hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſeven ſlaves. The area of the ſtate contains ſeventy thouſand ſquare miles; this makes per ſquare mile about ten two thirds of inhabitants, three ſevenths of whom are negro ſlaves. The population of the whites, which is undoubtedly increaſed by reproduction, gains nothing by migration; for no Virginian will deny, that the ſtate is loſing every year more by the emigration of its inhabitants than it obtains emigrants from other ſtates; ſo that this population, if well counted, is, perhaps, inferior to that of any other ſtate of the Union. In a great part of Virginia the heat of the climate, and the uſe of ſlaves, render that claſs of men idle and averſe to labour, who in the other ſtates, under different circumſtances, are ſpurred on to induſtry and activity by indigence and want. We find, accordingly, that a leſs quantity of land is cultivated here, in proportion to the extent and population of the country, than in other ſtates, and that but very few branches of induſtry have gained ground in Virginia, although the country is fitted for all thoſe which have been eſtabliſhed in other parts of the United States. There is no ſtate ſo entirely deſtitute of all means of public education as Virginia; and it may be fairly ſaid, that the only college ſhe poſſeſſes is the moſt imperfect in point of inſtruction, and the worſt managed of any of the Union. On a candid conſideration of theſe circumſtances, it is impoſſible to praiſe with any degree of juſtice the power of the ſtate of Virginia.

The power of a ſtate is the reſult of its real ſtrength: Virginia, as has already been obſerved, is undoubtedly invited by nature to become the moſt powerful, or one of the moſt powerful, of the Union. But in order to attain this end, bad laws muſt be ſuperſeded by good ones; the manners muſt be corrected, induſtry encouraged, and the bounties of nature turned to advantage. Theſe are the reſources of Virginia, which futurity will call forth. As Virginia contains ſome men of public ſpirit and extenſive information, occupied with the welfare of

the country and desirous of effectuating it, and as the legislature itself seems to pay much attention to this point, the time of improvement may be near; but it is not yet come, and my observations merely apply to the present state of things.

Virginia influences at this moment the political opinion of Georgia and North-Carolina; the similar manner in which these three states vote at the congress, at least warrants this opinion. But Georgia is a feeble state, from her position as well as population; and, were she even more considerable under these points of view than she actually is, yet the state of disorder which prevails there would reduce her strength to nothing. North-Carolina is not in the same state of disorder, but possesses no strength. Men of talents are more scarce there than in any of the other states; and if she should obtain any, she would probably be tired of the state of dependence wherein she is kept by her incapacity.

Virginia does not rely on South-Carolina, which may coincide with her in point of political opinion, yet desires to have an opinion of her own, and scorns to acknowledge the superiority or influence of another state.

She ranks among her friends the state of Kentucky, which was dismembered from Virginia, and Tenessée, whose interests perfectly concur with hers. She fancies also, she may rely on a part of Pennsylvania. But all these calculations are more than doubtful; and were they founded, they have no permanent grounds: they may be useful to carry a motion in Congress; but they do not increase the real strength of Virginia, nor the resources of a political body acting, or desiring to act, independently of the Union.

The reproach frequently preferred against Virginia, that she designs to induce the Southern States to withdraw from the Union, is certainly unfounded. Not one of the other states is, perhaps, more attached to the federal government, than Virginia. The Virginians are unanimous in this opinion, and even reproach the Northern States with an intention of operating this division; yet they hope, that Pennsylvania,

vania, or at leaſt that part which is ſituated on the left of the Suſquehannah, would aſſiſt them in defeating any attempt, in Congreſs, to bring on ſuch a rupture.

The Virginians generally enjoy a character for hoſpitality, which they truly deſerve; they are fond of company; their hoſpitality is ſincere, and may, perhaps, be the reaſon of their ſpending more than they ſhould do; for, in general, they are not rich, eſpecially in clear income. You find, therefore, very frequently a table well ſerved, and covered with plate, in a room where half the windows have been broken for ten years paſt, and will probably remain ſo ten years longer. But few houſes are in a tolerable ſtate of repair, and no part of their buildings is better kept than the ſtables, becauſe the Virginians are fond of races, hunting, in ſhort, of all pleaſures and amuſements which render it neceſſary to take peculiar care of horſes, as they are the faſhion of the day.

The Virginians are good huſbands, and good fathers; but, from a love of diſſipation, they keep leſs at home than the inhabitants of many other ſtates. I have heard ladies reproach them with being ſubject to jealouſy. This may be the caſe: in every country under the ſun diſſipated huſbands are jealous. The women are amiable, and enjoy the reputation of fulfilling their duty with the ſame exactneſs as in other parts of America, where the huſbands paſs more time with their wives. They are more ſprightly and agreeable than in the Eaſtern States, but not ſo much ſo as in South-Carolina; nor are they ſo pretty as in Philadelphia. I have, however, ſeen Virginian ladies who are inferior to none in perſonal charms and graceful manners.

Virginia has, ſince the revolution, produced more men of diſtinguiſhed talents than, perhaps, any other ſtate of the Union. Fond as the inhabitants are of diſſipation, a taſte for reading is more prevalent among the gentlemen of the firſt claſs than in any other part of America; but the common people are, perhaps, more ignorant than elſewhere. During the war of the revolution, the Virginian troops were equally diſtinguiſhed for their valour and love of liberty; and the latter ſentiment is yet

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tremblingly alive among all claſſes of the people. The contraſt it forms with the maintenance of ſlavery is truly ſtriking; and ſpeeches on liberty and independence ſound rather ſtrangely from the lips of maſters of ſlaves. The Virginians are moſt of them aware of the inconveniences reſulting from ſlavery, even with reſpect to their own intereſts; but the means of aboliſhing it are liable to numberleſs difficulties in a country where the number of ſlaves is ſo conſiderable as in Virginia. Yet, on the other hand, it muſt be allowed that there are means, the execution of which, if undertaken with unanimity and ſpirit, would be leſs dangerous than many Virginians ſeem to apprehend. I ſhall ſpeak more fully on this ſubject after my viſit to Maryland. The Virginians are, in general, good maſters; the ſentiments of philanthropy, which have not yet gained ſufficient ground in Virginia to prepare the emancipation of ſlaves, have however had influence enough to cauſe them to be better treated and fed. It is generally felt in Virginia, that abſolute ſlavery cannot continue long; men of ſenſe, at leaſt, are convinced of the truth of this remark. Let us indulge in the hope, that this conviction will inſenſibly lead to ſome generous reſolution, which will prove as beneficial to the maſters as the ſlaves.

MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The depth of the layer of ſand prevents any ſtone from being perceived in the vicinity of Norfolk, yet at a ſhort diſtance from that place quarries are found and worked. The ſtones employed in building are quartz, feldſpar, and ſteatites. On the ſea-ſhore the ground conſiſts of a fine ſand, dry and light, but is in ſeveral inſtances pierced by rocks of granite. In *Diſmal-Swamp* the ſame fragments of trees are found buried and preſerved under the vegetable earth, in different degrees of depth, as in the plains which riſe in the form of a terrace near the bed of the river Connecticut. Theſe fragments are ſtill more abundant there; when dug out of the ground they are alſo in a

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ſoft ſtate, but grow hard when expoſed to the air. From the mouth of James-River, as far as the Blue Mountains, the ſame minerals are found as in the reſt of America. Near Cheſapeak-Bay you meet with irregular maſſes of granite, which farther on are replaced by regular layers of quartz, feldſpars, ſchoerl, and an argillaceous ſhiſtus. This ſucceſſion of minerals is found two or three times in the tract of country which is waſhed by James-River. Near York and Williamſburg you find large beds of oyſter-ſhells, four or five feet in depth, which ſometimes appear above the ſurface of the ground; you alſo ſee ſtones compoſed of conglomerations of granite, and which ſeem to be a ſpecies of imperfect pudding-ſtone. The ſtones waſhed by the rapids of James-River at Richmond are a ſpecies of granite. On making an excavation at *Roquette*, large quantities of copperas-ſtone, enveloped in a bluiſh and very tender earth, were found. Theſe ſtones contain much copper; they are alſo ſaid to include a tolerable quantity of ſilver, but the preſence of this metal has not yet been aſcertained by any proper experiment, and much leſs its proportion.

At Dover, where the coal-mines which we viſited are ſituated, the ſoil conſiſts chiefly of a ſand-ſtone, interſperſed with fragments of granite, which when broken preſerve the original texture of the ſtone. It is in theſe layers that the coal is found in immediate contact with ſtone of a ſandy or argillaceous compoſition, and with a blue clay. That part of the country which contains the coal-mines is about ten miles in breadth, but its length is not yet aſcertained; it croſſes James-River. The ſtrata of coal are in general thicker at the extremities and where they lie neareſt to the ſurface of the ground; their direction, which is from weſt to eaſt, forms with the horizon a very obtuſe angle. As ſoon as you leave this diſtrict, you meet again with granite, which now lies in layers, is interſperſed with mica, and ſeems in ſeveral inſtances to be a real cryſtallization. The ſoil is a hard clay. Some miles from Milton, at the foot of the South Mountains, there is a vein of lime-ſtone, formed like ſhiſtus, and placed between layers of perfect ſlate. When calcined, it yields excellent lime.

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This vein runs in a ſouth-weſt direction as far as the river Roanoke in North-Carolina, that is, one hundred and forty miles, and upwards of ſixty miles towards the north-eaſt. It is in no inſtances more than ten feet thick, and frequently leſs. In all the ſurrounding fields are found large detached maſſes of white quartz, reſting on layers of blue ſhiſtus; and likewiſe ſtrata of a greeniſh grey colour. Maſſes of granite are likewiſe very common in the vicinity of the South Mountains. There is alſo to be found a grey undulated rock, which eaſily ſeparates into ſheets, that contain a conſiderable quantity of magneſia. The ſoil which covers this ſmall chain of mountains (Eaſt, Green, and South Mountains) is of a reddiſh colour, and extremely fruitful. Between this ridge and the Blue Mountains the ground contains much ochre, and ſulphureous mundick is found there in great quantities. The valley between the Blue and North Mountains abounds with layers of lime-ſtone, ſeveral of which form an angle with the horizon. Near Keyſſel-Town, twenty-five miles from Staunton, they drop nearly perpendicularly, and are generally covered with a reddiſh earth, and ſometimes with granite of a yellow colour. Lime-ſtone is alſo found near Wincheſter; but further on it ſoon diſappears, and is replaced by a ſhiſtous and quartzous ſlate. Granite is only ſeen in a few detached maſſes on the road from Wincheſter to Harper's Ferry; and in progreſſive ſucceſſion we meet with layers of yellow ſhiſt, which eaſily ſeparates into thin ſheets, and is interſperſed with brilliant particles, reſembling mica, of a yellow ſlate and of lime-ſtone. The rocks in the Blue Mountains conſiſt near Harper's Ferry, as they do throughout this whole chain, chiefly of granite; but we alſo meet with free-ſtone and feldſpar. Near Frederick-Town, lime-ſtone is again ſeen; but free-ſtone, ſhiſt, and a ſpecies of micaceous ſand in the road to *Ellicot's-Mill*, are alſo found. The rocks which bound in this place the river *Potapſco* are calcareous ſtones.

TREES.

TREES.

Among the numberleſs ſpecies of trees which grow in Virginia, are diſtinguiſhed the ſilver-leaved maple, the aſh-leaved maple, the climbing trumpet flower, the catalpa tree, the Carolinian allſpice, the iudas tree, the Virginian meſpilus (of which I have ſeen ſome twenty-five feet in height); cornel trees of different ſorts; the perſimon, the nickar tree, the triancanthus, walnut, various ſpecies of cedars, ſweet bay, benjamin tree, and another laurel of which I do not know the name; the maple-leaved liquidcambar, the evergreen laurel-leaved tulip tree, the ſwamp pine, and many others; the black and Carolina poplar, various ſpecies of oak, the ſmooth ſumach, pſeudo-acacia, fringe-tree, &c.: but many of them, the tulip tree for inſtance, do not attain the ſame height in Virginia as in South-Carolina and Georgia. Although Virginia does not produce ſome trees, which grow only under a higher degree of latitude, yet it contains in my opinion a greater variety of ſpecies than any other ſtate. There is alſo a great multiplicity of plants, but they are leſs fragrant than in South-Carolina.

ROADS AND CANALS.

The Virginian legiſlature applies itſelf with peculiar care to the improvement of inland navigation. Several canals are either made, commenced, or projected, in places where the river navigation is intercepted by rapids; but, as in the reſt of the United States, art is not ſufficiently attended to in their conſtruction. Works of this kind are carried on without previouſly conſidering the beſt means of completing them; whence it is that they are often more imperfect, and always more expenſive, than they otherwiſe might be.

The roads are in general good throughout this ſtate; and although the inns are ſometimes bad, yet upon the whole they are better than

in the other ſtates. Thoſe in the back country, where I have travelled, are preferable to the inns in many of the moſt inhabited parts of New-England.

JOURNEY TO FREDERICK-TOWN.

A boat takes up the travellers in Virginia, and lands them in Maryland. The Potowmack forms the limit of the two ſtates. You croſs it twenty toiſes from its confluence with the Shenandoah, and on croſſing over you enjoy this grand ſpectacle as well as from any other point. The mountains through which the Potowmack paſſes loſe in Maryland the name of the Blue-Ridge, and aſſume that of the South Mountains. The narrow road which leads to Baltimore, and which for four or five miles is an uninterrupted ſeries of ſolid or ſhifting ſtones, runs along the baſis of thoſe mountains, and the Potowmack, the bed of which is not grown wider from having received the Shenandoah. It flows amidſt fragments of rocks, which render its courſe uneven and noiſy. Six miles farther on you leave the Potowmack to aſcend the *Cooſooſky Mountains*, a chain of ſmall extent, from which the view of the Blue-Ridge, of the North Mountains, and the preceding ſmall heights, a part of which is cultivated, eſpecially in Maryland, and laſtly of the Potowmack, which you ſee a mile beyond the Blue-Ridge, forms a grand and delightful proſpect.

The South Mountains ſeparate the counties of Waſhington and Frederick. On purſuing the road which I travelled, you only touch Waſhington-County, one of the moſt healthy and fruitful parts of Maryland. It furniſhes all ſpecies of grain for the export trade of Baltimore, and alſo wrought-iron: it abounds with iron mines. The population of the county amounts to about fifteen thouſand ſouls, eighteen hundred of whom are negro ſlaves. Weſt of Waſhington-County is that of Alleghany, the laſt of the ſtates of Maryland in this direction.

The ſettlement of the country between Harper's Ferry and the Cooſooſky

Cooſooſky Mountains is juſt beginning. You meet with a few ſmall habitations, moſt of which have been built within theſe three years; they are miſerable log-houſes, with about twenty acres of cleared ground. The new ſettlers arrive moſtly from the environs of Lancaſter, and the county of Dauphin in Pennſylvania; many come alſo from the lower parts of Maryland, and ſome from Ireland. Theſe families appear to be an active and induſtrious kind of people. In this part of the country land fetches from eight to ten dollars the acre, and yet it is not better than on the other ſide of the river in Virginia, where it is ſold for four or five, and where the habitations are very ſcarce; yet the diſeaſe of the grain, called *widle*, is here unknown. The Potowmack forms on the north ſide the limit of this ſcourge, as the Blue Mountains do on the eaſt. No Heſſian flies are ſeen here, and the rot occurs but very ſeldom.

The harveſt is this year very plentiful, as in fact it is in all other parts; and thoſe farmers in Maryland who do not ſpeculate in grain, rejoice at the fall of its price. But many others, who have plunged into ſpeculations of this nature, will ſuſtain conſiderable loſſes from this ſudden fall. May this diſaſtrous experience render them more cautious and prudent for the future! A ſpirit of commercial ſpeculation in a farmer is the ruin of agriculture; his means are far inferior in extent to thoſe of a merchant in town, who makes up the loſs of one ſpeculation by the ſucceſs of another. But the farmer who loſes the value of his commodities, or is badly paid for them, contracts debts, cultivates his land with leſs care, is obliged to ſell his cattle, his crops are leſs plentiful, and the whole of ſociety thus ſhares his loſs; for the proſperity of cultivators is more intimately connected with the general welfare than that of any other induſtrious claſs of the people.

The Cooſooſky Mountains are tolerably cultivated; ſome of them are ſo up to their very ſummits. Farther on in the country habitations increaſe in number, culture expands, and the corn-fields grow larger: land fetches in theſe mountains from twelve to fifteen dollars the acre,

and this price continues much the ſame until we reach the environs of Frederick-Town. Meadows are there more frequent, and the abundance of water enables the farmers to water their graſs-lands, which is executed by ſome of them with a conſiderable ſhare of ſkill. The water is conducted through wooden pipes, which communicating from one height to another, frequently diſtant ſeveral hundred toiſes, traverſe the ſmall dale which ſeparates them. Timothy graſs and red clover form the artificial meadows of the country. White clover grows naturally pretty thick and fine.

Culture increaſes, the land grows better, and the meadows augment in number, in the vicinity of Frederick-Town. Land is ſold there for from twenty-five to thirty dollars the acre, and graſs-land for fifty.

FREDERICK-TOWN, THE CAPITAL OF FREDERICK-COUNTY.

This town, ſituated on the creek *Carolle*, a branch of the river *Monacaſy*, is very well built. The greater number of houſes are ſtone buildings; the town-hall, poor-houſe, and court-houſe, are very fine ſtructures. The population of Frederick-Town amounts to about two thouſand ſouls, a fourth of whom are negroes. It carries on a conſiderable trade with the back country, which it ſupplies with merchandize drawn from Baltimore, and tranſmits to the latter place in return the produce of the back country, which is rich, fruitful, and thickly ſettled; in general, induſtry is beyond compariſon more active there than in Virginia.

A glaſs manufactory had been eſtabliſhed ſome miles from Frederick-Town. But, whether through the miſconduct or the misfortunes of the proprietors, who came from Bremen in Germany, from want of money, or perhaps from a coincidence of all theſe cauſes, this manufacture has ſhared the fate of almoſt all firſt eſtabliſhments of this nature, and is ſo near its deſtruction, that the latter may be conſidered as complete. The raw materials, I have been aſſured, are in great abundance near the ſpot where it is ſituated. If this be actually the caſe,

caſe, it will be relieved either by the preſent managers or others, which is immaterial in a public point of view; but it is of great importance for the country to poſſeſs a glaſs-manufactory, that may leſſen the quantity of this ſort of imports from England, which their fragility renders ſo profitable to the vender, and ſo indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the buyer. Maryland abounds in iron, and iron works are very numerous throughout the ſtate, which carries on a conſiderable trade in wrought-iron. Many of them are eſtabliſhed in the environs of Frederick-Town.

Frederick-County contains about thirty-one thouſand inhabitants, four thouſand of whom are negroes. Since 1791, the year when the cenſus was taken, the population of Frederick-County has been conſiderably increaſed by the emigration of families from other parts. The land is, in general, good, and produces wheat, rye, barley, and Indian corn, in conſiderable quantities for the export trade of Baltimore, and alſo ſome hemp and flax. Much flour is likewiſe ſent to Baltimore out of the county, where the number of mills is very conſiderable. The country between Frederick-Town and Baltimore conſiſts of a continual ſucceſſion of ſmall hills, and the road is very ſeldom even for a mile together. Although the country be upon the whole tolerably ſettled, yet there are many parts which are but thinly inhabited, and theſe are even more extenſive than the reſt. The nature of the wood indicates a fruitful ſoil. Tobacco was formerly cultivated in great quantities; but this ſpecies of culture, which has as much decreaſed in Maryland as in all the other Southern States, is here almoſt reduced to nothing. It has been ſuperſeded every-where by the culture of wheat, although the latter labours here under the ſame imperfections as in other places. They plough two or three inches deep: the fields are but ſeldom manured; and what little dung they gather is allotted to the graſs land. From this careleſs conduct in regard to the preſervation and augmentation of manure, it ſhould ſeem that they are not ſenſible of its value.

POPLAR-

POPLAR-SPRING.

On the 12th of July I ſpent the hotteſt part of the day at *Poplar-Spring*. Although this part of the country has been long ſettled, yet the number of new coloniſts far exceeds that of the ancient inhabitants. The price of land in the neighbourhood is from ten to twelve dollars the acre. The proceſs of clearing is much the ſame there as in all the other parts of America. Indian corn is ſown the firſt year, then follows wheat, frequently from ſix to ſeven years without interruption, or as long as the ſoil will bear any; afterwards it lies fallow until another part of the ground, which in the mean time has been cleared, is alſo exhauſted in its turn. As it demands more labour and care to convert woodland into meadows, much ground is left uncleared, which would make excellent graſs-land. Its turn will doubtleſs come, for the country is in an improving ſtate; but ſo much land is yet covered with wood, that many years will elapſe before a ſkilful and extenſive ſtate of cultivation can be eſtabliſhed.

The ground is throughout the whole country tilled with horſes, which coſt from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty dollars. The cows are fine, and worth from twenty-five to thirty dollars. Wheat is cut with the ſickle, but oats and rye with the ſcythe; labourers are eaſily procured, and paid at the rate of one dollar a day during the harveſt; at other times they receive three ſhillings a day (money of Maryland, which is of the ſame value as that of Pennſylvania), or eight dollars a month. Cattle fattened either in the fine meadows near Frederick-Town, or in other leſs rich paſture, are ſent to Baltimore or Philadelphia. The inhabitants buy flour of the waggoners, who convey it to Baltimore, and pay nearly the ſame price as in this town. It fetches at this time eight dollars per barrel; but in the courſe of laſt January it was ſold for fourteen. During my ſtay at the inn I heard ſeveral farmers expreſs their ſatisfaction at the fall of the price of grain, on account of its being likely to occaſion failures among

among the merchants of Baltimore. "Theſe people," ſaid they, "have gained from us all they could, and carried it to France; and now they carry both our money and that of France to England: if they fail, it is what they deſerve."

They who doubt the diſpoſition of the American people in favour of France, if not wedded to their erroneous opinions, have but to travel among the country people, and they will find them full of miſtruſt, animoſity, and hatred againſt England, and well-diſpoſed in favour of the French nation. They will find the death of Louis XVI. and the crimes which ſucceeded it, as much deteſted as they are in England; but they will alſo meet with as many zealous partizans of the cauſe of France, and of that of true liberty, as perſons to converſe with on theſe topics: to cheriſh and commiſerate Fayette ſeems a ſort of religious duty in this country. They will alſo find, that the Preſident is univerſally reſpected, and that nobody is inclined to impute to him the injurious ſtipulation of the treaty of commerce, which is generally diſliked. Let me repeat it once more, that I wiſh to be underſtood as alluding to ſuch people only as from principle, and a ſenſe of their own intereſt, diſdain all connection with England, and who may be juſtly called the true and real American people. I have diveſted myſelf to ſuch a degree of national prejudices and preconceived perſonal opinions on this ſubject, that I am ſure my obſervations on this head are founded in truth. They who are determined to differ from me in opinion may yet aſſert, that my prejudices have deceived me in ſpite of myſelf, or that the country people are a ſet of ignorant, ſtupid, and deluded perſons, and that the faculties of fair and candid diſcuſſion are concentrated in the cities. To aſſertions ſo ſtrange and illiberal I ſhall not reply; for why ſhould I argue with thoſe who are determined not to change their opinion?

ELLICOT'S-MILL.

From Poplar-Spring a road has been cut within a few years, which abridges by ſome miles the road to Baltimore. It is bad, and being quite

quite new it paſſes but by very few habitations: about fifteen miles from Baltimore you perceive the manſion of Mr. *Carrol*, about a mile diſtant from the road. From the multiplicity of buildings united in his ſettlement, it has rather the appearance of a village, than of the habitation of a private gentleman. Mr. Carrol has united ſeveral eſtabliſhments on this ſpot; he poſſeſſes an extenſive farm, and a great number of negroes, but not having been in his plantation, I am not able to give a detailed account of it.

Ellicot's Mill is a ſmall village, the principal eſtabliſhment of which is a large griſt-mill belonging to Mr. Ellicot, and named after him. This mill has ſix pair of mill-ſtones, and is conſtructed as well as any of the mills of Brandywine, of which it poſſeſſes all the perfections. The ſituation of this place, encircled by mountains, is truly romantic. The water is clear, the rocks are high and majeſtic; and I could have wiſhed to enjoy one day longer this view, which, being rather gloomy, was well adapted to my preſent frame of mind; but the ſcorching heat forced me to proceed to a more temperate part of the country.

I ſhall relate here, with all humility, what happened to me with three Frenchmen of the Weſt-India Iſlands, whom I found at the inn, and one of whom I underſtood afterwards was Mr. Thomas, late French Conſul at Baltimore, and another his phyſician, who attended him to the Berkley waters. Although I addreſſed them in our native ſpeech, they conceived, from my modeſt way of travelling, ſo mean an opinion of me, that they reſolved to ſleep all three rather in a room which contained only two beds, than to ſuffer "*a poor devil of ſo mean an appearance*" to repoſe in the ſame room with one of them. This declaration, which was not made with the intention that I ſhould hear it, was overheard by me in a corner of the garden, where I was ſmoking my ſegar. As the obſervation concerned only my outward appearance, I did not think myſelf bound to take it up. I ſupped alone, and laid down on the floor on a mattreſs, which the miſtreſs of the houſe had placed in the ſecond room, where the coachman of theſe gentlemen had taken poſſeſſion of a good bed. I laughed on looking back to the time

time when the haughty Mr. Thomas would not have dreaded my company quite ſo much; and my ſleep was as ſound as if I had been called to the honour of ſleeping in the ſame room with Mr. Thomas himſelf.

BALTIMORE.

The road continues as mountainous, difficult, and covered with ſand and fragments of rocks, as before, until four or five miles from Baltimore. During the whole of this journey you ſee neither good nor numerous habitations; the land is but of a middling quality, in a great meaſure uncultivated, and the reſt in a very indifferent ſtate of improvement. Four or five miles from Baltimore the ground grows even, the habitations become more numerous, and aſſume a better appearance. In proportion as you draw nearer the town, the dwelling-houſes beſpeak more and more the wealth of its inhabitants, and the proſperity of its commerce.

The criminal juriſprudence of Maryland has not yet experienced any alteration in its ancient form, proceedings, or practice. The convicts work at the roads, loaded with irons.—What little work they perform is badly done, and they frequently effect their eſcape. This ſyſtem is not by any means productive of more beneficial reſults in Maryland than it was in Pennſylvania, where it has been aboliſhed. It will undoubtedly undergo a change.—But at what time?—And why has it not been yet ſuppreſſed?

Baltimore is, after Philadelphia and New-York, the moſt important trading port in America; at leaſt, it diſputes this rank with Charleſtown and Boſton. Being ſituated nearer to the rivers Youghiogeny and Mocongahel, which empty themſelves into the Ohio by Pittſburg and Philadelphia, Baltimore poſſeſſes a part of the trade of the back country of Pennſylvania, ſupplies moſt of the ſtores which furniſh the weſtern territories with merchandize, and receives in return a part of their produce. It contains at preſent from four to five

thouſand houſes, and has been almoſt entirely built ſince the peace of 1763. It has ſtill more rapidly increaſed ſince 1783, and eſpecially ſince the beginning of the preſent war. The inn-keeper at Poplar-Spring told me, that in 1749, when he landed at Baltimore on his arrival from Germany, the whole place conſiſted of nine miſerable log-houſes, and now it is one of the fineſt towns on the Continent, as it contains no old houſes, and moſt of the preſent have been conſtructed of late years; they are all built on good principles, and moſtly of bricks. The numerous churches of all religious perſuaſions, as well as the public buildings, are conſtructed in a ſimple and elegant ſtyle. The town, which increaſes in every direction, gains in extent, particularly on the bay, where ſtreets are paved and formed on a ground wreſted from the ſea, and where a few years ſince veſſels were afloat. This ſort of work, to which the inſpectors of the town have aſſigned certain limits, extends daily. Ships of burthen cannot proceed higher up the river than *Fell's-Point*, at which place they load and unload. No buſineſs, however, is tranſacted at *Fell's-Point*; every thing being done at Baltimore, which is ſeparated from it by a flat and open ſpace of ground about a mile in extent. The merchants' counting-houſes and principal warehouſes are at Baltimore; there being at *Fell's-Point* only a few inconſiderable warehouſes, which ſome of the merchants have for temporary purpoſes. If the trade of this city continues to increaſe as hitherto, the ſpace of ground lying between Baltimore and Fell's-Point will be covered with buildings, and the two places will form but one town. At preſent new houſes are building in every ſtreet; and the town ſpreads every day towards the harbour, and on the weſt ſide upon the grounds belonging to *Colonel Howard*, the value of which from this circumſtance increaſes continually.

The lands of this wealthy proprietor are, for the moſt part, let upon building-leaſes, which I imagine to be owing to ſcarcity of money among the ſpeculators in theſe buildings; for otherwiſe it is to be ſuppoſed he would prefer the ſelling of the grounds, which would enable him to diſpoſe of his property as circumſtances and his own judgement

judgement might point out. He never fails to ſell parcels of the ground, where he has an opportunity; and ſeveral of them having been bought and ſold again, have made the fortunes of two or three ſpeculators.

About a mile from the town, at the extremity of his lands, Colonel Howard has a handſome houſe, ſurrounded with lofty and venerable trees. The ground, indeed, is a kind of park formed by nature. The houſe is delightfully ſituated upon an eminence, commanding a view of the city and the bay as far as the Cheſapeak, and on the right and left a great extent of highly-cultivated ground. This place (which is called *Belvedere*) is the uſual reſidence of Colonel Howard, who is univerſally eſteemed for his courage and military talents, and beloved for his private virtues. He was formerly governor of the ſtate of Maryland. He married *Miſs Chew*, daughter of my valuable friend Mr. Chew, of Philadelphia, whoſe talents and accompliſhments render her deſerving of the honour of belonging to that amiable family.

I made but a ſhort ſtay at Baltimore; and the greater part of the time I paſſed at Colonel Howard's. I had not, therefore, ſufficient opportunity to gain all the information I deſired reſpecting this town and the State of Maryland; but I hope to procure it in my next Journey.

ANNAPOLIS.

Annapolis, theſe at of the government of Maryland, is the uſual reſidence of the great officers of ſtate; and, the ſupreme court of juſtice holding its ſittings there, it is the reſidence alſo of moſt of the principal lawyers. The firſt claſs of inhabitants at Baltimore is, of courſe, chiefly compoſed of merchants; more ſo, indeed, than at Philadelphia. Many mercantile houſes in this country are likely to be affected by the fall in the price of proviſions in Europe. At preſent, however, they keep up the price of flour at ten dollars; but this is mere ſpeculation, as there is no foreign demand for it, nor would there be at a much lower price, the plenty or apparent plenty of corn is ſo great in Europe.

The public buildings are by no means magnificent. They are, however, tolerable. The town has twelve churches belonging to the different ſects.

JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA.

My horſe being lame, I reſolved to go in the ſtage to Philadelphia. The ſtage is a miſerable mode of conveyance in America; the roads being very rough, and the carriages in a wretched condition. The coaches ſet out in the middle of the night, and no time is given to recover a little by repoſe from the terrible ſtate into which one is put by the jolting of the carriage, by too many paſſengers being crowded together, and the trunks and parcels which are thruſt into the inſide of theſe vehicles bruiſing one's legs, that have not room to be ſtretched out if theſe packages were not in the way. But I had no other means of proceeding to Philadelphia, at leaſt for ſome time; and I contrived to make this journey as little inconvenient as could be for a ſtage-coach, by going in that which carries the mail, and which, being obliged to proceed more quickly, takes only ſix paſſengers, is provided with better horſes, and is, in all reſpects, better conducted. I had fortunately no fellow-travellers but the family of Mr. *James Barré*, a merchant of Baltimore, from whom I had received many civilities during my ſhort ſtay in that town; and although we were ſeven, inſtead of ſix, I had no reaſon to complain. But it is not in a ſtage that the traveller can purſue his enquiries; he ſcarcely ſees any thing of the country, and frequently cannot even learn the names of the villages and creeks he paſſes. As I hope to make this journey on horſeback, I ſhall, till then, poſtpone the greater part of what I have to ſay reſpecting this road.

At *Havre de Grace* we croſſed the Suſquehannah, near the place where it falls into the Cheſapeak. The country, which riſes on each ſide of the river, is not ill cultivated; and has a ſufficient number of dwellings to form a very pleaſing proſpect. The Suſquehannah in this place is above a mile and a quarter in breadth. Three or four

ſmall

ſmall iſlands, both above and below the ferry, have a good effect; and this view, although not grand, is one of the moſt beautiful I have ſeen in America.

The Suſquehannah cuts Maryland into two parts; one of which is called the *Weſtern Shore*, and the other the *Eaſtern Shore*. The latter extends along the Cheſapeak, to the two counties of Virginia; and is ſeparated from Delaware-Bay by the State of Delaware. We paſſed through ſeveral ſmall and neat towns, belonging to the State of Maryland; ſuch as *Charles-Town*, *Elk-Town*, &c. After which, we entered the State of Delaware, and croſſed the towns of *Chriſtiana* and *Wilmington*; the latter of which is only twenty miles from Philadelphia.

RESIDENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

We ſet out from Baltimore at four o'clock on Monday morning, and arrived at Philadelphia on Tueſday, July 20th, at eight in the morning, having ſtopped five or ſix hours at Wilmington, which time was deſtined to ſleep, but was entirely given to the bugs and fleas that ſwarm there.

The heat of this ſummer being by no means ſo intenſe as is uſual here, I was not ſo much incommoded by it as I expected. Having got my letters, and informed myſelf of the ſtate of Europe, I was in haſte to quit Philadelphia.

The price of flour in Philadelphia has not fallen ſo much as might be expected. The merchants keep it up at twelve dollars; but they can ſell only to bakers who wanted money or foreſight to lay in a ſtock or purchaſe it in the country. The warehouſes are filled with this article; and a fall in the price muſt be haſtened by the great plenty of the preſent harveſt.

I muſt not omit to mention a very great natural curioſity, that I ſaw on my journey to Philadelphia—a negro of Virginia, whoſe parents were both negroes; and who, gradually changing his native hue, became white. This man continued black till he was forty years of age, when the ſkin of his fingers, near the nails, began at firſt to aſſume a lighter

lighter colour, and continued to grow lighter and lighter till it was perfectly white. The proceſs was the ſame in almoſt all the different parts of his body. His legs, thighs, arms, and hands, are white, with the exception of a few ſpots of different ſizes, which are brown, ſome of a deeper ſhade than others, but all being lighter towards the edges. His neck and ſhoulders are of the ſame complexion as the ſkin of people with red hair; and is freckled in the ſame manner. Straight and ſmooth hair is partially ſubſtituted for his natural wool. On his breaſt there remain tufts of the wool; but they fall off daily, and are ſucceeded by black or grey hairs. His face is white from the hair to the loweſt extremity of his forehead; his noſe is black; the reſt of his face a kind of brown, deepeſt toward the noſe, and gradually growing light as it approaches the white part. His head, all of which is black, is ſtill covered with wool; except at the crown, where hair has diſplaced the wool. His private parts, he ſays, are leſs advanced in this progreſs, although the change is begun in them. By his own account, a ſenſible progreſs has been made in this metamorphoſis of his perſon during the time he has been travelling, which has been for the laſt three months; and there is no doubt but in a ſhort time he will become entirely white. He is, at preſent, one and forty years of age.

To form a diſtinct idea of this metamorphoſis, the white colour of the ſkin is not to be underſtood to reſemble that of an *Albino*, but to be the real complexion of white people, or, to ſpeak more particularly ſtill, of white people with red hair.

There is no reaſon to queſtion the extraction of this negro; he having ſerved the whole of laſt war in a corps of pioneers, and is beſides well known in Virginia, where he has generally reſided, and furniſhed with certificates ſufficient to ſatisfy perſons diſpoſed to queſtion the fact. The change has not been attended with any ſickneſs. This man travels about the country to ſhew himſelf for money. It is to be obſerved, that there have been ſeveral inſtances in America of negroes, either Mulattos or Indians, changing their colour; ſome after illneſs, and others in a perfect ſtate of health; but there is no inſtance of the change being as complete as this.

SECOND

SECOND TOUR TO THE NORTH.

JOURNEY FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW-YORK.

HAVING determined to employ the remainder of the year in a ſecond journey to the North, I ſet out in a ſtage from Philadelphia for New-York; I was deſirous of loſing no time on the road, and the heat of the weather made it very fatiguing and inconvenient to travel on horſeback.

I had an opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral of my friends during a ſtay of twenty-four hours at *Trenton*. What information I could procure there I propoſe to blend with the reſult of the enquiries I ſhall make in a longer viſit to Jerſey. What I collected at New-York, during the ſhort time I ſtaid there, ſhall alſo be hereafter noticed; but I had too little opportunity to make my account as copious and perfect as I could wiſh. Letters from Europe, to which I was compelled to pay great attention, engaged much of my time; and not without reaſon. The fatigue of four ſucceſſive months employed in collecting information had, I confeſs, inclined me to take my eaſe; with which temper I was unwilling to quarrel, having determined to ſet aſide ſeveral weeks before my departure from America to acquire a competent knowledge of that intereſting city. I learned, however, that ſpeculations in corn and flour have greatly deranged the affairs of ſeveral mercantile houſes at New-York; that one of the firſt houſes has failed from the ſame cauſe; and that others are on the eve of following it. The merchants of that city, either leſs wealthy or leſs adventurous than thoſe of Philadelphia, have lowered the price of flour to ten dollars, which is a third leſs than it was ſix months ſince; but even this price is greatly higher than it ought to be, from the demand for American flour in Europe.

PASSAGE

PASSAGE FROM NEW-YORK TO PROVIDENCE.

As I was already well acquainted with the Boſton road by land, I embarked on board the *Clementina*, one of the pacquets that ſail conſtantly to Providence. Mr. Guillemar, whom I had met at Trenton, had loſt his way; and having joined me again at New-York, he took his paſſage with me in the ſame pacquet.

For the firſt eighteen hours the wind was very favourable; but then ſuddenly changed, and being in our teeth, and there being every appearance of an approaching ſtorm, the captain judged it prudent to make for a ſecure harbour. We therefore quitted our track, and landed at *Stonning-Town*, where we remained thirty-ſix hours.

STONNING-TOWN; ITS TRADE; AGRICULTURE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD; AND PRICES OF ITS PRODUCTIONS.

Stonning-Town is a ſmall ſea-port of Connecticut. It takes its name from the firſt proprietor of the lands which form the townſhip. The name, however, is corrupted to *Stones-Town*; which ſeems to be natural enough, for the rocks project into the ſtreets in every quarter. The principal ſtreet is cleared with great expence and labour; but the reſt are ſo encumbered, that it is with difficulty, and not without danger, a perſon walks along them at night. The townſhip is fifteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. The town contains from twelve to thirteen hundred ſouls. The land is chiefly employed in paſturage; on which a conſiderable quantity of cattle is reared; but the chief produce is cheeſe, which is made in great abundance, and is in great requeſt throughout America. Four hundred thouſand pounds of cheeſe are yearly exported from Stonning-Town to the different ports of the United States; but chiefly to Boſton, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The price at theſe places is about eight pence half-penny per pound. This commerce is carried on partly by veſſels that come purpoſely

to

to purchaſe cheeſe at Stonning-Town, and partly by ſmall ſloops belonging to the port which ſail for the different ports of the States, as the wind happens to ſerve.

I viſited a farm belonging to an old Quaker, named *John Friſh*, where from fourteen to fifteen thouſand pounds of cheeſe are made annually. This farmer keeps from forty to fifty cows. The price he gets from the merchants for his cheeſe is about five pence half-penny per pound. He alſo fattens from twelve to fifteen oxen yearly; and raiſes rye, oats, Indian corn, flax, and potatoes; and might, with a little more knowledge of his buſineſs, conſiderably increaſe the produce of his farm. His cows and oxen wander at pleaſure over the land; which although manured by this means, does not receive the benefit it would if the manure were diſtributed more ſkilfully. He mows his meadows but once a year; and they produce about forty hundred weight of hay per acre.

This ſyſtem of farming is general here; and the produce is nearly the ſame throughout. Meadows properly manured, and mowed three times, yield eighty hundred weight of hay per acre. John Friſh has one hundred acres in cultivation.

The land in the townſhip of Stonning-Town is tolerably good; it yields thirty buſhels of Indian corn per acre; eighteen of rye or oats; and often double this quantity when the fields are manured. Upon the whole, little wheat is produced in this townſhip, or the adjoining one of Connecticut. Some fields are ſown with it on the frontiers, and land which is properly manured, yields forty buſhels per acre. Labourers are eaſily procured in the neighbourhood of Stonning-Town; their ordinary wages are three fourths of a dollar per day, or nine dollars per month, but they are as much again during the harveſt.

The price of land here is from ten to forty dollars per acre. It has not riſen of late years, in the ſame degree as in many other parts of America. Thirty-three years ago John Friſh purchaſed his land at the rate of ſixteen dollars per acre, and could not now get more than

thirty-two for it. Moſt of the inhabitants of Stonning-Town, as well as thoſe of the reſt of Connecticut, and of Maſſachuſetts, poſſeſs lands in the back parts of the States of Vermont and New-Hampſhire, which they purchaſed very cheap, and where they eſtabliſh their children as they grow up, unleſs they meet with an opportunity of ſettling them more advantageouſly at home.

A few veſſels belonging to Stonning-Town are employed in the cod-fiſhery on the coaſt of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland: but as this fiſh appears in abundance only in the ſpring, the fiſhery here forms but a very inconſiderable branch of trade. The fiſh are cured in Stonning-Town, and ſold at the rate of five dollars for one hundred and twenty-eight pounds. A ſmall number of ſhips are alſo employed in the fiſhery at the Great Bank; but they cure their fiſh at Newfoundland, and frequently carry them to Boſton, or other ports. Black-fiſh, baſs, and crab, being in great abundance on this coaſt, a conſiderable number of ſmall craft is engaged in that fiſhery. The fiſh are kept in ponds along the ſhore, and are generally carried to New-York. At Stonning-Town they ſell for two pence half-penny per pound.

Forty veſſels of different burthen, but moſtly ſmall, belong to this place, which are principally employed in the coaſting-trade. Inſtead of ſixteen ſhips, formerly engaged in the fiſhery, at preſent four only carry on that trade. Some ſail to the Weſt-Indies, and even to Europe. The only three-maſted ſhip belonging to Stonning-Town is at this time in France. She is the property of Mr. Smith, who keeps a ſtore in this town, and of a merchant of New-York, who owns half of the veſſel. The ſhips which trade to the Weſt-Indies carry thither the produce of the townſhip and the country in its vicinity, and bring commonly in return the commodities of the iſlands; which are afterwards conveyed from Stonning-Town to New-York, where moſt of the ſhips that ſail for Europe take in their cargoes. They proceed chiefly to France, whence they bring in return brandy and wine. The produce of Stonning-Town, like that of the whole State of Connecticut,

necticut, conſiſts of ſalt beef and pork, pot and pearl aſhes, neat cattle and flax-ſeed.

As the port of Stonning-Town, with reſpect to the cuſtoms, is comprized in the diſtrict of New-London, its exports are not exactly known.

Although Stonning-Town is ſituated in Connecticut, yet it has no public ſchools, that is to ſay, no tax is levied in the townſhip appropriated to the ſupport of free-ſchools. But as this townſhip pays to the ſtate a tax of two and a half per cent for theſe ſchools, it follows that the expence of ſchooling amounts for ſuch inhabitants as ſend their children to the public ſchools to a fourth only of what they would have to pay without that general tax. Nine pence a week is paid for a child.

Every perſon I have had an opportunity of converſing with in Stonning-Town ſpeaks with enthuſiaſm of the gallantry diſplayed by the French troops, whoſe valour and ſucceſs have gained France numerous friends in America. The atrocious deeds, at the remembrance of which poſterity will ſtand aghaſt, are, notwithſtanding, deteſted by them: but you meet with many people who either forbear mentioning them at all, or conſidering them as the reſults of a tranſient phrenſy, impute their guilt chiefly to Robeſpierre, whom they hold in execration, and acquit the French nation at large. They generally conclude by ſaying—"But how the French fight! they are lions!" It is eſpecially among country-people, and perſons of the ſecond rank, I hear this language; and theſe form the bulk of the nation; who, as I have already frequently obſerved, being leſs influenced by political views, and leſs ſwayed by the ſpirit of party, than the higher claſſes of ſociety, are more ſtrenuouſly attached to France, their intereſts not being interwoven with the ſucceſſes of Great Britain

NEWPORT.

Impatience, rather than a favourable change of wind, having induced our captain to ſet ſail from Stonning-Town, we arrived at Newport on the 15th of Auguſt, after a paſſage of ten hours. We ſhould have had as favourable an opportunity the preceding day.

Mr. Guillemard proceeded to Providence by land.

A bar of rocks, about half a mile in extent, lies at the mouth of the ſmall bay at the bottom of which Stonning-Town is ſituated. Great care is therefore required to ſteer clear of it, eſpecially in ſtormy weather; having cleared it, we ſailed in the courſe generally purſued by ſhips bound from New-York to Newport. We paſſed between the ſhore and *Block-Iſland*, an iſland famous, like Stonning-Town, for its cheeſe, yet ſtill more ſo for its fiſhery, and the huſbandry of its inhabitants. It forms a part of the State of Rhode-Iſland.

The Providence packets have generally parcels and letters for Newport. We ſtopped there from nine at night to nine in the morning. It gave me pleaſure to ſee once more, not this dull low town, but its environs, which form a charming landſcape, and are, as well as the whole iſland, one of the moſt healthy parts of America. Several families of Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, come to reſide here every year to avoid the dreadful heat and inſalubrity of their own country. Newport alſo unites the advantage of a low price for all the neceſſaries of life with that of not offering any means, nor holding out any temptation, for expences foreign to the neceſſities of exiſtence.

The ſalubrity of the town of Newport is, no doubt, produced by the keenneſs of the air; yet this often proves hurtful to the inhabitants in their youth, and the number of young people, eſpecially girls, who die of complaints in the lungs, is very conſiderable. It is a circumſtance worthy of remark, that the inſcription on the tomb-ſtones mention only childhood, youth, or old age; they record the deaths of

few

few perſons between twenty and ſeventy years old, but a conſiderable number beyond the latter age.

PROVIDENCE.—STATE OF RHODE-ISLAND.

The religious perſecutions in England gave riſe to the different colonies which by their union compoſed the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. Religious perſecution in Maſſachuſetts gave birth to the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland.

Roger Williams, a miniſter of the goſpel at Plymouth, was firſt baniſhed thence to Salem on account of certain opinions which his brethren of Plymouth would not tolerate in him. Although much beloved by the inhabitants of this new place of reſidence, yet, as his principles did not accord with thoſe of the church of Boſton, the influence of the Boſtonian miniſters prevailed againſt him even in his retreat.

Among the various articles of his doctrine which the ſynod of Boſton conſidered as erroneous and dangerous, that which, above all the others, moſt violently claſhed with the maxims and intereſts of the ſynod, was his declaration "that puniſhment inflicted for matters of conſcience was perſecution."

The intrigues of the prieſts prevailed over the attachment of his fellow-inhabitants, and he was a ſecond time baniſhed. This event took place in 1636; and he retired to the ſouthern part of the ſtate to live among the Nawangara ſavages, at a place by them called Moſhawſick, but to which he gave the appellation of *Providence*, in grateful acknowledgement of the aſylum he found there after all the perſecutions to which he had been expoſed. A few friends followed him, and together with him founded that part of the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland known by the name of *Providence-Plantation*.

The ſame or a ſimilar cauſe gave riſe to the other ſettlements of Rhode-Iſland. A Doctor Coddington, a native of Lancaſhire, and one of the firſt ſettlers in the colony of Salem, was, in 1636, called to account

count for his religious principles. The accuſation brought againſt him was only a pretext to cloke the jealouſy entertained of his influence by Governor Winthrop and others: but that pretext was an effectual mean of accompliſhing their views; and Coddington, being baniſhed from Boſton, retired with a few friends to the iſland called by the Indians Aquidneck, and ſince known by the name of Rhode-Iſland. From a tribe dependent on the Indians of Nawangara he purchaſed this iſle, and all the others which, with the part of the continent bounded by Connecticut, now form the Rhode-Iſland Plantation.

The Quakers and Anabaptiſts who were perſecuted in New-England, flocked to Rhode-Iſland, and raiſed the colony to a flouriſhing ſtate, notwithſtanding the wars with the Indians. The need in which the inhabitants ſtood of protection inſpired them with a wiſh to unite with the other colonies of New-England: but the latter refuſed to accede to the propoſed union; and, in 1662, Charles the Second, at the requeſt of the former, granted them a charter which united the two plantations into one ſtate, and conferred on them the privileges and the conſtitution which they, like the ſtate of Connecticut, have ſtill preſerved notwithſtanding the revolution.

That which is peculiar to the ſtate of Rhode Iſland is compoſed of the ſame elements as all the others. The legiſlative aſſembly conſiſts of an upper and a lower houſe. The former is compoſed of the governor (who is preſident), a deputy-governor, and ten aſſiſtants, who are choſen by annual election. The governor poſſeſſes but a ſingle vote in the enactment of laws. The treaſurer and the ſecretary of ſtate are alſo annually appointed.—The lower houſe conſiſts of the repreſentatives of the different townſhips. Newport ſends ſix; Providence, Portſmouth on the iſland, and Warwick, each four; and two are ſent by each of the other towns in the ſtate. Theſe delegates are elected twice in the year, and thus have two ſeſſions.—The judges and the executive officers are elected once a-year by the legiſlative body, who alſo nominate the military officers, but for an indefinite term.—

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The judicial power in this little ſtate is veſted in a ſupreme court, conſiſting of five judges, and ſitting twice in the year, at Providence and Newport alternately. The inferior courts are held twice a-year in each county. The ſupreme court is their court of appeal.

The trade of Providence employs a hundred and forty-two veſſels belonging to that port; and very little of it is ſhared by foreign ſhips, even by thoſe of the other ſtates. That trade, as I think I remarked laſt year, conſiſts in the exportation of oxen, live hogs, ſalt pork, butter and cheeſe, barley, timber, onions, rum, whiſkey, gin, flax-ſeed, wrought iron, and the commodities imported from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The greater part of the cheeſe, however, is conſumed in the United States, to which the port of Providence alſo ſends great quantities of lime-ſtone, and ſome iron. All the native articles above enumerated are principally derived from thoſe parts of Connecticut and Maſſachuſetts which lie within the diſtance of twenty or thirty miles from Rhode-Iſland. The iron is forged within the ſtate, at the falls of Potoſky, round which lies a very rich mine. Cannons and anchors are there fabricated; of the latter of which a pretty conſiderable number are exported to the Indies. The value of the exports from Providence was—in 1790, from the month of June, one hundred and thirteen thouſand, two hundred and thirty-one dollars—in 1791, three hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand, four hundred and thirty—in 1792, three hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand, nine hundred and nine—in 1793, four hundred and thirty-one thouſand, five hundred and eighteen—in 1794, ſix hundred and twenty-three thouſand, two hundred and ſixty-one—in 1795, one million forty thouſand and five—and, for the firſt ſix months of 1796, four hundred and thirteen thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-four.

This great increaſe in the value of the exports is not here, any more than elſewhere, a true criterion of their quantities; for, although I have not had time to take from the cuſtom-houſe books an abſtract of the different articles year by year, and to compare their eſtimated values,

values, I know that the tonnage of the port of Providence has increaſed only in a very ſmall proportion; ſince it amounted in 1792 to eleven thouſand two hundred tons, and does not at preſent exceed fourteen thouſand five hundred. It is true, that, during the laſt year, the ſhipping of that port ſuffered loſſes to the amount of eleven or twelve hundred tons by ſhipwreck, captures, &c.

The commerce of Providence is carried on with the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Denmark, the north of Germany, and the coaſts of Africa. Some of her veſſels trade to France; but the number of theſe is very ſmall. They uſually carry thither tobacco and train-oil: during the two laſt years they carried rice, meal, ſalt beef, raw hides, and ſhoes for the army.—Providence and Newport carry on no trade with England: whatever Britiſh commodities they want, they purchaſe at New-York and Boſton.

To the value of the exports from Providence may be added about eight hundred thouſand dollars in ſpecie which are annually ſent out for the trade with India and China; ſince that money may truly be called the produce, inaſmuch as it is the fruit of the produce, of the ſtate.

The laws of Rhode-Iſland are not collected into a regular code. But I underſtand that a law was enacted ſome years ſince, prohibiting the importation of negro ſlaves into the ſtate—declaring free all ſuch as ſhould be brought into it by perſons coming from other parts, together with the children who might thereafter be born, as well as thoſe already born, when they ſhould have attained the age of twenty-one years—but at the ſame time confirming the ſlavery of ſuch negroes as were ſlaves at the time of the promulgation of the law.

The principles on which are grounded the aſſeſſment and levying of the taxes in the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland are eſſentially the ſame as they were at the period of the firſt ſettlement of the colony. The changes which have ſince been introduced in the mode of collection, are ſlight. Thoſe taxes are a capitation, a tax on real and perſonal property, from which a law of 1795 excepts, as untaxable articles, all furniture (not including plate), implements of agriculture, workmen's tools, and a

quarter

quarter of the capital employed in trade on ſea. The raiſing of the taxes reſts with each town or townſhip, which is reſponſible to the ſtate-treaſurer for the proportion of the taxes aſſigned to it by the legiſlature. The ratio is regulated by a general valuation made from time to time, at thoſe periods when the wealth of the ſtate is ſuppoſed to have been augmented to a certain degree, either by an increaſe in the population, or by improvements in agriculture, or by the profits of ſucceſsful commerce. The laſt three valuations took place in 1767, 1778, and 1795. On the firſt of thoſe occaſions the taxable property was valued at ſeven millions three hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſix dollars; on the ſecond, at ten millions nine hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and nine dollars; and, in 1795, at fifteen millions five hundred thouſand dollars. It appears that this augmentation in the quantum of taxable property is attributable to the increaſe of the capitals employed in trade, more than to any other cauſe.

Each town or townſhip nominates three or five commiſſioners, whoſe duty it is to make the eſtimate of the property therein contained, after having received the declarations of the inhabitants. The legiſlature nominates ten ſuperior commiſſioners, who are to viſit the towns and townſhips, to receive and examine the eſtimates of thoſe firſt-mentioned officers, and, after ſuch examination, to determine the portion of the general tax impoſed by the ſtate, which is to be paid by each place.

The law provides precautions againſt falſe declarations or the refuſal to make any, and alſo againſt ſuch towns as may either refuſe or delay the payment.

The capitation-tax is ſettled in the proportion of ſix-pence for every thouſand pounds rated to the ſtate. The towns may nevertheleſs ſet aſide this tax, provided they contribute their quota toward ſatisfying the public demand in ſome other mode. The town of Providence, for inſtance, levies her proportion of it only on movable and immovable eſtates.

Aſſeſſors, choſen by the inhabitants, afterward determine the par-

ticular ſum to be paid by each individual who is liable to the tax; which is collected by an officer choſen in the ſame manner. The towns defray the charges of aſſeſſment and collection. The aſſeſſor receives one and three fourths per cent on the ſums aſſeſſed: the collector heretofore received five per cent: but ſome towns contract with the latter on lower terms; and there are inſtances in which he is paid no more than two and a half per cent.

The taxes of the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland, as I have already obſerved, amount only to ſix thouſand pounds, or twenty-thouſand dollars, and are regularly paid. The expence of the civil liſt is but five thouſand dollars. For ſeveral ſucceſſive years an annual ſum of eight thouſand five hundred dollars has been expended on the erection of a priſon and a houſe for the ſittings of the legiſlative body. The ſtate owes about ninety-eight thouſand dollars, and has, for the diſcharge of that ſum, no other reſource than taxation. By the deciſion of the commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the accounts between the United States and the individual ſtates, Rhode-Iſland is creditor to the Union to the amount of two hundred and eighty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and eleven dollars.

PROVIDENCE.

The town of Providence, though in general healthy, is not however exempt from bilious fevers toward the end of ſummer and in autumn; but theſe complaints are uſually unattended with danger. Conſumptions in youthful habits are as common here as at Newport; and many individuals fall victims to them before the age of thirty.

We—for I have again joined company with Monſieur Guillemard—we have paſſed the chief part of the time that we ſpent in Providence, at the houſe of Mr. Thayer, a merchant of this town, with whom I had been acquainted at Charleſton, where he has long reſided, and carried on with prodigious ſucceſs a very extenſive and rich trade. He conducted his great commercial enterprizes with a ſufficient degree

degree of prudence to avoid thoſe ſpeculations ſo common among the merchants of America; yet that caution has not ſaved him from experiencing the greateſt reverſes in his fortune. He had indorſed to a conſiderable amount the notes of a houſe at New-York, one of the moſt opulent and reſpectable in that city. But the houſe in queſtion had ſo deeply ſpeculated on the high prices of flour and rice in Europe, that it has ſtopped payment, and the reſponſibility falls on Mr. Thayer. He will not be ruined by this event: in all probability even his affairs will be ſettled; for the houſe at New-York will again carry on buſineſs, and he himſelf, by his own ſingle exertions, would, at his preſent ſtage of life, be capable of retrieving his fortune if it were totally ruined. But his credit and his delicacy ſuffer ſeverely on the occaſion. He nevertheleſs ſupports his diſaſter with a calm fortitude, and a confidence in the return of fortune, which at once furniſh his friends with a ground of hope, and himſelf with the means of ſucceſs. His name is ſo implicated in this unfortunate buſineſs, that he has made, to thoſe who hold the notes of that houſe endorſed by him, an offer of forty thouſand pounds ſterling on condition of their cancelling his name. Mr. Thayer is otherwiſe rich, being heir to a conſiderable family eſtate which is in the hands of his mother. He is deſcended in a direct line from Roger Williams, the founder of Providence Plantation. Mr. Thayer's houſe is built on the ſame ſpot where that founder, his progenitor, cut down the firſt tree, and erected the firſt hut.

I have learned here that the bridge which had been erected laſt year over the Eaſt-Paſſage to open a way into Rhode-Iſland, and of which the ſolidity appeared doubtful, was carried away laſt winter by the floods. It has ſince been rebuilt; and hopes are now entertained that this new conſtruction is on a better plan than the former.

ROUTE TO BOSTON.—PATUXENT.

Again the ſtage from Providence to Boſton! The journey is only forty-five miles: yet, with the ſingle exception of Mr. Robram, a native of Pruſſia, but ſince become more than half a Frenchman by a reſidence of ſix and twenty years at Bordeaux as a merchant, the company was ſuch as ſtrongly confirmed me in my averſion to ſtage-coaches.

Patuxent bridge, at the diſtance of five miles from Providence, is the boundary of the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland. Here are eſtabliſhed cotton-works which ſeem to ſucceed better than any other manufacture hitherto eſtabliſhed in America—anchor-forges—foundries for cannon and other heavy articles in iron. The river Patuxent, alſo called Blackſtone, gives motion to all the machines uſed in theſe various works. It takes its riſe in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, and falls into Narraganſee Bay near Providence. From Patuxent to its mouth it is navigable for veſſels of the largeſt ſize.

On his way to Boſton, the traveller paſſes through Briſtol-County, containing a population of thirty-four thouſand ſouls in an extent of thirteen hundred and forty-four ſquare miles.—Norfolk-County, whoſe ſuperficial extent is nine hundred and ſixteen ſquare miles, containing twenty-five thouſand inhabitants—and the towns of Taunton and Durham, each the capital of a county of ſimilar name. Durham is the place of reſidence of Mr. Ames, a well-informed member of Congreſs, a warm federaliſt, a voluble and copious ſpeaker, an honeſt man moreover, but whoſe talents and political merit are exaggerated by party-zeal perhaps beyond their juſt value, and ſufficiently ſo to call forth a ſeverity of judgement on him even from impartial perſons who, but for that exaggeration, might have been diſpoſed to feel a propoſſeſſion in his favour. He ſtands at this moment in great celebrity for a ſpeech that he delivered at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion of Congreſs, recommending to the houſe of repreſentatives to

vote

vote the neceſſary ſums for carrying into execution the commercial treaty with England: and that ſpeech is, by the men of his party from one end of the continent to the other, extolled as a piece of eloquence which Demoſthenes or Cicero would have found it difficult to equal. Now the diſcourſe in queſtion, which the feeble health of the ſpeaker did not allow him to extend to ſuch length as would have been neceſſary for the diſcuſſion of the principles and their application to the ſubject in debate, is addreſſed rather to the paſſions than to the underſtanding. At the moment when it was pronounced, that was perhaps the beſt direction that it could poſſibly take, eſpecially as coming from the mouth of Mr. Ames, an eſteemed and eſtimable man, who, labouring as he then did under indiſpoſition, ſeemed to endanger his health in ſupport of what his party termed the ſalvation of the commonwealth; and derived an additional degree of intereſt from the very circumſtance of that indiſpoſition. Thoſe people, therefore, who would have wiſhed to find in that diſcourſe greater depth and ſolidity, and even a greater portion of reaſoning, cannot deny him the merit—which is no inconſiderable one—of having well underſtood the temper of men's minds, together with the influence of exiſting circumſtances, and taken a dextrous advantage of both. This is, no doubt, a very material part of the art of oratory, though it is the moſt deluſive.

That affair of the treaty is now at end. The Britiſh and American commiſſioners have met for the purpoſe of carrying it into execution: but it is now hardly any longer the topic of converſation. The partiſans of the treaty, however, affect to extol the ſtrict punctuality with which the Engliſh have given up the poſts; as if that evacuation of poſts, which was an article of the treaty of 1783, and renewed in this latter treaty as a fundamental article and independent of every other, had been conſidered, even by its ſupporters, as a doubtful event; and as if England conferred an extraordinary honour on America in obſerving any one of her engagements to the latter.

It

It is not uncommon for weak people lightly to impute to the more powerful certain motives of affection and regard: and this diſpoſition will not be miſtaken by any one for a refinement in gratitude, but will certainly be deemed a refinement in vanity.

That ſurrender of the poſts was no doubt a matter of importance to the United States. The poſſeſſion of them places the American navigation on the lakes beyond the control of Great Britain; it frees the country from the preſence of Engliſh troops, and leaves the Americans maſters of one or two great eſtabliſhments; but thoſe who have ſufficient prudence to ſee that peace is the greateſt bleſſing which America can deſire, cannot conſider the ſurrender of the poſts as wholly unattended with danger. When one is acquainted with the active diſpoſition of the Engliſh commandants—the ſpirit of reſentment too generally harboured by their nation againſt the United States of America—the opinion with which long and ſole poſſeſſion has inſpired the Engliſh that they had an excluſive right to the navigation of the lakes—and when, on the other hand, one is acquainted with the enterprizing ſpirit of the Americans in commerce, particularly in a new branch of commerce—their jealouſy, their indiſpoſition toward the Engliſh (I ſpeak of that claſs of men who are to dwell on the borders of theſe lakes, and of the officers and ſoldiers who are to garriſon the forts)—one cannot but apprehend that this vicinity, this continual clafhing of the intereſts of the two ſtates, will furniſh new ſubjects of diſpute in addition to thoſe which ariſe in every country from the too near approximation of the troops of different powers. To guard againſt ſuch conſequences as may reaſonably be anticipated, would require ſuch prudence and conciliatory diſpoſitions in the commanding officers on both ſides, ſuch conſtant vigilance on the part of both governments, ſo eminent a ſpirit of juſtice and pacification, that one cannot venture to hope for ſo extraordinary a combination of fortunate circumſtances. But, whether hoſtilities break out between England and America in that or in any other quarter, it is at all events

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more than probable that a war will be the reſult of that treaty at ſome future period, more or leſs diſtant, according as England ſhall feel more or leſs confidence in her own ſtrength.

I find the minds of the people here changed in favour of France. Succeſs has ever great influence on popular opinion, and for more than one reaſon. But let us quit politics, a ſubject to which I am frequently induced to return by that unvarying regard for the intereſts of France, which purſues me as it were in ſpite of me. May that nation be as happy and well-regulated as it is great! may it make a prudent and moderate uſe of its immenſe and aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes! may good laws, genuine public ſpirit, and a ſincere abjuration of party-animoſities, cement its conſtitution, reſtore induſtry within its boundaries, and kindle in every boſom the love of liberty! Theſe are the moſt deſirable of its conqueſts.

HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, LAWS, AND COMMERCE, OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The foundation of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts was the conſequence of religious perſecution. The Preſbyterians being perſecuted in England about the year 1608, a Mr. Robinſon, miniſter of one of their churches, went over to Holland—to Amſterdam in the firſt inſtance, afterward to Leiden—to enjoy the liberty of profeſſing the religion of his ſect. Several families followed him thither; but after a reſidence of ſix years in that country, being diſſatisfied with the manners of the inhabitants, and abandoned by their children who engaged as ſoldiers or ſailors in the Dutch ſervice—at the ſame time receiving from navigators an advantageous deſcription of the coaſts of North-America—thoſe emigrants determined to ſeek in the weſtern world an aſylum were they might reſt ſecure from all perſecution. After fruitleſs endeavours to obtain grants of land from the Virginia company, who, by patent from the king of England, were proprietors of almoſt the entire coaſt of North-America—and after equally unſucceſsful

ſucceſsful applications to king James the Firſt to give his conſent to their intended ſettlement—they would have been at length compelled to relinquiſh their project, if Mr. Werton, a rich London merchant, had not facilitated to them the means of carrying it into execution, by forming a company for the purpoſe.

It was in July 1620 that the little colony embarked at Southampton in England. Untoward accidents reduced to a ſingle veſſel the armament which was to have conſiſted of two: and the emigrants, inſtead of reaching the vicinity of Hudſon's-River according to their original plan, were driven to Cape-Cod-Harbour, where they landed firſt on one of the iſlands near the cape, and afterward on the continent, at the place to which they gave the name of Plymouth.

This firſt expedition inſpired numerous other mal-contents in England with a wiſh to emigrate to America. Accordingly, in 1622, another colony paſſed over, and ſettled at the place now called Hingham. In 1624 a third, under the conduct of Captain Wollaſton, eſtabliſhed themſelves at Braintree. Among the names of theſe firſt ſettlers is found that of Thomas Adams, anceſtor of the preſent Vice-Preſident of the United States, who ſtill poſſeſſes the ſame lands which were at that time granted to his family. In 1624, a fourth ſettlement was formed at Cape-Ann. Finally, in 1629, a numerous colony came to Salem, under the conduct of John Winthrop. Courage ſeldom forſakes thoſe who flee from perſecution: and its aid was highly neceſſary to theſe firſt ſettlers, to enable them to endure the privations and difficulties and obſtacles of every kind, which they had to encounter. They overcame them all.

But ſoon theſe new-comers, who had themſelves been the objects of perſecution, became perſecutors in turn. The Indians had given them a friendly reception, had aided them with their means, had voluntarily granted them lands. The coloniſts were not content with this: the newly-arrived white man fancied himſelf entitled to the ſuperiority of a maſter over the native Indian: and oppreſſion ſoon began to be exerciſed by the European ſettlers.

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The Indians, naturally kind, are alſo naturally vindictive. Repriſals were made on their part: and in Maſſachuſetts, as in the iſlands of the gulf of Florida, the white people, defending in a body the crimes of ſome individuals of their number, ſaw themſelves involved in open war with their benefactors, drove them to as great a diſtance as they could, and thus commenced that ſeries of encroachments which has never ſince been diſcontinued, and of which it is impoſſible to foreſee the end.

Their quarrels with the Indians were not the only diſputes that diſturbed the peace of theſe infant colonies. Driven, as they had been, from England by the ſpirit of intolerance and religious perſecution, they ſuffered the ſame ſpirit of intolerance and religious perſecution to grow up among themſelves. Liberty of conſcience was the fundamental condition of the new ſettlements: but the Preſbyterians, finding themſelves more numerous than the other ſects, violated that principle; thereby proving to the world, that, like many others before and ſince their time, they wiſhed to reſerve the liberty entirely to themſelves—and that, although they were enemies to all power which oppreſſed them, they were not equally averſe to that which enabled them to exerciſe oppreſſion over others. The Quakers and Anabaptiſts were perſecuted, impriſoned, baniſhed, put to death. Some members of the community were found to profeſs the tenets of the church of England: they alſo were perſecuted. A ſchiſm took place among the Preſbyterians, and gave birth to violent quarrels.

The events which diſgraced the early period of theſe colonies furniſh an additional proof of that inconteſtable axiom in politics, that—although a religion be neceſſary in every government, not only for the internal comfort of the individuals, but alſo the more ſtrongly to attach them to their duty as citizens—the worſt of all governments is that in which a ſyſtem of religion is the main ſpring, and which is either conducted or influenced by the miniſters of that religion.

The hiſtory of Maſſachuſetts alſo preſents multiplied inſtances of that barbarous ignorance, which, united with the ſame ſuperſtitious

notions, has in every part of Europe, and particularly in England, put to death ſo many pretended ſorcerers, men, women, and children. Hutchinſon relates, that in 1692, the governor and judges of Salem, being highly exaſperated againſt ſorcerers, and finding no law againſt them in their new code, but wiſhing to have their diſpoſition to ſeverity ſanctioned by the opinion of the prieſthood, applied to the principal miniſters of Boſton for their advice reſpecting the ſteps to be taken in thoſe caſes. He adds that the miniſters concluded their tedious and diffuſe anſwer by the following ſentence—"We cannot but recommend to the government to adopt the moſt ſummary and vigorous modes of proceeding, and ſuch as have been found the moſt efficacious, purſuant to the directions found in the laws of God, and in the wholeſome ſtatutes of the Engliſh nation, for the abolition of witchcraft."

The new colonies, thus retarded in their growth by thoſe religious perſecutions which kept at a diſtance or drove from among them often the moſt active and uſeful citizens, had moreover ſome wars to ſuſtain againſt the little French colonies to the north of Penobſcot. At length, the Indians being driven to Canada, king William the Third incorporated by charter, under the name of the Province of the Colonies or Maſſachuſetts, all the countries extending from Acadia and Nova-Scotia to the ſpot now occupied by New-Bedford, including the iſle of Nantucket and all other iſlands within ten leagues of the coaſt. By this patent the king reſerved to himſelf the nomination of the governor, deputy-governor, and ſecretary. The general aſſembly, which was authorized to frame laws provided they were not contrary to thoſe of England, was compoſed of the governor, the council, and the repreſentatives, whoſe number could not exceed two for each town or village, and who were required to poſſeſs an annual income of twenty ſhillings, or perſonal property to the amount of fifty pounds ſterling. The general aſſembly was empowered to elect twenty counſellors, viz. ten for the province of Maſſachuſetts, ſix for that of Plymouth, three for that of Maine, one for Sagadahock, and two at its own option. The governor had a negative over their proceedings. The general aſſembly nominated the

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judges in civil and criminal cauſes; ſuch of the former as exceeded the ſum of three hundred pounds ſterling were removable by appeal to England. All trees meaſuring above twenty-four inches in diameter, which were growing on the lands yet unſold, were to be reſerved for the uſe of the royal navy, and all gold and ſilver mines for the treaſury. Such nearly was the ſyſtem of government given to the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts by William III. and which continued till the revolution.

The new conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts was framed in 1780. The government, under the name of Commonwealth or Republic of Maſſachuſetts, exhibits the ſame general diſtribution that prevails in the other ſtates. The ſenate is compoſed of thirty-one members elected for twelve months by the freeholders. The ſtate is divided, for the election of ſenators, into diſtricts, each of which, in proportion to the quota it pays of the general contribution, elects a greater or leſſer number of members, but can in no caſe nominate more than ſix. With a view to this limitation, the legiſlature has a power to change the boundaries of the diſtricts, and to increaſe their number, in proportion as any conſiderable augmentation may have taken place in the property of their inhabitants. The diſtricts muſt never be fewer than thirteen. —Excluſive of the thirty-one ſenators who ſit in the houſe, there are nine others ſelected by the ſenate itſelf to conſtitute the governor's council; wherefore the election of ſenators in the diſtricts muſt furniſh forty members. A new election is held every year, on the firſt of Auguſt.

The qualifications requiſite for a ſenator are—to poſſeſs, within the ſtate, an eſtate of at leaſt three hundred pounds * value, or perſonal property to the amount of not leſs than ſix hundred—to have been an inhabitant of the ſtate during five years previous to the election—and to be an actual reſident in the diſtrict for which he is choſen. The

* The dollar in New-England paſſes for ſix ſhillings; conſequently the pound is equivalent to three dollars and one third.

Select-Men of each town (a kind of municipal magiſtrates, of whom I ſhall elſewhere have occaſion to ſpeak) preſide at theſe elections, count the votes, which are given in writing, and ſend them to the ſecretary of ſtate, who with the governor and five counſellors examine them, and convoke the ſenators elect for the day of their meeting.

The houſe of repreſentatives conſiſts of one member from each town or townſhip containing a hundred and fifty inhabitants who pay taxes—of two for three hundred—three for ſix hundred—and thus in the progreſſion of an additional member for each ſurplus of two hundred and twenty-five taxable inhabitants. The conditions required to qualify for a ſeat in the houſe of repreſentatives are—that the candidate have lived in the townſhip for one year immediately preceding the time of election, and that he poſſeſs an eſtate of a hundred pounds' value, or property of another deſcription to the amount of two hundred.

The governor is annually elected in the beginning of April, in the ſame manner as the ſenators. The votes are ſent by the Select-Men to the ſheriff of the county, and by him forwarded to the two branches of the legiſlature in conjunction, who declare as governor the candidate who has the majority of votes. If none of the candidates has a majority, the houſe of repreſentatives chooſe two by ballot from the four who have the greateſt numbers; and the ſenate, in the ſame mode, elect one of the two voted by the repreſentatives. The qualifications for governor and deputy-governor are the ſame, viz. a reſidence of at leaſt ſeven years in the ſtate, and property to the amount of four thouſand pounds, or thirteen thouſand three hundred and thirty-three dollars.

An indiſpenſable qualification for all public functions in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts is the profeſſion of the Chriſtian religion.

The nine members who compoſe the governor's council are choſen from among the ſenators by the joint votes of both houſes given by ballot.

The ſecretary of ſtate, the treaſurer, the receiver-general, the commiſſary-general, the public notaries, and the officers of the port, are annually

annually choſen by the two houſes in conjunction. The treaſurer and the receiver-general cannot be continued in office above five years.

The qualifications for an elector are confined to reſidence in the ſtate, and an income of ten dollars, or a real property of the value of two hundred.

The governor is commander in chief of the ſea and land forces: and the conſtitution arms him with ſufficient authority in caſe of hoſtile attack or domeſtic diſturbance. He nominates all the officers of juſtice, the attorney-general of the ſtate, all the ſheriffs, and coroners: and he can, with the advice of his council, pardon a condemned criminal, except in caſes of impeachment or treaſon.

His refuſal (accompanied by his reaſons for refuſing) to ſanction a law paſſed by the two houſes, renders it neceſſary to re-conſider ſuch law, which, to do away this kind of ſuſpenſive negative, muſt now be ſupported by a majority of two thirds in each houſe.

The officers of militia are elected either by the privates or by the officers, according to the importance of their grade.

All the powers of the officers of juſtice, of what kind ſoever, are confined in duration to ſeven years.

This conſtitution is preceded by a long declaration of rights, which diſcovers neither that preciſion nor that generality of principles which ſeem to be required in an act of this nature. It ſpeaks, for inſtance, of the right poſſeſſed by the people of the republic to lay taxes for the ſupport of public worſhip and ſchools, to inſpect thoſe ſchools, &c. particulars very proper indeed to be inſerted in a law, but which cannot be thruſt into a declaration of rights except by clerical influence.

By virtue of this article, every citizen of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts is ſubject to the payment of a tax for the ſupport of a religion of ſome kind. He is perfectly unreſtrained in his choice: but when the number of thoſe in a townſhip who wiſh to practiſe the ſame religion as not ſufficient for the maintenance of a miniſter of their ſect, or there is no worſhip of the ſame kind in the neighbouring townſhips, the tax

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is nevertheleſs demanded: the inhabitant, however, has the liberty of chooſing to which of the religions followed in his neighbourhood he will prefer that his payment be applied. This tax is generally very moderate. It is regulated on the ſame principles as all thoſe payable to the ſtate. In the great towns it is commonly not demanded; and the income of the clergy in thoſe places ariſes chiefly from the letting of the ſeats in the churches. No perſon is compelled to hire a ſeat: but the ſpirit of devotion which is pretty general through the ſtate, a reſpect for religion, and a deference to the law which makes it a point of the conſtitution, diſpoſes each perſon to hire them: and no ſooner is a pew reſigned by one family, than it is engaged by another.

The nomination of the electors who are to chooſe the preſident and vice-preſident of the United States is made in Maſſachuſetts by the ſame electors who nominate the repreſentatives to ſit in congreſs; and each diſtrict furniſhes one. The two, who are to be named in addition, to complete the number of ſixteen, which conſtitutes the repreſentation of the ſtate in Congreſs (viz. fourteen repreſentatives and two ſenators), are nominated by the legiſlature.

The Select-Men of each townſhip preſide at theſe elections, as at all others. Theſe are men choſen by each townſhip, to conduct its public buſineſs. They have the management of the property of the townſhip when it poſſeſſes any: they are overſeers of the poor, of the ſchools, of the roads: they ſummon meetings of the inhabitants when they think them neceſſary. They receive no ſalary except for the days when they are employed abroad in tranſacting the affairs of the townſhip; and then the remuneration is a dollar and half per day. They are elected only for one year, but are often continued during life. The choice for Select-Men generally falls on perſons of the beſt reputation, and beſt qualified for the management of buſineſs; and the office confers on its poſſeſſor a conſiderable ſhare of reſpectability and influence. This kind of patriarchal magiſtracy, which is common to all New-England, was eſtabliſhed by the firſt coloniſts who arrived from Old England, and has been ſince continued in uninterrupted ſucceſſion.

EXPORTS,

EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND NAVIGATION, OF THE PORT OF BOSTON.

In ſpeaking laſt year of the tonnage of the port of Boſton, I omitted, for want of ſufficient information, to ſtate the amount of the exports. In the year 1791, they amounted to one million one hundred and fifty-nine thouſand and four dollars—in 1792, to one million three hundred and fifty-five thouſand and thirty-eight—in 1793, to one million eight hundred and thirty-four thouſand five hundred and forty—in 1794, to two millions five hundred and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and three—in 1795, to four millions two hundred and fifty-five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight—and, for the firſt quarter of the preſent year 1796, to one million two hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five. The increaſe in the value of the exports is leſs attributable at Boſton than elſewhere to the riſe in the price of produce: for, if we except ſalt fiſh, which Boſton exports in abundance, and of which the price has conſiderably increaſed within the laſt three years, no riſe has taken place on the produce of the country, ſuch as beef, ſalt pork, pot-aſh, timber; and the commodities from the Weſt-Indies, which the trade of Boſton re-exports in large quantities, have riſen very little within the laſt three or four years.

With reſpect to the flour which the Boſton veſſels export, very little of it is furniſhed by Boſton itſelf; it is derived from the ſouthern ſtates: and whatever quantity of it is brought to Boſton for re-exportation, is never taken except to complete the aſſortment of a cargo, and conſequently is not very conſiderable.

The duties on imports paid at the port of Boſton were, in 1793, ſix hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand nine hundred and forty dollars—in 1794, one million five thouſand four hundred and ſeven—in 1795, one million four hundred and eighty thouſand ſix hundred and five—and, in the firſt two quarters of 1796, ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and forty-eight. The facility with which theſe

general

general ſtatements are procured from the cuſtom-houſe books induced me to copy them here, although I am aware that no concluſion can be drawn from them reſpecting the importations of the different articles, ſince each is ſubject to its own particular duty, ſome paying five per cent, others ten, fifteen, &c.—and that the draw-backs are not deducted from theſe ſums total of the receipts.

I have learned alſo, that, in 1749, the number of veſſels that made their entry in the port was four hundred and eighty-nine: in 1773, it was five hundred and ſeventeen: in 1793, the number of thoſe from foreign parts alone amounted to four hundred and four, of which forty were three-maſted veſſels—in 1794, to four hundred and ſixty-four, of which ſeventy-eight were three-maſted—and in 1795, to eight hundred and twenty-five, of which ninety-ſix were three-maſted. Six hundred and ſeven veſſels, of which ſeventy-five were three-maſted, ſailed from this port during the ſame year 1795, on the foreign trade alone.

The produce of a part of Connecticut, of New-Hampſhire, of Vermont, ſupplies the trade of Boſton, together with the exchange of the European articles neceſſary to thoſe countries. Theſe advantages are in a greater or a leſſer degree participated by the other ſea-ports of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. No other part of the Union can produce a ſet of men ſo active, ſo induſtrious, ſo enterprizing in navigation, as the people of this ſtate. During my ſtay at Boſton, two veſſels, a ſhip and a large brig, ſailed for Nootka-Sound and China, and two others are preparing to ſail on a ſimilar voyage.

BANKS.

There are at preſent in this ſtate three banks at Boſton, one at Salem, and one at Newbury-Port. Theſe banks, eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles as every other in America, are all, except that of Salem, incorporated by acts of the legiſlature. They diſcount notes endorſed with two good names, at one half per cent per month. The facility ſhown in this

this particular by the directors of thoſe banks has great influence on the commercial tranſactions carried on in the ſtate.

The bank of Maſſachuſetts has exiſted at Boſton ſince the year 1784. Its charter preſcribes no limited term for its duration. Eight hundred ſhares, at five hundred dollars each, conſtitute for it a capital of four hundred thouſand dollars, which has greatly increaſed ſince its firſt eſtabliſhment. The dividends on thoſe ſhares are from eight to nine per cent, and the price of its ſtock is only one fifth more than the original value.

The bank of the United States has a branch at Boſton, eſtabliſhed in 1792. The public is unacquainted with its capital, which is regulated at diſcretion by the bank eſtabliſhed in Philadelphia; but it is thought to be five hundred thouſand dollars. As it is a dependency of the bank of the United States, it might receive aſſiſtance from that quarter in caſe of need. It yields the ſame dividends as the bank of Maſſachuſetts; and the price of its ſhares, which, as in all the other branches, was originally four hundred dollars, is now five hundred.

The bank known by the name of the Union Bank is the third of thoſe eſtabliſhed in Boſton. It was erected in 1793, and its charter is for ten years. A hundred thouſand ſhares, at eight dollars each, form for it a capital of eight hundred thouſand dollars. It alſo yields a dividend of eight or nine per cent, and the price of its ſhares has riſen to nine dollars and half. This bank is bound to accommodate the ſtate with a loan of a hundred thouſand dollars at five per cent, whenever called upon for that purpoſe: but its loans are never to exceed that ſum.

The bank of Salem, which bears the appellation of the Eſſex Bank, not being incorporated, the amount of its capital is a ſecret: but it is known to be in a flouriſhing ſtate.

The banks of Nantucket and of Merrimack, or of Newbury-Port, incorporated in 1795, are eſtabliſhed for the private convenience of the trade of thoſe places. The capital of the former is forty thouſand dollars—that of the latter, ſeventy-five thouſand. They do not yet

yield any dividend. The price of their ſtock has not varied: the ſhares are a hundred dollars each.

An examination of this ſketch of the ſtate of the banks in Maſſachuſetts diſcovers a capital of above two millions of dollars among them all: and, as the intereſt on diſcounts is ſix per cent, and the dividends only eight or nine, the reſult muſt be a circulation of caſh or credit to the amount of at leaſt three millions of dollars, which extends to the neighbouring ſtates in a proportion depending on their trade, and which it is difficult to aſcertain, but which is eſtimated at between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand dollars.

Several other banks are about to be eſtabliſhed in this ſtate, where the avidity and enterprizing ſpirit of commercial men, and the general eagerneſs to embark in trade, make people overlook the danger of being driven by the exceſſive number of ſuch inſtitutions to an extenſion of commerce diſproportioned to the capitals employed.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

One of the moſt remarkable laws of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts is that which ordains the eſtabliſhment of ſchools for gratuitous inſtruction. It was enacted in June 1789. I ſlightly mentioned it in my journal of laſt year: but it deſerves to be more particularly noticed in detail. Its principal articles are as follow—

1°. Each town or townſhip containing fifty families or houſes is bound to provide a ſchool-maſter of good character to inſtruct the children in the Engliſh language, reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, and the principles of good moral conduct. This ſchool is to be open ſix months in the year.

The towns or townſhips of a hundred families are to have ſchools of the ſame kind, which are to be open during the whole year.

Thoſe of a hundred and fifty families are to have two ſchools, one for twelve months and one for ſix.

Thoſe of two hundred families or more are bound, in addition to theſe

theſe ſchools, to ſupport one, under the name of a grammar-ſchool, in which the Greek, Latin, and Engliſh languages are to be taught grammatically. Children who cannot read are not to be ſent to the grammar-ſchool.—The houſes being often widely ſcattered over the country, the inhabitants of the towns, in public aſſembly, have the power of determining the bounds of the ſchool-diſtricts.

2°. An injunction is laid on the inſtructors of youth, from thoſe in the univerſity at Cambridge down to thoſe in the loweſt ſchools, to impreſs the minds of their pupils with "the principles of piety, juſtice, ſincerity, love of their country, frugality, induſtry, attachment to the federal conſtitution and that of the ſtate," &c. The miniſters of religion and the Select-Men are bound to do every thing in their power to induce the children to attend the ſchools.

3°. No applicant for the office of teacher in the grammar-ſchools can be admitted to enter his name on the liſt of candidates, unleſs provided with a certificate ſigned by two clergymen atteſting that he is capable of teaching the Greek and Latin, and that he is a man of good morals. This latter part of the certificate may be given by the Select-Men.

The maſters of the firſt-mentioned ſchools cannot be choſen without producing a certificate from the Select-Men, or from the committee appointed for the inſpection of the ſchools, or from a clergyman.

Whoever ſhould keep a ſchool without complying with theſe conditions, would be condemned to pay a fine of twenty pounds, or ſixty-ſix dollars and two-thirds—one half for the benefit of the ſchool, the other to be given to the poor.

4°. The ſchools are to be ſupported by a rate levied on the inhabitants of the diſtricts where they are eſtabliſhed. Theſe rates are impoſed by the annual town-meetings on the taxable property within their territory.

5°. Such towns as ſhould neglect to ſupport ſchools in conformity to the conditions preſcribed by the firſt articles of this law, would be ſubjected to the following fines, viz. thoſe of fifty families would be

condemned to pay thirty-three dollars—thoſe of a hundred families, ſixty-ſix dollars—thoſe of a hundred and fifty families, a hundred dollars. Theſe fines are ordered by the ſupreme court of the ſtate, or by the general court, on complaint laid before them. They are to be paid into the ſtate-treaſury, to be applied to the relief of thoſe ſchools in the ſame county which may ſtand in need of ſuch aid. The grand juries are to enforce the payment.

This law is tolerably well executed, and the maſters are in general qualified to give the inſtruction expected of them. In ſome townſhips, however, ſymptoms of negligence are diſcoverable; inſtead of maſters, indifferent miſtreſſes are employed; in ſome places, maſters wholly unqualified; in others, none at all: but theſe inſtances are rare. The fault lies with the Select-Men, who do not exert themſelves to enforce the law, to which moreover every inhabitant has a right to appeal. The ſalaries of the maſters in the lower ſchools are from twelve to eighteen dollars per month: in the grammar-ſchools, the teachers receive from twenty-five to thirty-five.

It is painful to obſerve that in none of theſe ſchools is the hiſtory of the late revolution taught; that the youth are not informed either of it cauſes, or of the important events which have been its conſequences; that they are not made acquainted with the names of thoſe who, by their counſels, their ſervices, their blood, have, in the midſt of ſo many dangers and eſpecially ſo many obſtacles, erected or ſupported that independence which the country now enjoys. This, nevertheleſs, would be the moſt effectual mode of perpetuating in the breaſts of the riſing generation the love of liberty, which, among a free people and particularly a people recently become free, is the grand baſis of public, and one of the principal baſes of private, morality. But the love of liberty is feebly felt in the towns: and it is the inhabitants of the towns, or thoſe whoſe chief concerns are centred in the towns, who compoſe the legiſlatures, hold all the public offices, and have a general influence over the government. The love of gain is the paſſion which predominates over every other; it prevents the

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mind from indulging in more liberal conceptions: and if any man were to ſuggeſt to them the idea of a courſe of inſtruction ſo beneficial to the cauſe of liberty, their calculations would no doubt impel them to reject it: for that kind of inſtruction would, by the remembrance which it would preſerve of paſt events, ſtill tend to foſter in the minds of the Americans an unfavourable diſpoſition toward England; and it is from England chiefly that thoſe gentlemen expect the means of making their fortunes.

The ſame ſpirit of apathy for liberty and of propenſity to England procraſtinates the erection of the intended monuments in the different places where the arms of America gained important advantages over thoſe of Britain. Nevertheleſs the bulk of the nation, all thoſe who are not inhabitants of the towns, are proud, and even jealous, of their liberty. I ſhall in another place have occaſion to ſpeak with greater particularity of this ſtate of things, and of its conſequences.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

There are no ſlaves in the commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts; and this is the only ſtate in the Union that is entirely exempt from the diſgrace of ſlavery. It is not unintereſting to give the particulars of the manner in which it was aboliſhed.

No antecedent law of New-England had poſitively aſſerted the exiſtence of ſlavery, which nevertheleſs prevailed under the ſanction of cuſtom and public opinion. Several laws indeed ſeemed to preſuppoſe it, inaſmuch as they authorized the reclaiming of negroes who quitted their maſters, enjoined the neceſſity of reſtoring them, and prohibited the intermarriage of blacks with free people. Still however no law had expreſsly enacted the eſtabliſhment of ſlavery: and ſeveral cauſes between maſters and negroes on ſubjects relating to ſlavery had been decided in favour of the latter.

The new conſtitution of Maſſachuſetts, like thoſe of all the other ſtates,

ſtates, declared an equality of rights for all men. In 1781, ſome negroes, prompted by private ſuggeſtion, maintained that they were not ſlaves; they found advocates, among whom was Mr. Sedgwick, now a member of the ſenate of the United States; and the cauſe was carried before the ſupreme court. Their counſel pleaded, 1°. That no antecedent law had eſtabliſhed ſlavery, and that the laws which ſeemed to ſuppoſe it were the offspring of error in the legiſlators, who had no authority to enact them:—2°. That ſuch laws, even if they had exiſted, were annulled by the new conſtitution.

They gained the cauſe under both aſpects: and the ſolution of this firſt queſtion that was brought forward ſet the negroes entirely at liberty, and at the ſame time precluded their pretended owners from all claim to indemnification, ſince they were proved to have poſſeſſed and held them in ſlavery without any right. As there were only few ſlaves in Maſſachuſetts, the deciſion paſſed without oppoſition, and baniſhed all further idea of ſlavery.

Under ſimilar laws and in ſimilar circumſtances, different deciſions were given in Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, and even New-Hampſhire. But the proſperity and tranquillity of Maſſachuſetts, which has experienced no diſagreeable conſequences from that general liberty, will, to the eyes of every rational and benevolent obſerver, afford ſufficient ground for condemnation of the other ſtates of New-England who have not imitated ſo glorious an example.

It is to be obſerved, that, in 1778, the general cenſus of Maſſachuſetts included eighteen thouſand ſlaves, whereas the ſubſequent cenſus of 1790 exhibits only ſix thouſand blacks. It appears from the moſt minute information that I have been able to acquire, that a great proportion of the emancipated negroes went to the towns, where, making an indiſcreet uſe of their newly-acquired liberty, many of them addicted themſelves to the intemperate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and died in conſequence; others engaged as ſailors, even on board foreign ſhips. The generality of thoſe who have not diſappeared are ſervants: ſome are tradeſmen, or even farmers; and a pretty large number,

number, if we conſider the bad education of that claſs of men and the habits of ſlavery, live in the enjoyment of a comfortable independence. The individuals of their colour have not fallen under the laſh of juſtice in any greater proportion than the whites.

From theſe well-authenticated facts reſults a convincing proof that the negroes, as well as the white men, are capable of living honeſt and free; but that thoſe nations which are ſo unfortunate as to poſſeſs great numbers of ſlaves, ought, by ſome previous education, to prepare them for, and furniſh them with the means of making an advantageous uſe of, their liberty.

Slaves from other ſtates, taking ſhelter in Maſſachuſetts, may be reclaimed. But the general ſenſe of the people is ſo decidedly adverſe to ſlavery, that it would be very rare if thoſe fugitive ſlaves did not find means to eſcape from their owners' purſuit.

PUBLIC DEBT.

That part of the debt of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts for which the Union did not undertake to be reſponſible amounted to two millions ſix hundred and ninety-eight thouſand two hundred and eighty dollars. In 1794 the legiſlature ordered a loan in which every kind of paper iſſued by the ſtate was receivable. They conſolidated the debts due for the pay of the troops during the war and for the purchaſe of proviſions, by notes bearing an intereſt of five per cent: they increaſed the taxes to pay the intereſt of this conſolidated debt, and provided that the ſums due for ſtate lands already ſold, as well as the moneys ariſing from future ſales, ſhould be appropriated to the payment of the capital.

The preſent debt of the ſtate is two millions three hundred and fifty thouſand dollars, which, at five per cent, pay a yearly intereſt of a hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred dollars. The annual expences of government amount to one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars. To meet theſe demands, the government has an intereſt of thirty thouſand dollars accruing from moneys depoſited in the bank of

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the United States, and fifty-seventy thouſand five hundred and eighteen dollars paid by the treaſurer of the Union as intereſt on the debt of the United States. To theſe ſums it adds a hundred and forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two dollars ariſing from taxes.

The produce of the ſales of land belonging to the ſtate is lodged in the hands of commiſſioners, to be applied to the extinction of the ſtate-debt, of which three hundred thouſand dollars have already been redeemed in that manner.—The town and county taxes riſe much more rapidly than thoſe impoſed by the ſtate.

PUBLIC REVENUES.

The ſtate-taxes bear upon every kind of property, even upon uncultivated lands. A new valuation of property is to take place every ten years. With this view, the aſſeſſors of the different townſhips annually ſend to the ſecretary of ſtate a ſchedule of all territorial property, with all the details neceſſary to ſhew of what nature it is, and in what ſtate of cultivation: 2dly, a ſtatement of all the kinds of property, houſes, ſums embarked in commerce, ſums depoſited in the banks, even ready money, and furniture of every kind: 3dly, a liſt of all the inhabitants above the age of ſixteen years.

This information reſpecting the different ſpecies of property has for its object the procurement of as exact a knowledge as poſſible of the wealth and income of the entire ſtate, and a clue to ſerve as a guide in apportioning the taxes among the different counties and townſhips. Proprietors refuſing to deliver in a written liſt of their taxable property are ſubject to an arbitrary valuation by the aſſeſſors. The laſt general valuation, made in 1792, exhibited a maſs of taxable property to the amount of nine hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-eight pounds, Maſſachuſetts currency, or three millions one hundred and twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty dollars. In this valuation all ſpecies of property are rated at ſix per cent on their ſuppoſed real value, except uncultivated lands, which are only rated at

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two; and by it the taxes of the different townſhips are apportioned in the ratio, of ſo much for every thouſand pounds, and the individual quotas are regulated in the ſame proportion.

In this apportionment is included the poll-tax, which is only a half-penny for each perſon liable to the tax. The number of theſe was, in 1792, found to be a hundred and ſix thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſeven. The ſtate-treaſurer ſends to the different towns a ſchedule of the ſums to be levied in each for the uſe of the ſtate; and the taxes, thus apportioned, are to be aſſeſſed on the individual inhabitants by aſſeſſors choſen in each town, or, in default of them, by the Select-Men. If the duty were not performed by either, the court of juſtices of the peace would appoint aſſeſſors who would aſſeſs on the town guilty of ſuch neglect an additional rate, from one hundred dollars to three hundred and thirty-three and two thirds. The aſſeſſors choſen by the towns receive four ſhillings per day, thoſe nominated by the juſtices, ten. The aſſeſſors charge the town-collectors with the levying of theſe taxes; and the latter are bound, within a given term, to pay the amount into the hands of the town-treaſurer. If the taxes be not paid within the ſpace of five months, the ſtate-treaſurer ſends an order to the ſheriff to enforce payment by ſelling a ſufficient quantity of the property belonging to the town in arrear. Means are provided by the law to inſure the collection, and to puniſh neglect, of whatever kind or degree, either in the officers, or in the perſons failing to make payment. The general court of juſtices of the peace can give redreſs in caſes of over-charge. The collectors are nominated by the towns: in default of collectors, the taxes are levied by the conſtables, or, in default of conſtables, by the ſheriff. The towns agree with the collectors reſpecting the rate of commiſſion allowed to them for the levying of the taxes: it is five per cent when the tax is levied by the ſheriff or his deputies, excluſive of the incidental charges occaſioned by their abſence from home.

The balance drawn by the commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the accounts between the United States and the individual ſtates makes the

ſtate of Maſſachuſetts creditor to the Union in the ſum of two millions two hundred and forty-eight thouſand eight hundred and one dollars.

The ſtate of Maſſachuſetts is divided into ſeventeen counties, and about three hundred and eighty towns or townſhips, ſubject to ſeparate taxation. The taxes, however, notwithſtanding all the regulations of which I have ſpoken, are not very punctually paid in Maſſachuſetts. Of a tax of one hundred and fifty thouſand dollars impoſed in June 1794, and which ought to have been paid into the treaſury on the firſt of April 1795, about fourteen thouſand were paid within the term preſcribed—four thouſand more within the enſuing three months—ſeventeen thouſand within the next three months—in three months more, nineteen thouſand—and twenty-two thouſand within the three following months, that is to ſay, twelve months after the time preſcribed: finally, the remainder, with the exception of three or four thouſand dollars, was paid within the next quarter after the lapſe of the firſt year.

POLICE AND LAWS.

A law of the ſtate ordains that no inoculations ſhall take place except in the hoſpitals eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. It preſcribes wiſe precautions in caſe the natural ſmall-pox ſhould break out in any diſtrict with a certain degree of violence: and although it be, in my opinion, better to encourage inoculation by allowing perfect freedom in that reſpect, no blame can attach to theſe precautions, which, however ſtrict, are very far from operating as the prohibitory ſyſtem of Virginia.

The laws againſt debtors are at once mild and energetic: they ſecure, as far as poſſible, the rights of the creditor.

The influence of the clergy procured in 1794 the enactment of a law prohibiting on ſundays every kind of amuſement, walking for pleaſure, travelling, fiſhing, under the penalty of a conſiderable fine.

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The preamble to this law is a complete piece of puritanical rant; and its various clauſes are in perfect uniſon with the preamble. Men of ſenſe, when ſpoken to reſpecting it, acknowledge its abſurdity, but aſſert that this new act, in ſuperſeding the former laws on the ſubject, has removed a great number of regulations ſtill more abſurd and ſevere, and that it is a neceſſary progreſſion to another that will ſoon be enacted, by which the prohibitions on ſundays will be confined to the opening of ſhops and public houſes.

The legiſlature meanwhile beſtows its attention on various improvements, roads, canals, uſeful eſtabliſhments. The majority of the members of that body are not very enlightened in the ſcience of adminiſtration—a deficiency which is common to them with all the legiſlatures of the Union, and which ought not to appear ſurprizing in a country yet ſo new: but they are commendable for the goodneſs of their intentions, their moral integrity, and their benevolence.

The legiſlative body of Maſſachuſetts has not, like the aſſemblies of ſeveral of the other ſtates, been accuſed of corruption in money-matters: ſome of its members, however, have not eſcaped ſuſpicion: and indeed the manner in which certain laws are carried may well afford room for ſuch ſurmiſes. All the acts muſt be read three times in each houſe before they paſs: but the caſe is different with reſolutions, which require only a ſingle reading previous to their acquiring the force of laws. No article of the conſtitution, no poſterior act, has drawn the line of diſtinction between what ſhall be preſented as a law and what may be introduced under the form of a reſolution. Cuſtom indeed has eſtabliſhed the practice of bringing forward under the ſhape of laws whatever concerns taxation, public inſtitutions, &c. and making matters of inferior importance, ſuch as private demands and claims, the ſubjects of reſolutions.

But, as there exiſts no fixed rule in that reſpect, it often happens that objects of general intereſt, and materially important to the ſtate, are introduced in the ſhape of reſolutions: ſuch, for inſtance, was the ſale to Robert Morris of the right of pre-emption of a quantity of

land in Maſſachuſetts at the rate of five pence per acre, and that of an enormous tract in the diſtrict of Maine to Mr. Bingham and ſeveral others, alſo at a very low price. A member of either houſe can find no difficulty in preſenting ſuch a reſolution at the moment when he finds himſelf unreſtrained by the preſence of thoſe from whom he may apprehend oppoſition, and thus carrying it. It was under ſuch circumſtances as theſe that ſuſpicions aroſe againſt certain members who at the time were poſſeſſed of influence; but no proof has been diſcovered to confirm them.

It is aſtoniſhing that every thing, whether nearly or remotely, connected with finance is not invariably ſubjected to three readings. It is true, the governor's ſanction is required for reſolutions, as well as for laws that have undergone a longer diſcuſſion: but a prudent governor would not venture to paſs his negative on a reſolution of both houſes, unleſs he had convincing evidence of its being ſtrongly prejudicial to the intereſt of the ſtate.

In either houſe of the legiſlature there are few influential members; or it may even be ſaid that there are none, and that the influence of thoſe who poſſeſs a greater ſhare of it than the others is ſo temporary that not one of them is ſure of carrying a motion when he makes it. There are here, as elſewhere, preparatory committees and petty intrigues which are ſometimes ſucceſsful, but oftener otherwiſe.

The lawyers in Maſſachuſetts have greater influence than any other body of men on the public opinion; and next to them the prieſts: but none of them poſſeſs more than a moderate ſhare of it: nor is there to be found here, as in ſeveral other ſtates, any perſon who, by his own perſonal influence or that of his friends, is able to govern the public opinion, the deliberations, the elections. The intereſt, even of thoſe who ſtand higheſt in that reſpect, does not extend beyond their own diſtrict.

The anti-federal party, of which ſo much is ſaid, and which is branded with the moſt odious epithets that can be deviſed, does not exiſt in Maſſachuſetts, in the true ſenſe of the appellation, more than

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in any other part of the United States. This truth being once acknowledged as it ought to be, the anti-federaliſts muſt, in the eyes of every impartial obſerver, be reduced to a ſimple oppoſition-party, which, however, will be equally far from pleaſing thoſe who cannot brook oppoſition of any kind.

The oppoſition-party here are labouring to prevent the government from acquiring additional ſtrength, becauſe they think the executive branch is already too ſtrong, and eſpecially that it aims at the extenſion of its prerogatives. They diſcourage the affection for England, and entertain more favourable diſpoſitions toward France: and, like every other party in the world, they act as a party; that is to ſay, they ſometimes exceed the bounds of reaſon and juſtice. I think, then, that the other party do not affect to talk ſo loudly of the oppoſition with any other view than that of acquiring for themſelves a greater number of partiſans and ſupporters; for they cannot ſeriouſly conſider the efforts of their opponents as an obſtacle to them in any meaſure of real utility. On both ſides are ſeen men of great virtue, men warmly attached to their country, and animated by a ſincere love of good order.

ROADS.

The roads in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts are kept in repair at the expence of the townſhips through which they paſs.

From this regulation, which at firſt ſight appears ſo equitable, it reſults that in the leſs opulent townſhips the roads are in bad repair, and thus the expence incurred by thoſe which are more wealthy does not completely anſwer the intended purpoſe of facilitating the convenience of communication. This diſadvantage is ſometimes removed by grants from the legiſlature to particular townſhips for that object; ſometimes alſo by ſubſcriptions raiſed in the neighbouring townſhips with the ſame view. But theſe extraordinary aids are rare; and the invariable

invariable conſequence is that in the poorer townſhips the roads are in worſe condition.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR.

The poor are alſo relieved by taxes on the townſhips, which, like thoſe for the roads, are laid on by the county-ſeſſions, whenever the rates propoſed by the Select-Men do not meet the approbation of the townſhip—an event which ſeldom happens. But a pauper is not maintained at the public expence except when he has no relative in a direct line aſcending or deſcending, who is capable of ſupporting him. If he had any, and they refuſed to afford him a maintenance, they would be compelled to it by the ſeſſions. Caſes alſo occur, when, a relative in line direct not being in ſufficiently eaſy circumſtances, the Select-Men enter into an agreement with him that he ſhall pay at leaſt a part of the annual ſum neceſſary for the ſupport of his indigent kinſman. Agreements of this nature are made on an amicable footing, and on equitable terms: no perſon refuſes to accede to them: and if a refuſal were given, the ſeſſion would award the payment of a ſum probably more conſiderable than that demanded by the Select-Men; in addition to which, the family would alſo have to pay the coſts of ſuit. The Select-Men are bound to take care that poor travellers receive due aſſiſtance in caſe of ſickneſs. The ſtate re-imburſes to them the expences incurred on ſuch occaſions.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Seventy-nine regiments of infantry, eleven of cavalry, and eight of artillery, compoſe the militia of the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, and together form an aggregate of fifty-five thouſand men. Beyond the age of forty years a citizen is not ſubject to militia-duty; but, until ſixty, he is liable to be called upon in urgent caſes. Citizens of the latter deſcription

tion conſtitute what is called the reſerved corps, which furniſhes an additional force of above twenty-five thouſand men.

GENERAL SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

Although the greater number of the rich inhabitants of Boſton are merchants, that claſs is not here, as at Philadelphia, the predominating claſs; nor do they, as at Charleſton, hold the ſecond rank in ſociety. They are preciſely what they ought to be—they ſtand on a footing of equality with their neighbours, and enjoy no ſuperiority over any other body of men.

Independent of the ordinary trade of the merchants of all countries, they indulge very much in ſpeculation; and ſpeculation is the favourite paſſion of the inhabitants of New-England, who generally feel a more active deſire than the people of the South to acquire large and rapid fortunes; whether that diſpoſition be, or not, the conſequence of their more enterprizing character.

But their ſpeculations are not always ſucceſsful: and at this moment conſiderable ſums are about to be loſt at Boſton by the ſale of the Yazzow lands in Georgia, which the late legiſlature of that ſtate have thought it their duty to annul. From the following circumſtances ſome idea may be formed of the extravagance with which the New-England ſpeculators, and particularly thoſe of Boſton, engaged in that buſineſs. The original price of thoſe lands, as I have before remarked, was about one cent, or a hundredth part of a dollar, per acre; and they have been ſold at Boſton ſo high as twelve, and I believe even higher. Two or three agents of two of the four companies who had obtained thoſe lands from the ſtate came to Boſton with their title-deeds empowering them to ſell. They opened a kind of office, to which purchaſers flocked in ſuch crowds, that thoſe gentlemen, taking advantage of this inconceivable infatuation, raiſed the price each day, often twice in the day, for the purpoſe of more ſtrongly exciting the general eagerneſs and taking away all time for reflection.

reflection. There were ſales and ſub-ſales without number: ſome of them were ſecured by a ſtipulation of reſponſibility on the part of the ſellers, who engaged to give poſſeſſion of the lands: but few of the numerous bargains were attended with this clauſe; almoſt all being concluded on the bare ſecurity of the titles, without any power of coming upon the venders. In many inſtances the purchaſes were made partly with ready money, and in all caſes with notes payable at different periods. Theſe notes were dextrouſly put into circulation by the venders; and the purchaſers now find themſelves diſappointed of the lands, while a great part of their notes are gone out of the poſſeſſion of thoſe to whom they had given them. Every claſs of men, even watch-makers, hair-dreſſers, and mechanics of all deſcriptions, eagerly ran after this deception; in which Boſton has ſunk above two millions of dollars. Some of the buyers declare that they will not releaſe their notes, and have even announced their intention in the public papers: but this is nothing more than a menace reſulting from anger and indignation. The notes have, in great part, paſſed into other hands: they have been received by perſons wholly unconnected with that ſpeculation, and who cannot be excluded from payment without a moſt glaring act of injuſtice which muſt materially impair the credit of thoſe who originally gave the notes. The courts of juſtice moreover would decide againſt them: and thus, after conſiderable trouble, they muſt at laſt make good the payments and be content to remain deſtitute of lands.

Many of the purchaſers, whoſe notes were not gone out of the hands of the venders, have compromiſed matters with them by diſcounting the notes at half their value, but in ready money, and retaining their claim to the lands ſo far as the ſellers can make it good: but this amounts to a nullity: for the original agreement will never be confirmed; it being a fraudulent tranſaction, and comprizing millions of acres that did not belong to the ſtate of Georgia which ſold them.

Thus many ſpeculators in Boſton and other parts of New-England have been either utterly ruined or at leaſt materially injured in their

fortunes

fortunes by that ſpeculation.* If one could without regret behold the ruin of ſo many honeſt men who fell victims to their own credulity, one might enjoy this diſappointment of a ſet of ſpeculators who were ſufficiently greedy to purchaſe, without examination, without reflection, and with the ſole view of exorbitant gains in Europe, tracts of land at the diſtance of nine hundred miles from their home, while their own country preſented them with more honourable and eſpecially more ſimple means of acquiring a fortune, or increaſing that which they already poſſeſſed. But it is intolerably mortifying to ſee that the four land-companies of Georgia, who bear the entire guilt of the iniquitous bargain, are enriched by their villany; and that their perfidious dexterity in this train of corruption and deceit has thus thrown into their hands ſeveral millions of dollars, for which they neither have given nor are capable of giving any equivalent to thoſe of whoſe folly they have taken advantage.

EXPORTS.

In my journal of laſt year I noticed the value, for the laſt five years, of the exports from the different ports of Maſſachuſetts which I had viſited. To thoſe details I now add the total amount of the exports from the entire ſtate during the ſame period, including even that of the preſent year. In 1791, it was two millions five hundred and nineteen thouſand ſix hundred and forty dollars—in 1792, two millions eight hundred and eighty-eight thouſand one hundred and three—in 1793, three millions ſeven hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand three hundred and fifty-five—in 1794, five millions two hundred and ninety-two thouſand two hundred and forty-four—in 1795, ſeven millions two hundred and eighteen thouſand nine hundred and eight—in 1796, nine millions nine hundred and forty-nine thouſand three hundred and forty-five.—In 1787, the value of the exports from the different ports of the ſtate amounted to no more than one million five hundred and eighty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three dollars.

AN ACCIDENT.

Previous to my departure from Boſton where contrary winds detained me a week longer than I had propoſed to ſtay, I eſcaped, in common with twelve hundred other perſons, from a danger to which it might have been expected that a great number of us would in all probability have fallen victims.

A Frenchman well ſkilled in horſemanſhip, who had a few weeks before arrived in the town, erected a circus for his exhibitions. The agility, the perfection, the gracefulneſs, with which he achieved on horſeback ſeveral feats that no man of his profeſſion had ever before attempted, together with the richneſs and taſteful elegance of dreſs diſplayed by himſelf and his company, attracted to each performance a great number of ſpectators, although there was another exhibition of the ſame nature in the town. Upward of twelve hundred perſons were there aſſembled on Monday the fifth of September, when the roof—loaded with above a hundred boys, who, notwithſtanding ſuch prohibition and watchfulneſs as could be expected from the imperfect police of the town, had clambered up to enjoy the ſight through the chinks left between the boards—fell in ſuddenly at once in every part. As the boards which formed that pyramidal roof were faſtened to the ſmall roofs that covered the boxes by which the circus was ſurrounded, ſome of thoſe leſſer roofs were involved in its fall: but they fell ſucceſſively, and in ſuch manner as rather to cloſe the boxes on the inſide than to cruſh them. Not one of the number experienced the latter fate: not a ſingle ſpectator was hurt; and, thanks to the extraordinary calmneſs diſplayed by each individual during this alarming incident, there was not even any thronging on the ſtair-caſes by which the chief part of the ſpectators retired: ſome let themſelves down into the area by ſliding along the fallen roofs; others deſcended from a window. A ſingle one of the boys who were on the roof ſtruck his head ſo violently againſt a plank in his fall that his life was for a long time in danger.

danger. At leaſt forty others, who fell from the ſame height with him, were not even hurt. It is impoſſible to conceive how ſo great an accident ſhould have been attended with no greater miſchief: it is one of thoſe ſingular events which might not again occur with all the ſame circumſtances during the courſe of many centuries, and in which a man is not ſorry to have been a party concerned, when he has ſo fortunately eſcaped from the danger.

SECOND VISIT TO THOMASTOWN.—FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

I went by ſea from Boſton to Thomaſtown, for the ſecond time, on the twelfth of September.

The family of General Knox is one of thoſe in America to which I am the moſt warmly attached. I therefore experienced a ſincere pleaſure on ſeeing myſelf once more among them; and the pleaſure ſeemed to be mutual. The general's ſettlement aſſumes conſiderable ſtability. A part of his uſeful projects begin to be realized; and the popularity which he derives from his pleaſing manner toward all thoſe who have any buſineſs to tranſact with him, as well as his gentle and frank mode of proceeding with the unlicenſed ſettlers on his lands, confirm all his proſpects of ſucceſs. He is buſily employed in clearing foreſts, making lime and bricks, erecting mills, building veſſels, improving his lands, and forming an excellent nurſery for cattle on Brigadier Iſland.

His friends blame him for expending large ſums of money: and perhaps it may be aſſerted with truth that his works coſt him more than, with greater regularity and watchfulneſs, they ought to coſt him. But he cannot himſelf beſtow that watchful attention with the neceſſary aſſiduity; he undertakes too many things at once, to be able each day to inſpect them all with ſufficient care. Truſty agents, who are rare in every country, are more rarely to be found in America than elſewhere, and ſtill more ſo in a country ſo thinly inhabited as the di-

ſtrict of Maine. But this ſlight want of order and economy in the general's undertakings, though it will no doubt diminiſh his profit, will however not prevent it from being ſtill very conſiderable.

Among the direct profits of his enterprizes he may reckon one of a more important nature that he will derive from the increaſed value of lands, which will be the conſequence of that activity and thoſe improvements.

His example excites and encourages induſtry in many of his neighbours, and the induſtry of his neighbours further enhances the value of his lands. Thus his calculations are juſt: and while he obſerves in his undertakings all the economy and regularity which ſurrounding circumſtances will admit, he cannot incur the cenſure of any except greedy miſers, or men who have not ſufficient diſcernment to anticipate all the probable conſequences of his enterprizes.

Timber has riſen in price ſince laſt year, but fire-wood in a higher proportion than any other: the cord of the latter was ſold laſt year for a dollar at the water-ſide; it is now at a dollar and half; and there is not found a ſufficiency for the ſupply of Boſton, where the price is at preſent five dollars, and will be from ſeven to nine within two months.

Lime has fallen in price in conſequence of the number of kilns that have been erected. The barrel of fifty gallons was laſt year ſold for ten ſhillings and nine pence; at preſent the price is from eight to nine ſhillings.

Hay has riſen one tenth, but merely on account of the drought of the ſeaſon.

The price of cattle, however, has riſen one ſeventh: a circumſtance which indicates ſome little increaſe of wealth in the country.

The number of veſſels now on the ſtocks is alſo more conſiderable. In Saint-George's River alone, eleven have been built ſince laſt year. The price of the workmanſhip has likewiſe riſen from three to five dollars per ton: the carpenter, who was paid ten dollars per month laſt year, now receives eleven.

But

But theſe ſymptoms of increaſing wealth, together with the augmentation in the price of lands, are obſervable only on the ſea-coaſt or the borders of navigable rivers, and in the thick-ſettled parts of the country.

The number of new inhabitants is by no means conſiderable: and every thing that I ſee and hear at preſent ſtill further confirms me in the opinion I laſt year entertained that immigration to this country cannot take place to any great extent unleſs it be excited by powerful inducements, by great eſtabliſhments, by large and judicious expenditures on the part of the great land-holders who are intereſted in encouraging thoſe new ſettlements.

The attractions of the country, the nature of the ſoil, would not alone be ſufficient to invite new ſettlers: and the diſtrict of Maine will yet long continue in many parts a deſert, unleſs, by a ſucceſſion of means duly adapted to all the circumſtances, its population be accelerated and multiplied beyond the extent of its natural means and of the annual increaſe it derives from immigrations.

Thoſe gentlemen who ſpeculate upon 'Change do not enter into all theſe calculations. They prefer the certain proſpect of two or three per cent per month to the probability of doubling or decupling their fortune by expences which would for a while divert a part of their caſh from thoſe ſpeculations: and they expect from the unaided operation of time an increaſe in the value of their lands, which, however, will not by that ſlow proceſs ever take place in thoſe northern countries.

Such is ſaid to be the plan intended to be purſued by Mr. Bingham, who, after having ſold to Mr. Baring for ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling one half of the twelve hundred thouſand acres of land which he poſſeſſes at the head of Penobſcot-River, continues to hold the entire tract in conjunction with him as partner upon equal terms. He beſides owns three millions more of acres in other parts of the diſtrict of Maine. So much the worſe for him. He is not or at leaſt he cannot long be certain of quietly keeping in his hands ſuch extenſive tracts of land: and Mr. Bingham's popularity will not ſcreen him from the inconveniences

conveniences which, in a country like this, may attend the poſſeſſion of ſo large a portion of the ſoil kept idle and unproductive in the hope of an exorbitant gain.

If great and judicious diſburſements were laſt year neceſſary, as I think they were, to create a demand for, and conſequently to enhance the value of, thoſe immenſe tracts of land engroſſed by a few rich proprietors, the neceſſity has this year derived additional urgency from the treaty with Spain, which, by throwing open the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, excites a predilection in favour of the weſtern lands, and ſo far diminiſhes that which might have been entertained for thoſe of the diſtrict of Maine. The lands themſelves, as well as their great produce of timber, will yet farther ſink in value, if Spain cedes to France the poſſeſſion of Louiſiana, which, in the hands of an active and induſtrious nation, will furniſh the means of vending a much larger quantity of timber, beſides holding out to new ſettlers the allurement of a milder climate in addition to that of excellent lands which will no doubt long continue at a much lower price than thoſe of the diſtrict of Maine.

Spain can herſelf create the ſame advantages as France could in Louiſiana, if ſhe chooſes to retain it in her own poſſeſſion. It is therefore matter of urgent neceſſity that the owners of eſtates in this part of the Union ſhould take meaſures for the ſale of their lands, and conſent to make diſburſements which, however heavy in the firſt inſtance, will be repaid to them with ample intereſt, provided they be ſoon and judiciouſly made. Otherwiſe the ſpeculating proprietors will experience ſevere loſſes.

In the diſtrict of Maine the queſtion is at preſent agitated, whether, taking advantage of the right which it derives from its population, it ſhall ſeparate from the commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts, and erect itſelf into an independent ſtate. Meetings have been called on the ſubject, and various petitions have been drawn up: and, to determine the queſtion of ſeparation, nothing more is required than to aſcertain the wiſh of the majority of the inhabitants of the ſtate, who will be

conſulted

conſulted next year. Their opinion was already taken on the ſubject four years ſince, and they declared againſt the meaſure. It is thought that on the preſent occaſion the deciſion will be different; becauſe the increaſe of population in the interior parts of the country has augmented the number of thoſe who, not being connected with Boſton by any ties of direct intereſt, anticipate none but beneficial conſequences from having the ſeat of their government nearer to their own homes. But the plan of ſeparation will experience a powerful oppoſition from the influence of the proprietors of thoſe immenſe tracts of land.

Taxed as the diſtrict of Maine now is by the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, it has but a very moderate burden of taxation to bear, becauſe it is conſidered as an infant province, as not yet having called forth into activity its ſlender reſources, and as containing extenſive tracts of unproductive land which the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts herſelf has recently ſold to the great ſpeculators above mentioned. Thoſe vaſt poſſeſſions are therefore very lightly taxed at preſent. But the caſe will be different if the diſtrict of Maine be erected into a ſeparate ſtate: for, in the firſt place, the public expences will be increaſed; and, on the other hand, the jealouſy entertained by the laborious and indigent claſs of proprietors againſt the poſſeſſors of immenſe tracts—who, enjoying opulence in other ſtates, ſuffer their lands in this quarter to lie unimproved, in expectation of the time when they may be enabled to ſell them at a higher rate to thoſe ſame petty proprietors—will cauſe a conſiderable augmentation in the taxes on that ſpecies of property. It is known that thoſe lands have been purchaſed from the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts at a very low price: and the new ſtate of Maine will find her advantage in augmenting the tax upon them, inaſmuch as it will compel the great proprietors to divide and ſell thoſe lands without delay, and conſequently will increaſe the number of inhabitants and the quantity of produce.

Above one half of the diſtrict of Maine is owned by ſuch proprietors; the principal of whom are—General Knox for the Waldo-patent, the Plymouth company, the company of the twenty townſhips, General

neral Lincoln, Mr. Charles Vaughan, and particularly Mr. Bingham who poſſeſſes there from three to four millions of acres.

Theſe ſimple facts ſufficiently ſhew what great obſtacles will be oppoſed to the formation of the new ſtate: but thoſe obſtacles will probably be removed, ſince it is a meaſure which juſtice and the intereſt of the people demand.

RETURN TO BOSTON.

After twelve days ſpent at General Knox's habitation, I quitted the diſtrict of Maine, and returned by ſea to Boſton. I had gone by land in the preceding year; and nothing now remained to gratify my curioſity in the courſe of ſo long and difficult a journey. The veſſels that ſail from the diſtrict of Maine are ſo heavily laden with cumbrous articles that no ſpace is left open on the deck beyond what is neceſſary for the management of the helm; conſequently there is no poſſibility of walking; and a paſſenger muſt either confine himſelf to the cabin or ſit on the cargo. That of the ſchooner in which I ſailed was fifty cords of fire-wood. Fortunately the weather was fine—the cabin new and neat—the maſter, whoſe name is Kelleran, a very civil good-natured man—and my paſſage of only thirty-ſix hours' duration.

On the day preceding my arrival at Boſton, the preſident's proclamation was received there, in which he announces his firm determination of retiring from public life. It is in the month of March next that the four years of his ſecond preſidency will expire; and in December of the preſent year the elections will be held for the choice of a perſon to be placed at the head of the federal government. It was therefore time that he ſhould announce his reſolution, which I cannot otherwiſe conſider than as a ſerious misfortune for the United States: for the office of preſident is not ſo well provided with the means of execution as not to require ſome acceſſion of ſtrength from the popularity of the man who holds it, and from the confidence repoſed in him by his fellow-citizens. Now, in all the United States, no individual poſſeſſes

ſo

ſo many claims to the general confidence as George Waſhington, nor does any individual enjoy it in ſo high a degree.

That proclamation of the preſident, beſides what relates to his reſignation, contains alſo political counſels to the citizens of the United States.—No man entertains a higher reſpect than I do for the preſident's merit and virtues; none is more firmly convinced that the ſole object of his conduct has invariably been the good of his country; but when a man is a native of France, he muſt have that opinion eſtabliſhed on very ſtrong grounds indeed, if he do not, in one part of the proclamation, diſcover a marked antipathy to France, and a predilection for England, which bear a much ſtronger reſemblance to party-ſpirit than to the ſpirit of juſtice, or even, I will venture to ſay, to ſound policy. I do not mean that any blame can attach to him for the advice which he gives to his countrymen not to become dependent on any other nation: but it appears that this counſel, delivered ſimply and in general terms, would preſerve all its force, its propriety, its juſtice; whereas, offered as it is in ſuch ample extent, and with the characters which accompany its development, one cannot be ſurprized that the preſident's enemies find in it a ſubject for cenſure: and among thoſe who eſteem and reſpect his virtues without feeling the influence of party-ſpirit, there are few, I believe, who would not have wiſhed that this over-long article had been treated in a different manner. Even the other parts of the proclamation, which are not liable to the reproach of impropriety or party-ſpirit, are juſtly taxable with diffuſeneſs and unneceſſary length. All the principles indeed are true, and the counſels good: but they would have been equally ſo, and would have appeared more ſo, if they had been delivered with conciſeneſs and ſimplicity. I have further heard it obſerved that the advices contained in that proclamation are unſeaſonably given. It is (ſay thoſe who cenſure it) in vacating the chair after the expiration of his term, that his adieux would have come at their proper time: but they are premature when the man who thus takes his leave of the public has yet ſix months to exerciſe his functions.

That proclamation, as may reaſonably be expected, meets with admirers

mirers who extol the very parts which moſt deſerve cenſure, as well as cenſurers who condemn in it what is entitled to nought but praiſe.

This reſignation of the preſident, which was doubted through all America a fortnight ago, ſeems however to produce no ſenſation at Boſton; it engroſſes no greater ſhare of the general attention than any other article of intelligence; and after the firſt day it ceaſed to be a topic of converſation. The defects and the merits of the proclamation are equally buried in ſilence. Does this indifference with which ſo important an event is viewed at Boſton ariſe from the circumſtance of the people's minds being wholly engroſſed by intereſted purſuits, ſo as to leave no room for any other object? or is it the offspring of conſtitutional apathy? Theſe are queſtions which I ſhall be better able to determine when I have ſeen a greater number of people and viſited different places. In the mean time I am not the leſs ſurprized at what I here obſerve.

During my ſhort abſence from Boſton, a fever, in which the phyſicians who were conſulted diſcovered the characteriſtics of the yellow fever, broke out in a cloſe narrow part of the town enjoying little circulation of air, and inhabited by poor families. Almoſt every one who was attacked by it died within three days; and thoſe who approached the ſick caught the infection. A hint of the danger of this contagion, prudently ſuggeſted to the Select-Men, though without pronouncing the name of "yellow fever," was productive of the ſalutary meaſure of cauſing the families who either were themſelves actually infected or had had communication with thoſe who were, to be removed from the town, their beds to be burned, and their houſes purified and ſuffered to ſtand empty, without alarming any one with a name which carries terror with it through every part of America. In conſequence of theſe precautions the diſeaſe diſappeared. Few of the ſick perſons who were removed fell victims to it; no individual of their families caught the infection; and Boſton, which loſt by this fever eight or ten of its inhabitants, now enjoys perfect ſalubrity.

The fortifications of Caſtle-Iſland have ſince laſt year been put into ſomewhat

ſomewhat better condition. The parapets are raiſed, and within their incloſure are placed a ſcore of cannons, forty-two-pounders, taken from the Engliſh during the laſt war. Theſe cannons are mounted on coaſt-carriages, in a kind of imitation of our French coaſt-batteries ſo ſkilfully contrived by Monſieur de Gribeauval; but the imitation is very imperfect: the carriages are heavy and clumſily made; the platforms are deficient in ſolidity, and the parapets ſo little elevated that all the men ſerving the pieces would remain expoſed to the fire of the enemy's ſhips that might attempt to enter. It is at the expence of the commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts that Caſtle-Iſland has been put into this petty ſtate of defence, which is perhaps ſomewhat worſe than nothing, ſince it is incapable of anſwering any good purpoſe, and at the ſame time inſpires a vain confidence. The legiſlature have poſitively refuſed to cede this iſland to the general government, which, as I have obſerved in the journal of my firſt tour, had allotted funds to put it into a ſtate of complete defence.

PORTSMOUTH.

In going to Portſmouth I went over the ſame ground that I had travelled laſt year in coming from it.

The fever which carried off during this ſummer about forty perſons at Newbury-Port, has now ſubſided.

Epidemic diſeaſes generally ceaſe in every part of America at the commencement of the cold weather. The malady at Newbury-Port had, according to the aſſertion of the phyſicians, the characteriſtics of the yellow fever: but, ſince the ravages cauſed by that diſtemper at Philadelphia three years ago, the appellation is too lightly beſtowed on all epidemic bilious fevers, which, it muſt be owned, poſſeſs on this continent a conſiderable degree of malignity, and in the treatment of which the phyſicians do not ſeem to diſplay much ſkill.

Although theſe fevers have hitherto broken out only in the ſea-ports,

many medical men do not now, as in the beginning, think them imported from the Weſt-Indies, but conceive them, like almoſt all other epidemic diſeaſes, to have originated in the country. That which prevailed at Newbury had its principal focus in a quarter contiguous to the port; but it alſo ſpread to ſeveral other parts of the town. It was not very deſtructive, ſince in three months it carried off only about forty perſons from a population of five thouſand inhabitants. The phyſicians aſſert, that, notwithſtanding the ravages of that diſorder, fewer perſons have fallen victims this year at Newbury-Port than uſually die at the ſame ſeaſon, which is always ſickly in a greater or leſſer degree. If this aſſertion be well founded, the fact muſt be conſidered as extraordinary.

CONSTITUTION, LAWS, AND COMMERCE, OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

During ſix days which I ſpent at Portſmouth, I procured ſome information reſpecting the ſtate of New-Hampſhire, which the ſhortneſs of my ſtay there laſt year had not allowed me to acquire.

The new conſtitution of this ſtate, framed in 1782, underwent a reviſion in 1792. In its principal features it reſembles thoſe of all the other ſtates. Here follows a ſhort abſtract of it.

All the public functionaries, except thoſe of the judicial department, are elected only for one year.

The electors for all offices are the ſame; and the only conditions required to qualify an elector are the payment of a tax, the age of twenty-one years, and the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion. This laſt intolerant condition, which is ſaid to have experienced great oppoſition as well in the original formation of the conſtitution in 1782 as in its reviſion in 1792, is required for all the offices in the ſtate.

The ſenators are elected by diſtricts; and for this purpoſe an imaginary diviſion has been made of the ſtate into twelve diſtricts nearly

equal

equal in point of taxation. The ſenators are twelve in number, and chooſe from their own body a preſident, who performs the functions of lieutenant-governor whenever occaſion ſo requires.

The legiſlature can alter the boundaries of the diſtricts according to the changes which may take place in their relative wealth.

The qualifications for eligibility as a ſenator are, that the candidate have attained the age of thirty years, have reſided in the ſtate during ſeven years, and during one year in the diſtrict where he is choſen, and that he poſſeſs a landed property to the amount of eight hundred dollars.

The repreſentatives muſt be at leaſt one and twenty years old, have reſided in the ſtate during two years, be at the time of their election inhabitants of the townſhip by which they are choſen, and poſſeſs an eſtate of four hundred dollars, of which two hundred muſt be in landed property in their own right.

Each town or pariſh containing a hundred and fifty inhabitants who pay taxes ſends one repreſentative, and an additional one for every three hundred and fifty more. Such pariſhes as do not come up to the former number are joined together or united with others that are more populous, according to local circumſtances.

The ſame conditions which qualify for a ſeat in the ſenate are ſufficient qualifications for the office of governor; with only this difference, that, in the latter caſe, the poſſeſſion of an eſtate of two thouſand dollars is required. The governor is elected by townſhips, and muſt have an abſolute majority of votes: in caſe none of the candidates ſhould have ſuch majority, the two houſes of the legiſlature elect by ballot one of the two who have had the greateſt number of ſuffrages.

The ſtate is divided into five counties, each of which elects in the ſame manner a member of the executive council.

The power and the functions of the two houſes are the ſame as in the other ſtates.

The governor has a right to refuſe his ſignature to bills which have paſſed through both houſes: but he is bound to do it within five days after

after they have been preſented to him; and, after his refuſal, a majority of two thirds in each houſe can compel him to affix his ſignature. He nominates the judges, the ſheriffs, the general officers, the militia ſtaff; he is commander in chief of the troops, and can grant pardons; but all this muſt be done by the advice of his council. In caſes of nomination, the governor and they have the power of a mutual negative over each other.—The judges are appointed during good behaviour; but none of their number can remain in office after the age of ſeventy years.

The legiſlature of New-Hampſhire ſits twice a year.

In their laſt ſeſſion the legiſlature have regulated the mode of chooſing the ſix electors who are to vote for a preſident and vice-preſident of the United States. Thoſe electors are to be appointed, in like manner as the governor of the ſtate, by the electors of each townſhip. The votes are to be tranſmitted by the Select-Men to the ſecretary of ſtate: they are next to be examined by both houſes of the legiſlature, who will then declare the ſix electors. The perſons thus choſen are to meet on the firſt Wedneſday in December.

The laws of New-Hampſhire allow the utmoſt latitude of teſtamentary deviſe: but in caſes of inteſtacy one third of the property is aſſigned to the ſurviving huſband or wife, and the remainder divided in equal portions among the children.

The criminal code, which is only a mitigation of the Engliſh code, ſtill inflicts the puniſhment of death in numerous caſes. Whipping and the pillory are the ſecond gradation of puniſhment, and are appointed for a very conſiderable number of offences. In many caſes the corporal puniſhment may be avoided on payment of a fine. Stealers of horſes or other cattle, after having ſtood expoſed in the pillory, are marked in the face with ſeveral black lines which time alone can obliterate. Thieves of every other kind are condemned to the ſame puniſhment in caſe of a repetition of their crime.

The law reſpecting Sunday, leſs tinctured with puerile ſuperſtition than that of Maſſachuſetts, confines its prohibitions to bodily labour and amuſements.

The

The finances of the ſtate are in good order. At the concluſion of the war its general debt amounted to about five hundred thouſand dollars, of which three hundred thouſand have been aſſumed by the Union, which allows for them, as elſewhere, an intereſt of ſix per cent until they be reimburſed. The other two hundred thouſand, that remained as a debt on the ſtate, have been paid off by ſales of land and other ſpecial means; New-Hampſhire has at preſent in hand a fund of two hundred and fifty thouſand dollars, part in ſecurities of the United States, part in the bank.

The commiſſioners appointed to ſettle the accounts between the United States and the individual ſtates have declared New-Hampſhire creditor in the ſum of ſeventy-five thouſand and ſixty-five dollars.—The expences of the government are ordinarily about twenty-eight thouſand ſix hundred dollars: they are ſometimes higher according to circumſtances. In that ſum are not included the purchaſes of arms and ammunition required to furniſh the magazines to the extent preſcribed by the law.

Slavery is not aboliſhed here by an expreſs law, as in Maſſachuſetts. The firſt article of the New-Hampſhire declaration of rights pronounces that all men are born equal and independent: but private intereſt has ſuggeſted an interpretation of that article which reſtricts its benefits to thoſe born after the promulgation of the conſtitution. There are however no ſales of ſlaves: the public authority is not exerted for the ſeizure of thoſe who run away; and the few ſlaves who are in the ſtate are in all reſpects treated on the ſame footing with other ſervants. Their children are educated at the ſame ſchools. The real evil, therefore, the degradation of ſlavery, does not exiſt in New-Hampſhire; and the name of ſlave is hardly known in the ſtate. No better plan could be adopted by a people who ſtopped ſhort of total emancipation.

For ſome years back the ſtate has impoſed no taxes. The legiſlature nevertheleſs make it a rule to exerciſe occaſionally the right of taxation, for the purpoſe of keeping the inhabitants accuſtomed to ſuch contributions, and alſo of increaſing the public reſources. The laſt

ſum

ſum demanded was twenty-four thouſand dollars. Lands, movable property, cattle, even money in the funds, are ſubject to the tax: and the ſcale of proportion between the different articles taxed by the ſtate ſerves as a baſis for all the county and town rates, which, though more conſiderable than thoſe impoſed by the ſtate, are yet very light.

In the general aſſeſſment of the taxes, each county, and each townſhip in each county, has its particular quota aſſigned to it by the law, which may however vary in conſequence of any important changes taking place in the wealth of thoſe townſhips or counties.

The mode of aſſeſſing and levying the taxes is nearly the ſame in New-Hampſhire as in Maſſachuſetts. The valuation of all taxable property is to be made every fifth year at fartheſt. The poll-tax, to which all men from the age of eighteen years to that of ſeventy are ſubject, is eight ſhillings per head. The total annual amount of taxable property, according to the laſt valuation made in 1794, is forty-two thouſand and ninety pounds, or a hundred and forty thouſand three hundred dollars. The poll-tax payable by twenty-eight thouſand eight hundred and thirteen inhabitants makes a part of that ſum. The Select-Men are the aſſeſſors of the taxes in the different townſhips; and it is to them that the ſtate-treaſurer ſends the ſchedule of the apportionment of the taxes. They are in conſequence authorized to demand of each inhabitant a yearly written declaration of his property. In caſe of deception in thoſe declarations, the Select-Men aſſeſs the tranſgreſſor to four times the amount of the ſum at which he was rated. The inhabitants have the power of appointing the collectors; but the appointment is generally left to the Select-Men, who agree with the inhabitants for the expence of collection, which is from four to five per cent. The taxes are to be levied and remitted to the treaſurer during the courſe of the year; and they are in general punctually paid. The law provides means for calling to account the Select-Men, collectors, treaſurers, &c. who are guilty of neglect or diſhoneſty.

The

The ſtate debt, of which I have not been able to learn the preciſe amount, is far from conſiderable, and probably will within a very ſhort period be wholly extinguiſhed.

The roads, and the finger-poſts which the law requires to be erected on them, are kept in repair by the townſhips, that is to ſay, by the perſonal labour of each inhabitant, or a pecuniary commutation in its ſtead. The rate for the maintenance of the poor is alſo a town rate. Several houſes are eſtabliſhed for their reception in different parts of the ſtate, and are in general as ill kept as ſuch eſtabliſhments are every-where elſe.

Portſmouth is the only port of entry in the commonwealth of New-Hampſhire. Exeter and Dover, ſituate in the inner part of the ſame bay, and to which ſome veſſels of inferior tonnage go up, carry on no commerce except through the medium of Portſmouth, and have no cuſtom-houſe. The exportations from Portſmouth amounted, in 1790, to one hundred and thirty-four thouſand three hundred and nine dollars—in 1791, to one hundred and fifty-one thouſand four hundred and twenty-five—in 1792, to one hundred and eighty-one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-eight—in 1793, to one hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand and eighty-three—in 1794, to one hundred and ſixty-four thouſand two hundred and ſeventeen—in 1795, to two hundred and forty-ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty-four—and, in the firſt ſix months of the preſent year 1796, to two hundred and ſixty-two thouſand three hundred and fifty-one.

The conſiderable increaſe in the preſent year was occaſioned by the extraordinary circumſtance of ſeveral ſhips coming from the Weſt-Indies, which, though conſigned to other ports, were obliged to diſcharge their cargoes here. The produce of the cuſtom-houſe duties on imported articles amounted, in 1790, to ſixteen thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-nine dollars—in 1791, to thirty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four—in 1792, to forty-five thouſand four hundred and ninety-nine—in 1793, to fifty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-eight—in 1794, to fifty-one thouſand eight hundred and

three—and, in 1795, to fifty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-eight. The principal articles of thoſe importations are the productions of the Weſt-India iſlands—wine, ſoap, oil, and hemp, from Europe—and manufactured goods. It is with the French iſlands that New-Hampſhire carries on the chief part of her Weſt-India trade, and with Holland and Germany of her European. It is moſt commonly through the medium of Boſton that ſhe receives her ſupplies of Britiſh goods. The veſſels belonging to Portſmouth that viſit England, ſeldom touch there except on their return from Germany.

The productions of New-Hampſhire are Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, black cattle, goats, ſheep, hogs, horſes, mules, poultry, flax, hemp, pot-aſh, pearl-aſh, timber of every kind and in great quantities. Theſe furniſh matter for her exportations: but the local ſituation of the country, which removes from the vicinity of the ſea a great number of its inhabitants, and places them nearer to the Connecticut and the North-River, cauſes a great portion of the produce to paſs through Albany, New-York, and the towns of Connecticut.—New-Hampſhire re-exports moreover a great quantity of commodities imported from the Weſt-Indies.

The total amount of the tonnage employed by this ſtate in foreign trade was, in 1793, eleven thouſand ſeven hundred and nine tons—in 1794, twelve thouſand and eleven—in 1795, twelve thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy:—in the preſent year 1796, it is thirteen thouſand five hundred and forty. In addition to this, the tonnage employed in the coaſting trade and fiſheries was, in 1793, one thouſand two hundred and fifty-five tons—in 1794, one thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight—in 1795, one thouſand four hundred and forty-ſix:—and it now amounts, in 1796, to one thouſand four hundred and fifty.

The population of New-Hampſhire conſiſts of about a hundred and ninety thouſand ſouls. Although almoſt all the townſhips, which are generally of ſix ſquare miles, have been granted by the ſtate, ſome are yet wholly deſtitute of inhabitants, and many others contain very few.

few. It is only from its own population that this ſtate can expect any conſiderable increaſe; for there is no immigration to it from other parts. The laws of New-England had long prohibited the admiſſion of any emigrants from Europe, except Engliſhmen, who are not eaſily induced to quit their native country. Since thoſe prohibitory laws have ceaſed to be enforced, foreign immigrants are not more numerous in New-Hampſhire than at former periods; becauſe, in the firſt place, Connecticut, Rhode-Iſland, and Maſſachuſetts, have at preſent nearly their due quantum of population; and, in the ſecond place, becauſe the tide of foreign immigration, having long ſince taken its courſe toward the ſtates of New-York, Pennſylvania, &c. will, for a long time to come, flow in the ſame channels, attracted by motives of conſanguinity, and the various relations exiſting between the new immigrants and the old. Such immigrations from thoſe three populous ſtates of New-England, as do not take a weſtern direction, incline toward Vermont in preference to New-Hampſhire, becauſe in Vermont the lands are cheaper. The ſtate of Vermont, moreover, at the time of its formation, paſſed a law, unjuſt in itſelf, but favourable to a ſpeedy increaſe of population in the country. A great part of its lands had been granted in the maſs to the inhabitants of New-Hampſhire by the governors of that ſtate, of which Vermont then conſtituted a part. When erected into a ſeparate commonwealth, the legiſlature of Vermont declared that every perſon taking poſſeſſion of the uninhabited lands, by whomſoever owned, ſhould enjoy them unmoleſted during the ſpace of ſeven years. Allured by this invitation, outcaſts, debtors, needy adventurers, flocked thither from all quarters. The inhabitants of New-Hampſhire, who were the proprietors of thoſe lands, fearing to ſee themſelves entirely deprived of them, concluded bargains with the new-comers on whatever terms the latter were pleaſed to allow. In conſequence of theſe tranſactions, the population of Vermont received ſo rapid an increaſe, that, although ten years ſince it hardly contained forty thouſand inhabitants, it now reckons above a hundred thouſand; and ſtill

continues there at a lower price than in New-Hampſhire, where from one to five dollars are paid per acre in the interior part of the country, according to the number of inhabitants already ſettled in the townſhip where the purchaſe is made.

Free ſchools are ſupported at the public charge in New-Hampſhire, as in Maſſachuſetts; with this difference, however, that in none of them do children receive the firſt leſſons in reading. The pupils are inſtructed in writing and arithmetic—in Latin, as far as Virgil and Cicero—in Greek, ſo far only as to tranſlate the Teſtament—and in the principles of the Engliſh language. An academy at Exeter purſues the courſe of education a little farther, and gives ſome tincture of the ſciences. The univerſity of New-Hampſhire is at Dartmouth on Connecticut-River. The parents of the children are bound to have them taught to read. The want of gratuitous inſtruction in that firſt ſtage is certainly a bar to the general diſſemination of knowledge through the ſtate.

The more I ſee of America, the more firmly am I convinced that the underſtandings of the people are every-where good. The inhabitants are induſtrious: each family has its domeſtic manufactories where the neceſſary articles of clothing are fabricated and died: yet few families refrain from purchaſing at the retailer's ſtore ſome European ſtuffs or ribands, that they may not, at the meeting on ſunday, appear leſs fine than their neighbours.

The militia of New-Hampſhire is divided into twenty-eight regiments, and amounts to twenty-eight thouſand men, of whom two thouſand are cavalry, and ſix hundred artilleriſts.

Notwithſtanding the clauſe in the conſtitution which requires the profeſſion of the proteſtant religion as a qualification for every public office, unbounded religious freedom prevails in the ſtate, and almoſt every ſect of Chriſtians have here public places of worſhip.

The moſt ancient ſettlements in New-Hampſhire were formed ſoon after thoſe of Maſſachuſetts. Portſmouth and Dover are the places where the firſt eſtabliſhments were made. But diſturbances having

having ariſen in this province, and introduced a ſtate of anarchy which became intolerable to the majority of the inhabitants, they put themſelves under the protection of the colony of Maſſachuſetts which was in a much more flouriſhing condition, and where a more regular ſyſtem of laws was followed. They incorporated themſelves with Maſſachuſetts in 1642: but the province of New-Hampſhire becoming more populous, and ſome diſcontents having broken out on occaſion of the ſuperiority which Maſſachuſetts aſſumed over it—and theſe diſcontents being moreover embittered by quarrels on the ſubject of religion—the inhabitants petitioned the Engliſh court that their colony might again become a ſeparate province; and accordingly, by an edict iſſued in 1679, Charles the Second granted their requeſt, and created New-Hampſhire a diſtinct and royal province.

One of the ſix frigates voted two years ſince by Congreſs was to have been built here: but, like thoſe of Portſmouth in Virginia and of New-York, it is among the three of which the national legiſlature at their laſt ſeſſion countermanded the conſtruction. The timber, which coſt ſo much money, remains in the dock-yard half-wrought; and, notwithſtanding all the care which, people ſay, will be taken for its preſervation, a very ſmall portion of it will after a few years be fit for ſervice. In a dock-yard adjoining to that where this frigate was begun, the ſame workmen who were employed upon it are now building one intended to carry thirty-two guns, which was firſt laid on the ſtocks a month ſince, and is to be finiſhed by next ſpring. It is a preſent demanded of the United States by the dey of Algiers, as an inducement to his faithful obſervance of the treaty he has concluded with them. It is aſſerted that this condition, which the executive power of the United States is eager ſpeedily to comply with, is the reſult of a ſupplemental treaty which will remain unknown till the next ſeſſion of Congreſs; but that there can exiſt no doubt that neceſſity will oblige them to ratify it.—When we recollect that thoſe ſix frigates were voted for the purpoſe of repreſſing the piracies of the Algerines—when we read the treaty ſince concluded, and ſee a frigate given

given to thoſe ſame Algerines as a preſent from America—we might reaſonably be ſurprized if the power of the United States, and the conſiſtency of their political ſyſtem, were held in high repute at Algiers.

In going to Portſmouth, I purſued the ſame track as laſt year, through Salem, Newbury, Hampton. I have therefore no new information to offer, except that almoſt every article is riſen in price, and that ſhip-building is carried on in all the creeks with ſtill greater activity than during the laſt year, as if trade were always to be carried on in American bottoms to the ſame extent. But the war cannot endure for-ever: and, on the return of peace, many of the ſhip-owners will diſcover that they might have employed their money to greater advantage.

I returned from Portſmouth by the upper road. It was at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from the ſea, and it is not longer than the other; but it is leſs agreeable, and more difficult, inaſmuch as it croſſes mountains and ſands, and eſpecially as it lies through a leſs beautiful and leſs cultivated country.

EXETER.

This town, fourteen miles diſtant from Portſmouth, is the ſeat of the government of New-Hampſhire, and ſituate in the county of Rockingham, on the river Surampſcot, at the head of the bay of Piſcataqua. It contains about three hundred and fifty houſes, and from ſixteen to ſeventeen hundred inhabitants. The houſes are tolerably neat; and the place receives a good ſhare of activity from ſeveral mills for corn, paper, fulling, tobacco, chocolate, and ſawing, and from ſome iron-works.

I have obſerved that there was an academy in this town. It was incorporated in 1781 by an act of the legiſlature, under the name of "Phillips's Exeter Academy," from the name of a Mr. Phillips, a miniſter of Exeter, who was the principal donor to it.—Before the revolution,

revolution, and at the time when Portſmouth carried on an extenſive commerce, many veſſels were built at Exeter: but, ſince the decline of the trade of Portſmouth, the ſhip-building at Exeter has dwindled almoſt to nothing; not more than two or three veſſels being annually built there, and theſe being only ſloops. No veſſels above the burden of twenty tons can go up to that town.

Under the head of Portſmouth I forgot to notice a particularity, which would there have been more properly placed than under the head of Exeter, although the ſame fact exiſts here alſo. It is, that in that conſiderable town, where all the houſes except one or two are built of wood, the only mode practiſed for cleaning the chimneys is to ſet them on fire. That operation is performed in rainy weather, that the roofs, which are covered with ſhingles, may be the leſs expoſed to catch fire from the flying ſparks. There is not an inſtance on record of any miſchief having been cauſed by this ſingular proceſs of cleaning the chimneys. The want of chimney-ſweepers firſt gave riſe to this practice, which is at length ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed by habit, as to be now employed in preference to any other, even when ſweeps happen to paſs through the town. The ſame cuſtom almoſt univerſally prevails in all the ſmall towns or villages of New-England, and alſo in many other parts of America.

HAVER-HILL.

From Exeter to Haver-hill, the country wears the appearance of a deſert; preſenting to the view an almoſt uninterrupted ſucceſſion of woods of the pooreſt kind and of the ſmalleſt growth—here and there a few acres cultivated—but bad land, bad culture, indifferent houſes: —the traveller fancies himſelf at the diſtance of a hundred miles from any inhabited country. Within a few miles from Haver-hill the country aſſumes a more pleaſing aſpect; the land is better, the cultivation more regular, and the houſes more ſightly. Haver-hill is in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, and ſituate on the Merrimack, the ſame river

river which forms the port of Newbury. Over this river was built in 1794 a tolerably handſome bridge, conſiſting of three wooden arches, each a hundred and eighty-two feet in breadth, and ſupported by ſtone piers and buttreſſes. This bridge is not ſufficiently light in its upper part: and as the intervals between the arches are not raiſed to a level with the tops of the vaults, there is a deſcent from each to the platform of the pier, and an aſcent to the next, ſo as to render the paſſage unpleaſant. But civil architecture has not yet made ſufficient advances to improvement in this new country to admit of attention being paid to the convenience of travellers.

A conſiderable number of ſhips are annually built at Haver-hill—often fifty or ſixty. The greater number of them are ſold in the ſouthern ſtates. Only ſix veſſels are owned by the merchants of this port, and employed in the Weſt-Indian and even in the European trade: but they take their cargoes to Boſton, whence are procured the foreign commodities neceſſary for the conſumption and trade of Haver-hill, which ſupplies many townſhips in the back country. The ſtores here are numerous and well ſtocked: and the manufactories that claim more particular notice are a pretty conſiderable one of ſail-cloth, and ſome diſtilleries. Although hemp is produced both in New-Hampſhire and Maſſachuſetts, that of Ruſſian growth is alone uſed in this ſail-cloth-manufactory; and it is procured from Boſton.

I have been aſſured that veſſels of a hundred tons burden can come up to Haver-hill in the high tides. This town, which contains between two and three thouſand inhabitants, is moreover in a ſtate of increaſe: and a great number of handſome houſes are now a-building in it. The price of land in its vicinity is a hundred dollars the acre: at ſome diſtance, it is only thirty. The agriculture in its immediate environs is almoſt ſolely confined to Indian corn and meadow. It is eaſy here to procure workmen; and their wages are four ſhillings and nine pence per day, and ſeven dollars per month. A maſon can earn ſeven ſhillings, a houſe-carpenter nine ſhillings, and a ſhip-carpenter

two

two dollars. Philadelphia flour now ſells here at thirteen dollars the barrel, that of the country produce at ſix or ſeven. This enormous difference ariſes not only from the difference in the beauty of the grain and in the goodneſs of the mills, but alſo from the adulteration of the country flour, which, not being ſubject to any inſpection, is mixed with the flour of peas, beans, and potatoes, and thus is inferior in quality even to good Indian meal.

RETURN TO BOSTON.

Beyond Haver-hill bridge the traveller enters the townſhip of Brentford, which is a part of the county of Eſſex, and where the land ſtill preſents the ſame appearance. In this townſhip is a conſiderable manufacture of men's ſhoes for exportation. The number daily produced by the workmen of this little place is eſtimated at two hundred pair. Theſe ſhoes, which are of good materials and well made, are ſold at four ſhillings and nine pence halfpenny the pair. The leather employed in making them comes from the Spaniſh part of Saint-Domingo.

From Haver-hill to Boſton the country is quite rich, abounding in good houſes and beautiful farms. The townſhip of Andover in particular is remarkable for its charming meadows, and the numerous herds of fine cattle with which they are ſtocked.

On this little journey I chatted, according to my cuſtom, with every one whom I found diſpoſed for converſation: and it is not very common in America to find perſons who are averſe to it, eſpecially among thoſe who do not rank among the firſt claſs of ſociety. I every-where obſeved a ſenſe of reſpect for the preſident, but an indifference on the ſubject of his reſignation. "He is old; and men cannot laſt for ever:" ſuch is the general remark. Beſides, leſs importance is attached to the choice of his ſucceſſor than I ſhould have expected. In this part of the country indeed the votes will be pretty generally in favour of John Adams. "He is a good man," ſaid to me a Colonel Beverley who

keeps a tavern: "Jefferſon is alſo a good man: we cannot fail to find good men in America."

The general ſpirit and opinion of the people are the ſame here as throughout all New-England, and indeed in almoſt every part of America—a heart-felt recollection of the ſervices rendered by France, and of the evils inflicted by England. Neither the new political ſubtilities reſpecting the real motives of thoſe ſervices, nor the documents of national ingratitude which are the reſult of them, have yet impaired the friendly diſpoſitions entertained by the people of America toward France. They remember that ſhe aided them in the hour of need: they wiſh her proſperity, take an intereſt in her ſucceſſes, and enjoy them with delight. They equally remember that England burned and deſtroyed their houſes, and did them all the miſchief in her power. They would not however on that account join with France to wage war againſt England: they ſtill equally continue to ſupply their wants with the articles of Britiſh manufacture (which circumſtance, be it obſerved *en paſſant*, affords a juſt ſubject of animadverſion on the want of ſkilful management in the former French government); but they pour forth their ardent prayers for the welfare of France. The attachment to La Fayette, ſo perceptibly diminiſhed in the great towns even ſince my arrival in America, has ſuffered no abatement in the other parts of the continent; and numbers of honeſt ſouls are everywhere found who declare that a general tax, impoſed for the ſole purpoſe of raiſing for him a conſiderable property, would be paid with the greateſt chearfulneſs throughout the whole extent of America.

THIRD VISIT TO BOSTON.

This time I found Boſton in a ſtate of conſiderable agitation. The cauſe is ſomething of a much more ſerious nature than the reſignation of the preſident: it is the intelligence of the reſolution announced by France of cauſing her ſhips of war and privateers to ſeize every neutral veſſel laden with goods of Britiſh manufacture. Already, I believe, in this

this journal, I have mentioned ſuch an event as likely to take place—as being a juſt and perhaps over-tardy retaliation for the capture of American ſhips laden with proviſions for France—as a meaſure which, conſidered in a commercial view, inflicts a deeper wound on Britain than on America, ſince two thirds of the cargoes exported from or imported into America are the property of Engliſh houſes—and which, in ſhort, even if it were to prove ſevere in its operation on the American commerce, finds its apology in the late treaty concluded between England and America, in the active part which the American merchants took in that treaty, and in the facility with which they delivered up to the Engliſh without reſiſtance or reclamation the veſſels laden for France. I do not think I am blinded by my affection for my country when I thus juſtify the ſtep lately taken by her governors, and pronounce this ſevere meaſure to be within the bounds of that juſtice which is conſiſtent with the dreadful right of war.

I am convinced that every honeſt man, who is unbiaſſed by private intereſt and abſolute maſter of his own opinion, will think as I do on the ſubject: but he could not, any more than I, flatter himſelf with the hope of bringing over the commercial houſes of America to his ſentiments: "a loſing gameſter cannot ſmile," ſays the old proverb; and it is beyond all doubt that this deciſive act of the French government, the object of which is to ruin the manufactures and trade of England, will be deeply felt by the commercial fortunes of this continent. Accordingly the merchants of Boſton, or at leaſt a part of them, exclaim againſt it as fraught with injuſtice, horror, treachery, and openly expreſs their wiſhes that America ſhould declare war againſt France. Theſe puerile wiſhes ſhew what loſs they fear, and how far their ſenſibility of it influences their judgement.

That intelligence was the ſole topic of converſation in Boſton at the time of my arrival: nevertheleſs it found apologiſts among the inhabitants, even among thoſe engaged in trade. Since the more recent news that a French fleet is on its way to Halifax, people talk leſs loudly againſt that declaration: for fear, as well as intereſt, has its in-

fluence. If France, while ſhe does ſome little injury to the commerce of America, ſhows that ſhe has it in her power to do ſtill greater, ſhe will find ſo many friends in all that claſs of the Americans who now declare againſt her. Such is the mode that has been purſued by England; and, however painful it may be to make the remark, it is a good and effectual mode.

With reſpect to myſelf, it is with pleaſure I conſider the meaſure adopted by France as a mean of compelling England to a ſpeedy peace —an event which will prove a bleſſing to the Britiſh nation, and a ſtill greater bleſſing to the inhabitants of France: for peace will more than any thing elſe contribute to give ſtability to their liberty and conſtitution, whereas they are both expoſed to conſtant danger by the war. Let us then hope that a durable peace will reſtore to Europe that tranquillity and ſecurity of which ſhe ſo greatly ſtands in need, and that France, capable of ſupporting the trying burden of proſperity, will ſhow herſelf as great and generous at the moment of ſheathing the ſword as ſhe has been terrible while ſhe wielded it: let us hope that ſuch a peace will ſoon confer on the French people all that plenitude of happineſs which they cannot fail to enjoy under a government who ſhall have leiſure to devote their thoughts to a good ſyſtem of adminiſtration.

After a third reſidence of a week at Boſton, I finally quitted it to proceed toward Philadelphia. It was not without regret that I parted from ſeveral perſons who had continued to ſhow me the ſame multiplied marks of friendly intereſt and obliging attention which they had laviſhed on me in the preceding year. At the head of the liſt I will place Doctor Euſtis, a man as really good as he is agreeable, prudent, enlightened in his opinions, liberal in his ſentiments and conduct, eſſentially amiable and eſtimable, and endowed with an independence of character which ſecures all thoſe qualities on a firm baſis. I have conceived for him a ſincere friendſhip, which ſeparation or diſtance will never prevent me from cultivating.

MARL-

MARLBOROUGH, AND THE WILLIAMS FAMILY.

The firſt night of my journey, October 13, I ſpent at Marlborough in the houſe of the ſame Williamses where I had been ſick laſt year, and had experienced ſuch remarkable attentions from the family. I would not on any account have paſſed their door without ſtopping. They received me with cordial demonſtrations of pleaſure. People delight in ſeeing thoſe to whom they have rendered ſervice; and I felt a ſincere ſatisfaction in again beholding thoſe to whom I felt ſo many obligations. Honeſt Williams's crops have been good this ſeaſon in every department of his huſbandry. His farm, which I perambulated in company with him, is in excellent condition: he plentifully dungs his land; and in conſequence his meadows yield him from ſix to eight thouſand weight of hay per acre. He reaps from fifty to ſixty buſhels of Indian corn per acre; and, the Indian corn bearing a price of ſeven or eight ſhillings the buſhel, each acre thus produces him about ſeventy dollars. The wages of his workmen are increaſed: laſt year they were ten dollars per month; this year they are twelve; and, at the time of the hay-making, he was obliged in ſome inſtances to pay ſo high as twenty dollars. The lands of his farm would not, in their preſent ſtate, be ſold for leſs than three hundred dollars per acre: he lets ſome near his own habitation at a rent proportioned to the value of a hundred and fifty.

This country of Maſſachuſetts, however mountainous, is in a general ſtate of good cultivation: but although in ſome townſhips large quantities of wheat are produced, the principal objects of culture are Indian corn, potatoes, and meadow.

The political opinions of old Williams have undergone no change: he ſtill continues a zealous admirer of the preſident, ſtill hates the Engliſh. Speaking to me of the preſident's reſignatory addreſs, "Does it not," ſaid he, "contain great truths? But what does he mean by that *fondneſs* and that *antipathy* which he does not wiſh the Americans

cans to entertain? It is ſaid that he alludes to the French and Engliſh: I ſhould not be over-pleaſed with that: but the old man knows more of the matter than we; and no doubt he has good reaſons for what he ſays."

BROOKFIELD.

From Marlborough to Brookfield where ended my ſecond day's journey, the face of the country continues the ſame, and the ſame cultivation prevails. In the environs of Brookfield are raiſed wheat, barley, rye, a little Indian corn, and a great quantity of potatoes. Grounds kept in good order yield two hundred buſhels of the latter per acre, which being ſold at two ſhillings the buſhel, each acre yields of courſe a product of ſixty-ſix dollars. However abundant the crops of potatoes may prove, a ready ſale is found for them at that price. In the vicinity of this place are reared great numbers of cattle, which are quickly taken off as ſoon as they are fit for the market. Excluſive of the conſumption in the town, which is not inconſiderable, large quantities of beef are here ſalted for exportation. Some horſes are alſo reared. The lands are dunged, but not near ſo well as in the neighbourhood of Boſton. The meadows in good condition produce nevertheleſs ſix thouſand weight of hay per acre. Indian corn bears no higher price here than nine pence the buſhel. The lands in the central and moſt populous part of the townſhip ſell for two hundred and thirty dollars the acre; ſomewhat farther back, and in large parcels, for no more than thirty-four: a few acres of picked land would be rated at ſeventy. A pair of oxen fit for the yoke coſt from ſeventy to a hundred dollars; good milch-cows from twenty-five to thirty. In theſe prices ſome augmentation has taken place ſince laſt year.

In the election of the future preſident, the votes of this diſtrict, as of by far the greater part of New-England, will be in favour of John Adams: but it appears, though to my very great aſtoniſhment, that the nomination to that high office occupies only a very moderate ſhare of the public attention.

PALMER.

PALMER.

From Brookfield to Palmer the country is more hilly, and the tops of the hills are leſs cultivated: cultivation however extends to a certain height up their ſides, as well as over the valleys. The meadows are covered with numerous herds of cattle, and of a good breed. Here the traveller has to paſs through more woods than he had yet met with ſince his departure from Boſton.—Philadelphia flour, which had fallen two months ſince to ten dollars, has riſen in the country parts to thirteen and fourteen. That of domeſtic growth coſts only nine dollars: but, notwithſtanding this difference, the Philadelphia flour is preferred whenever it can be procured.

SPRINGFIELD.—THE ARSENAL, &c.

As far as Springfield the country exhibits ſtill leſs appearance of cultivation; and at ſix or ſeven miles from that town it is no better than a parched tract of ſand where grow ſome diminutive pines. The ſoil is alſo very ſandy at Springfield: but the proximity of Connecticut River, and more careful culture, render it more productive. Rye, Indian corn, potatoes, and meadow, are the moſt frequent objects of cultivation. Some farmers ſow wheat, particularly on the new grounds: but of ten wheat crops hardly one is even tolerable, as the land is extremely ill manured in this diſtrict. In the town, land may be purchaſed for ſixty-ſix dollars the acre: in the centre, however, and near the river, there are acres which would coſt two hundred; but they are few: farther back, the value is from eight to ſixteen.

The prices of the country produce and of labour are nearly the ſame here as at Palmer and Brookfield, or perhaps ſomewhat lower. It is eaſy to find workmen at four or five ſhillings per day, without food, and for nine dollars per month.

Springfield is a neat and tolerably well-built village containing a population

population of eighteen hundred inhabitants. Here is eſtabliſhed one of the arſenals of the United States, where muſkets are fabricated, cannons and howitzers caſt, gun-carriages conſtructed, &c. but in ſmall number. The magazines do not contain above ten thouſand muſkets, of which ſeven thouſand are French, and of the old make of 1763. That model, which has long ſince been reformed in France, is the one which is followed in America; and the imitation is yet imperfect. It cannot however be ſaid that thoſe muſkets are bad: their chief defect is that of being too heavy at the extremity.

Thirty pieces of cannon, of which twenty are French, are alſo contained in theſe magazines. Thoſe of American foundery ſeemed to me to be well made: the carriages are ſo likewiſe: but their number and their ſpecies do not correſpond with the cannons and howitzers. In every particular, there appears to me a want of intelligence in the general direction of the ordnance in America. Beſides, the quantities of arms provided do not amount to one twentieth part of what would be requiſite to put the country into a reaſonable ſtate of defence.—The magazines are in good order, and very well kept: the muſkets are furniſhed by a contractor, from whom the directors receive them; and he receives from the United States eleven dollars for each muſket. Another contractor ſupplies the cannon: but, as he was abſent on buſineſs, I could not learn any particulars reſpecting the price of theſe. It would be uſeleſs for me to enter into any further details concerning this arſenal, which, though one of the principal in the United ſtates, adds nothing to their ſtrength.

A Frenchman, Monſieur Pourchereſſe Bourguignon, formerly an officer in the royal Swediſh regiment in the French ſervice, is an aſſiſtant to the director. He ſeems to be as good a man as he is unfortunate. He has a wife and children, and poſſeſſes no other means of ſupporting himſelf and them than the ſalary of his office, which is only three hundred and ſixty dollars per annum. But he has the good ſenſe to be ſatisfied with the Americans, to live on friendly terms with them, to enjoy their eſteem and affection, and to ſhew himſelf

ſelf grateful toward thoſe who have rendered him ſervice. His wife, yet in the years of youth, is intereſting by her figure, her misfortunes, and her fortitude. They both have merited and gained the general eſteem and intereſt of all the inhabitants of Springfield.

There are beſides at Springfield a good diſtillery, a paper-mill, and a tannery: there was alſo a tolerably extenſive manufactory of ſail-cloth: but it has fallen to decay in conſequence of the exceſſive price of labour in that branch, together with the difficulty of procuring workmen or inducing them to ſtay.—Let me further obſerve that Springfield, whoſe firſt ſettlement dates from the year 1636, has during the laſt twenty years received no acceſſion of new inhabitants.

Mr. Lyman, a member of Congreſs, for whom I had a letter from my friend Colonel Burr whom I had caſually met at Boſton, appeared to me temperate in his opinions, moderate and gentle in his diſpoſition. He is, like the majority of the ſtate which he repreſents, a federaliſt in his politics, but more tolerant than many others for thoſe who think differently from him, and whom he nevertheleſs continues to eſteem and love. The general temper of the people here, as in the other parts of the country which I have traverſed, is that of reſpect for the preſident, attachment to the conſtitution, averſion to war, and an ardently favourable diſpoſition toward the French.

Excluſive of the ſmaller manufactories which I have mentioned as exiſting in Springfield townſhip, there is alſo a manufactory of caſt iron, belonging to an aſſociation of ſeveral partners, of whom one of the principal is a Colonel Smith, who keeps a ſhop in the town. The ore which is employed in it is dug up from a ſwamp at the diſtance of a mile from the foundery, which is itſelf four miles diſtant from Springfield. This manufactory produces coarſe heavy works, principally pots for maple-ſugar, with which all the inhabitants of the back country provide themſelves: it likewiſe furniſhes common pots, andirons, &c. For ſome time after its firſt eſtabliſhment it did a conſiderable deal of work: but it has experienced a material diminution from the operation of the ſame cauſes which impede the ſucceſs of

every kind of manufacture in America; and it now hardly does more than ſupply the demand of the townſhip.

CANAL OF HADLEY.

At the diſtance of eight miles from Springfield, at a place called Hadley, are the falls of Connecticut-River. To avoid them, a little canal of two miles has been dug, which thus extends the navigation ſixty or eighty miles farther. This canal is raiſed above twenty feet higher than the bed of the river: the boats are raiſed to and lowered from it without the aid of water, by means of an inclined plane. They are placed in a kind of cradle ſo framed as to fit their ſhape, and then drawn up from the river to the canal, or let down from the canal to the river, by the working of a capſtern, that is turned by a wheel which the ſtream of the river puts in motion. The boats are not unloaded for this operation. I had ſeen in France the plan of a ſimilar project, of which Monſieur Brulé claimed the invention. Time alone can aſcertain whether, as was apprehended in France, the durability of the boats will be impaired by this proceſs: I am inclined to fear that it will.

WEST-SPRINGFIELD AND WESTFIELD.

On quitting Springfield you paſs Connecticut-River in a tolerably good boat, whoſe edges, however, you would wiſh to ſee ſomewhat higher: for, in their preſent low ſtate, they would not be ſafe with unquiet horſes. Beyond the river, you enter the townſhip of Weſt-Springfield, one of the richeſt and moſt populous in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. On this ſide of the river the lands are conſiderably better than on the Springfield ſide; and many of the inhabitants of the latter place are proprietors of them: they are principally laid out in meadows, where cattle of every kind are reared in great numbers. The townſhip of Weſtfield, which is contiguous to it, is leſs happy in richneſs

neſs of ſoil, and ſtill far inferior in population: accordingly many tracts of land, which would be capable of producing good crops, remain uncultivated. Weſtfield, ſituate on a river bearing the ſame name, is a neat well-built little village, ſtanding in the middle of a plain. The ſoil is a rich ſandy earth, and the principal mode of cultivation here, as elſewhere in the adjoining tracts, is meadow. The new grounds are ſown with wheat, as is the practice with all the new-cleared lands which are not of the firſt quality. The labourer is paid from eight to nine dollars per month: wheat is ſold at nine ſhillings the buſhel, Indian corn at five, oats at two; and a pair of good oxen coſt ſeventy dollars. The price of new lands is from three to ten dollars per acre, according to their quality and ſituation; and, in farm-lots, twenty or thirty dollars.

STOCKBRIDGE.

In proceeding from Weſtfield to Stockbridge, the traveller ſucceſſively paſſes through the townſhips of Brentford, London, Bethlehem, Ruſſel, and Kyrningham, occupying the whole breadth of the Green Mountains, of which the ridge is above twenty miles broad, and, as I think I have elſewhere obſerved, begins at Newhaven, whence, traverſing the ſtates of Connecticut, Maſſachuſetts, and Vermont, it reaches to the River Saint-Laurence in Canada. The land in theſe townſhips is indifferent, and very thinly peopled: in travelling through them, one fancies himſelf in the diſtrict of Maine, or in the back part of the Geneſſee country: one ſees patches of new-cleared ground in all the different ſtages of progreſſive improvement: but ſuch ſights are very far from numerous. The price of land here is from ten to fifteen ſhillings.

One might be aſtoniſhed, that, ſituate as this country is ſo near to the great marts for produce, the emigrations from Connecticut, and even from the over-populous parts of Maſſachuſetts, do not take their courſe in this direction rather than toward Vermont or the Geneſſee

country. But, in emigrating, the American gives a preference, above every thing elſe, to the land which he thinks the beſt, and is not withheld by any conſideration of proximity to his family or connexions, or by the greatneſs of the diſtance which he will have to traverſe in queſt of it: and the uncleared lands of Maſſachuſetts are far from equal to thoſe of the Geneſſee, the Ohio, Teneſſee, &c.

I ſhall in future ſay nothing of my converſations with the people with whom I fall into company. They are all in the ſame ſtrain; and I am convinced that the idea I have already given of them in this journal is preciſely accurate.

Stockbridge is one of the richeſt townſhips in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. All its land is cultivated, except a very ſmall portion, which will ſoon in its turn receive culture like the reſt. No timber is here preſerved beyond what is requiſite for fuel. This townſhip is for the moſt part ſituate in a valley, but extends alſo upon ſome hills of no great elevation. The ſoil is excellent, and almoſt all laid down in meadow. The cattle, butter, cheeſe, and ſuch other productions as are not conſumed on the ſpot, are generally ſent to New-York. Sometimes the certainty of obtaining a higher price at Boſton induces the farmer to give a preference to the latter place, with which however the communication is difficult, becauſe of the diſtance, and of the mountainous country that is to be traverſed. In ſuch caſes, all the other articles, except the cattle, are ſent down to New-York by the North-River which paſſes within twenty miles of Stockbridge, and tranſported from New-York to Boſton by ſea.

There are likewiſe ſome forges and caſt-iron-works in this townſhip: but the high rate of workmen's wages, and the ſcantineſs of the mine which begins to be exhauſted, have for ſome years paſt cauſed a conſiderable diminution of their labours. The eaſy circumſtances enjoyed by the inhabitants render workmen ſcarce, and high in their demands. The wages at preſent paid to them are from thirteen to fifteen dollars per month. The price of wheat is two dollars the buſhel, of Indian corn, one dollar; of oats, two ſhillings. A pair of oxen coſt

from

from ninety to a hundred and ten dollars. Land bears the price of from fifteen to twenty dollars the acre, in farm-lots.

I have here ſeen Mr. Sedgwick, with whom I was acquainted at Philadelphia, and by whom I have been very hoſpitably entertained. In all the private relations of ſociety he is an excellent man: but in his politics he is ſomewhat warm, and not a little intolerant. He had long been a member of the houſe of repreſentatives in Congreſs, where he was a frequent ſpeaker: he has lately been appointed a ſenator. Mr. Sedgwick exerts all his influence to carry the election of a member to fill the ſeat which he has vacated, in favour of Mr. Williams, his pupil and friend, who ſeems even a hotter zealot than himſelf in Engliſh politics. Mr. Williams has for competitor general Skinner, a man of the age of ſixty years, who has all his life been honourably employed in public offices, and who, when he had it in his power to rival Mr. Sedgwick in his election ſome years ſince, voluntarily withdrew his name on a promiſe from the latter of procuring for him the votes of his friends to fill the firſt vacancy. But Mr. Skinner was once heard to ſay in a public houſe laſt year, that he did not approve of the treaty with England: and, ſuch is the toleration of the oppoſite party, that no one can in their opinion be an honeſt man without approving of that treaty. Mr. Sedgwick in conſequence oppoſes him, and gives to Mr. Williams all his influence, which is pretty conſiderable in theſe parts. Such is the account which I have received of this affair from ſeveral perſons. The Stockbridge gazette is full of thoſe ſcandalous quarrels, and may very well, in that particular, vie with thoſe of Georgia. In it General Skinner is branded as an antifederaliſt, and as "no good man," becauſe he diſlikes the treaty; and he is accuſed of entertaining a predilection for France and an averſion to England. Mr. Williams is abuſed on the oppoſite ground.

At the diſtance of thirty miles from Stockbridge, and in Williams townſhip, is a college which confers the different degrees inferior to that of doctor. It is ſaid to be a tolerably good ſeminary.

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In a walk which I took with Mr. Sedgwick to Great-Barrington, I ſaw a continued tract of beautiful country, fine land, well cultivated, all in meadow, and a moſt excellent ſoil. As far as New-York the land is ſaid to be of the ſame quality.

CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Before I quit Maſſachuſetts, I muſt add ſome ſhort remarks to what I have already had occaſion to ſay reſpecting the character of its inhabitants. They are perhaps a more unmixed people than any other in the United States, except thoſe of Connecticut, who are equally ſo, and for the ſame reaſons. Such of them as are not of Engliſh birth are natives of America, who have ſettled in Maſſachuſetts after a previous eſtabliſhment in ſome of the other ſtates. The number of Europeans is therefore ſmall in theſe two ſtates; and their inhabitants diſplay in conſequence more ſtriking marks of a common character and a national ſpirit, than thoſe of the other parts of the Union, whom they likewiſe unqueſtionably ſurpaſs in induſtry, activity, and enterpriſe. Their univerſal and predominating paſſion is the deſire of gain: it is openly avowed; and thoſe people, under an appearance of frank bluntneſs, conceal no ſmall portion of ſhrewdneſs and cunning. Hence it is a common ſaying in the other ſtates that "the Yankeys are honeſt according to the letter of the law." I know not how far it may be conſiſtent with juſtice to confine within thoſe bounds the praiſe due to their probity; for I have had no buſineſs to tranſact in this country: but, from every thing which I have ſeen, I preſume that it is equally ſafe to deal with them as with any other people in the United States, or, I believe, in the whole world.

The ſpirit of liberty is here rigid, and carried even to diſtruſt. Although the majority of the repreſentatives of this ſtate in Congreſs be of that ſect in politics who are conſidered as attached to Britain, I believe there do not exiſt in the United States a body of people who, taken in the aggregate, preſerve a deeper and more painful recollection

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of the evils inflicted on America by England, or who more ſtrongly dread an intimate union with the latter. Their manners are extremely ſimple; and knowledge, at leaſt in its firſt degrees, is very extenſively diffuſed. Not a houſe is to be found in the moſt remote corners of the country, where a newſpaper is not read; and there are few townſhips which do not poſſeſs little libraries formed and ſupported by ſubſcription. The conſiderable fortunes acquired by the commerce which is carried on in the numerous ports of the ſtate prevent the general manners of the people from being ſo ſtrictly republican here as in Connecticut: but, for the ſame reaſon, leſs jealouſy prevails, leſs intolerance, leſs puritaniſm.

The ſpirit of equality is carried as far as is conſiſtent with order in a great ſociety. The man who is poſſeſſed of the greateſt wealth, and the moſt happily circumſtanced in every reſpect, ſhakes hands with the workman whom he meets on his way, converſes with him, not under the idea of doing him an honour, as is often the notion elſewhere—but from a conſciouſneſs, in the firſt inſtance, that he may at ſome future time ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance—afterward, without any ſuch intereſted conſideration, but merely through habit, and the force of education, and becauſe he ſees in him his fellow-man, only placed in a different ſituation, to whom he is the leſs tempted to think himſelf ſuperior, as it often happens that the now rich man has himſelf once been in a leſs enviable ſituation. This natural homage paid to the character of man poſſeſſes a certain charm which is truly pleaſing to an independent ſoul, eſpecially when experience proves that the different functions of ſociety are not the leſs ſcrupulouſly reſpected in conſequence of it, and that no individual is thereby ſubject to any greater reſtriction in the exerciſe of his own liberty.

A diminution of the influence of the prieſthood is an object much to be deſired in Maſſachuſetts: for, though it be leſs here than in Connecticut, it is ſtill too great. The prieſts form a body in the ſtate: they are excluſively placed at the head of the colleges, and do not ſuffer any perſons to be admitted as teachers except thoſe of their

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own cloth, their own ſect, and their own opinions in every particular. This influence will no doubt at length ceaſe, and perhaps in conſequence of the contrary exceſs. It is not impoſſible that an indifference to religious matters may become general through this country, where its germ is already developed; and I am not of the number of thoſe who think ſuch an event advantageous to a nation.

KINDERHOOK-LANDING.

At the diſtance of nine miles from Stockbridge, the traveller enters the ſtate of New-York; and, after having traverſed two or three townſhips, he arrives at Kinderhook. In the country which he now traverſes, each townſhip preſents the ſame kind of ſoil, of culture, conſequently of produce and of buſineſs, as the preceding. Above one half of the population of Kinderhook are Low Dutch or deſcendents of Low Dutch. Theſe people are not haſty to change old habits for new; accordingly they till and cultivate the land in the ſame manner now as they did a hundred years ſince.

It appears manifeſtly evident that the farmers of New-England have a conſiderable advantage over them in point of produce: yet the conviction of evidence is not ſufficient to make them deviate from their old track. They ſow large quantities of grain, eſpecially of Indian corn, exhauſt their lands, and have ſmall crops. Few of them keep extenſive meadows, as is the general practice of the farmers come from New-England—a mode of cultivation, beſides, to which the ſoil ſeems beſt adapted, and which is the moſt certain and moſt ſolidly advantageous to the judicious farmer who purſues it. Land in the townſhip of Kinderhook is worth twenty dollars the acre in fine farms. Workmen are ſcarce, and are paid from twelve to fifteen dollars per month.

Five miles farther, we arrive at Kinderhook-landing, the place to which the productions of all the lands on this ſide the Green Mountains are conveyed for embarkation on the North River, ſuch as ſalt meat,

meat, wheat, Indian corn, cider, cheeſe, butter, potatoes, pot-aſh, flax-ſeed, &c. All this produce is brought down in light waggons which travel rapidly, and is embarked in ſloops which here take in their entire lading, or ſupply what is wanted to the cargoes which they were unable to complete at Albany. The different articles are generally purchaſed in the country where they were raiſed, by merchants of New-York or even of the vicinity: but it ſometimes alſo happens that the farmers themſelves, expecting to find a more advantageous market at Kinderhook, convey their commodities hither, and either ſell them here or ſend them on their own account to New-York, paying the freight.

The village of Kinderhook-landing is a petty aſſemblage of ſmall and mean-looking houſes. Six or ſeven ſloops belong to this place. Salt beef is here inſpected, and certified to be fit for exportation: that of prime quality coſts ſix dollars the hundred weight. Flax-ſeed is ſold for eighteen ſhillings the buſhel, but requires to be again cleaned and freed from its duſt before it be deemed fit for exportation. The wheat of the country, which is of beautiful quality, does not at preſent bear a greater price than thirteen ſhillings the buſhel; in conſequence of which, fine flour ſells no higher than eight dollars and one ſhilling per barrel. A fortnight ſince, the price was a quarter more; but the cauſes of ſo material a difference are here unknown.

HUDSON.

The country between Kinderhook and Hudſon is beautiful: it is ſomewhat hilly; but thoſe inequalities in the ground are only ſmall eminences, all well cultivated. Here, as in every other part of the country, the majority of the inhabitants are Dutch, deſcended from the firſt coloniſts who ſettled in theſe parts in 1630: the remainder are emigrants from New-England.

The town of Hudſon was begun in 1784, and now contains above four hundred houſes, all neat and well-built. Its population amounts

to nearly three thouſand ſouls, of whom about two hundred are ſlaves. Few towns in the ſtate of New-York have experienced ſo rapid an increaſe: but during the laſt two years that increaſe ſeems to have been ſtopped in its progreſs. The town riſes about a hundred feet above the river; its ſtreets interſect each other at right angles, according to the plan adopted in the new towns. Of all thoſe which are built on the North River, this is the only one which carries on a direct foreign trade. Veſſels of every ſize can come to its wharfs, while the obſtructions in the courſe of the river at the diſtance of twenty miles higher prevent veſſels of more than eighty tons from going up to Albany. The trade of Hudſon conſiſts in the produce of the ſoil, the productions of tanneries, of forges, of a very fine rum-diſtillery—in train-oil (four veſſels, belonging to the merchants of this place, being employed in the whale-fiſhery)—and, finally, in the re-exportation of Weſt-Indian commodities.

Sixteen or eighteen veſſels of different ſizes are employed in foreign commerce; and five or ſix ſloops are conſtantly engaged in the domeſtic trade between Hudſon and New-York, and convey to the latter the country produce which is not directly exported from Hudſon to foreign countries. The town is inhabited by families from New-England, of whom a conſiderable number are from Rhode-Iſland. I had letters for Mr. Jenkins here, a quaker from Nantucket, and one of the founders of the town, of which the ſoil was purchaſed by a company of thirty perſons. He alone poſſeſſes five ſhares in that company, of which few of the other partners have above two, and ſeveral only the half or quarter of a ſhare.

The politics of this place, and particularly of the quakers, are univerſally anti-britiſh.

The preſent price of ſhip-building at Hudſon is twenty dollars per ton, including the timber and workmanſhip; ready for ſea, fifty dollars per ton. The timber comes from the upper part of the river, and is excellent white oak. The purchaſe of town-lots, which are fifty feet in front and a hundred and twenty in depth, is from three

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hundred and forty to thirteen hundred and thirty dollars, according to their ſituation. The adjoining lands, in farm-lots above half-cleared, may be bought for ten dollars the acre, and are good ſoil. Workmen are ſcarce, and muſt be paid fourteen dollars per month. The price of wheat is here regulated by that which it bears at Albany and New-York: at preſent it is thirteen ſhillings in the former of thoſe towns, and fourteen in the latter.

Hudſon is a port of entry, and has a collector of cuſtoms ſince 1795. But, to guard againſt fraud, veſſels coming from foreign parts are obliged to ſtop and make their manifeſt at New-York, where the collector ſends an officer on board if he think proper. Thus the manifeſts are principally made at the New-York cuſtom-houſe. The value of the exports from Hudſon, as regiſtered at the cuſtom-houſe of that place, was, in 1795, only three thouſand five hundred dollars.

A bank is eſtabliſhed at Hudſon, under the name of Columbia. Its capital, which, by the law for its incorporation, is reſtricted to a hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars, conſiſts of four hundred ſhares, of four hundred dollars each.

SPERANZA.—FREEHOLD.—MAJOR PREVOST.—MONSIEUR ROUERE.

On the oppoſite ſide of the North-River ſtands the new town of Lambſburg, to which its founders have alſo given the modeſt name of Speranza (Hope). This town, which for a number of years had contained but a ſingle and pitiful houſe, cannot really date its origin beyond laſt year. At preſent there are fifty houſes erected in it: ſhops are opened; merchants are eſtabliſhed. A brig is already built, and employed in trade between Speranza and New-York. This infant town will, beyond all doubt, experience a conſiderable increaſe: it enjoys, in common with all the other towns built on the weſtern bank of that beautiful river, the advantage of an extenſive back

country, which, in proportion as it becomes cultivated, will furniſh immenſe quantities of produce, that cannot find any more convenient or certain vent than the North-River. But thoſe countries are yet for the greater part deſert wilderneſſes, where the houſes are few and diſperſed. This is a common obſtacle which operates againſt all the towns, and for the preſent prevents any extraordinary proſperity of their commerce. But, in addition to it, Speranza will moreover have to conquer the habit in which the farmers have been of carrying their produce to the neighbouring towns that have been longer eſtabliſhed. The owners of the town-lands are now engaged in the formation of a road, which, joining at the diſtance of twenty miles the road that leads from Geneſſee, will render the communication with Speranza more eaſy than that with the other towns, and muſt, when finiſhed, cauſe a preference to be given to the former: the work is in great forwardneſs. The proprietors are the meſſieurs Livingſtons of New-York. The town-lots, each containing a quarter of an acre, already bear the price of two hundred dollars.

Colonel Burr had given me a letter to Major Prevoſt, who lives in the townſhip of Freehold, ſixteen miles diſtant from Hudſon. Above one half of the journey is performed on the new road, which is the fineſt part of it: the remainder of the way is over mountains, rocks, ſwamps; in ſhort, it is ſuch as the generality of the roads are in the new countries of America. In this tract the number of ſettlements is very ſcanty; and theſe are of the meaneſt appearance, and abſolutely in their infancy. Few houſes have above twenty acres of ground cleared around them; and many have much leſs. They are all log-houſes: the majority of the new ſettlers (and they are the better claſs) have immigrated from Connecticut.

Major Prevoſt has a neat little houſe built on a tract of nine thouſand acres, which belongs to him. He is ſon of that General Prevoſt, employed in the Britiſh ſervice, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defence of Savannah, and diſgraced his character by the burning of many American towns. Previous to the revolution, he had received from

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the king of England a grant, to himſelf and his ſon, of about forty thouſand acres of land in different provinces of America. That ſon has during thirty-ſix years been a conſtant reſident in the United States. Before the commencement of the war, he had married a young lady of Philadelphia; and he lived a conſiderable time in Pennſylvania, on a farm which he turned to good account. But a part of his property became involved in conſequence of debts contracted by his father-in-law and himſelf: he had a numerous family to provide for, and was unable to recover a conſiderable portion of the lands to which he was entitled: he therefore adopted the reſolution of retiring to that part to which his claim was the leaſt conteſted, there to live with economy, and patiently await the moment when, recovering his other poſſeſſions, he ſhould be certain of leaving a decent fortune to his children. He has loſt his firſt wife, and married a ſecond at Katſkill, by whom he already has three children. He has ſix others by the former marriage, of whom two have long been and ſtill continue in the Britiſh ſervice.

His preſence has conſiderably enhanced the value of his lands, of which he has ſold all that he did not chooſe to retain in his own poſſeſſion. The price is from three to ſix dollars the acre, according to their ſituation. The ſoil is in general good. He has erected a corn-mill, a ſaw-mill, and one for grinding tanner's bark. Theſe he keeps in his own hands; and he ſeems to conduct his affairs with a conſiderable portion of intelligence. Major Prevoſt, a native of Switzerland, has all the frankneſs of an honeſt Switzer and of a genuine honeſt Engliſhman. He appears to be an excellent father; of which his preſent mode of life is a proof. He is beloved by his neighbours, ſeems juſt and impartial in his opinions, ſpeaks well of the American government, and is a good-natured and agreeable man. He has diſplayed a noble inſtance of generoſity and ſenſibility in the notice he has taken of a diſtreſſed Frenchman, a monſieur Rouère, whom he diſcovered at Hudſon in extreme poverty. This Frenchman,

man, formerly a maréchal-des-logis in the king's body-guard, and now ſixty years of age, has acted like a man of honour and delicacy, and, far from treſpaſſing on the generous diſpoſition of Mr. Prevoſt, declines his kindneſſes as far as he can. Three hundred dollars received from his family, together with a ſum raiſed by the ſale of ſome watches and articles of jewellery which he had brought with him, have enabled him to purchaſe a ſmall farm of thirty acres, of which only fifteen are cleared. Here he labours from morn to night like a young man, contents himſelf with the ſuſtenance of milk and potatoes, forgets his misfortunes, and renders himſelf worthy of the eſteem of all thoſe who ſet any value on delicacy of ſentiment.

The late treaty with England has inſpired Mr. Prevoſt with the hope of regaining poſſeſſion of all the lands to which his title is diſputed by the ſtates in which they lie, or by different individuals who have uſurped them under various pretexts, and hold them without any real right. But this will require a ſucceſſion of ſteady exertions continued during ſeveral years: it will be neceſſary to attend the various tribunals before which thoſe claims will be brought under diſcuſſion, and to urge the ſpeed of lawyers who are heavily laden with buſineſs. Many of his opponents who have taken poſſeſſion of his lands, are influential men: he is the ſon of a Britiſh general, and has himſelf borne arms in America in oppoſition to the revolution: he has two ſons in the ſervice of England: all theſe facts, I grant, do not in the leaſt impair the juſtice of Mr. Prevoſt's claims, which to me appear incontrovertible: but juſtice is what people often find it moſt difficult to obtain from the miniſters of juſtice, eſpecially in this country when the queſtion relates to lands; and Major Prevoſt muſt unavoidably have to encounter numerous prejudices and prepoſſeſſions operating to his diſadvantage.

During my ſtay at Freehold there was no mention of politics. I could eaſily gueſs the political ſentiments of the major and his family: but, if I had entertained any doubt on the ſubject, it would have been

been completely removed by obſerving the avidity with which they read Peter Porcupine *.

On the whole, it is impoſſible to experience any-where greater civilities than I received from Major Prevoſt and his family, accompanied by great ſimplicity, and by that pleaſing manner which renders ſuch behaviour ſtill more agreeable. My ſtay with them was prolonged by a ſlight indiſpoſition, which afforded me a new proof of the intereſt that Monſieur Guillemard feels for me. At this time he was at Albany, where being informed of my illneſs, he haſtened to me with a friendly kindneſs which in him is invariable; for he ſhews greater conſtancy in his affections than in his projects. This little ſickneſs was only a tertian fever, of which I have experienced ſeveral attacks during the courſe of my travels, and from which, on this as on former occaſions, I was relieved by ſtrong doſes of Jeſuits' bark.

KATSKILL.

The road from Freehold to Katſkill is all bordered with habitations more or leſs recent, but all of very late date. Land however is ſold at pretty high prices in this tract. At Singlekill, where we dined on the 31ſt of October, on our way from Freehold to Katſkill, the price of uncleared ground is from ſix to ſeven dollars the acre; farms, having one fourth cleared, are ſold at ten or twelve.

Intermittent fevers are very common in theſe parts in the autumnal ſeaſon; and it is even aſſerted that during the laſt three years they have been more than uſually frequent. They had been very prevalent at the commencement of the ſettlement, and had become leſs ſo for ſome years back. As the inhabitants can aſſign no reaſon for this return of

* A Philadelphia paper conducted by an Engliſhman, which firſt made its appearance during the laſt year, and in which, amid a torrent of outrages and calumnies promiſcuouſly poured out, with ſome wit but much vulgarity, againſt every individual who is not enrolled under the Engliſh banner, it is laid down as an axiom of political doctrine that America cannot do better than to place herſelf in a ſtate of dependence on the cabinet of Saint James's.

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inſalubrity, they attribute it to "ſomething in the air." But what happens here is very uſual in new countries, which, until they be entirely or in great meaſure cleared, become more unhealthy, probably in conſequence of the exhalations from the putrid ſubſtances with which the earth is covered, and from the ſtagnant waters, to which the action of the ſun is admitted by the partial clearance of the ſoil.

Monſieur Guillemard and I—for we now travel together—had a letter from Major Prevoſt to Mr. Bogardus, his father-in-law. The latter is alſo an old American royaliſt, an enthuſiaſtic admirer of Peter Porcupine, and impreſſed with a belief that America would be much more rich and proſperous and happy if ſhe ſtill enjoyed the honour of belonging to his majeſty George the Third. But, conſidered in every other light, he is a generous and excellent man, extremely hoſpitable, and one with whoſe behaviour we have the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied. He inhabits a ſmall houſe on the oppoſite bank of the creek to that on which ſtands the little town of Katſkill. To this houſe is attached a farm of three hundred acres. He purchaſed the whole for three thouſand dollars ſix years ſince, and could now ſell the property for ten thouſand. It is true he has made conſiderable improvements on the ſpot: at the time of his purchaſe there were only eight houſes in the town, whereas at preſent it contains about a hundred, of which ſome have a good appearance.

Seven veſſels, moſtly ſloops, belong to this little town, and are conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing between Katſkill and New-York. A ſingle brig, of a hundred and fifty tons' burden, is employed during the winter in the Weſt-India trade, and even goes to Europe: it is owned by Mr. Jenkins, of Hudſon.

Katſkill, like all the other towns ſimilarly ſituated, receives the produce of the back country: but a natural gap in the Blue Mountains, which obliquely ſeparate the countries watered by the Suſquehannah at the commencement of its courſe from thoſe watered by the North-River between Albany and Katſkill, renders the communication with this latter place more eaſy.

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We have been informed that pot and pearl aſh, which are a conſiderable article in the trade of new countries under clearance, are brought to Katſkill from the diſtance of above a hundred and fifty miles. The pot-aſh is ſold at preſent for a hundred and ſeventy-five dollars the ton. The uſual price is a hundred. To produce a ton of pot-aſh, are required from five to ſeven hundred buſhels of aſhes, acording to their quality: and, in all the parts which I have lately traverſed, the aſhes are ſold at one ſhilling the buſhel. The pot-aſh is inſpected before it be admitted to exportation: yet, whether through want of ſkill or want of ſtrictneſs in the inſpector, it is often found to contain lime. It is diſtinguiſhed into firſt and ſecond quality. Salt beef is diſtinguiſhed into prime, ſecond, and ordinary; pork, into prime and ordinary.

Katſkill is built on a little hill which ſeparates Katſkill creek from the North-River, into which the former diſcharges its ſtream at the extremity of the hill. The majority of the houſes are ſituate on the ſide next the creek, where the embarkations take place; ſome however are on ſide next the great river. The property of the ground on which the town ſtands is diſputed by three claimants; but the poſſeſſion is held by one of the parties, Clark and company, by virtue of an old patent that he has purchaſed, and on which the others ground their claim. Meantime the inhabitants hold their lot under Clark, whom they conſider as the lawful proprietor. But this exiſting diſpute, which the others are in no haſte to bring to a deciſion, prevents many perſons from coming forward as purchaſers. The lots, however, produce a good price, whenever they are expoſed to ſale; they contain each half a rood, and are ſold ſo high as three hundred and ſeventy-five dollars. The mouth of the creek is not more than a quarter of a mile diſtant from the town.

Katſkill ſtands at the diſtance of a hundred and twenty miles from New-York; and the waters, which during the prevalence of the ſtrong ſoutherly winds become abſolutely ſalt, are at all times of the year brackiſh. The tide goes up as far as Hudſon.

Workmen at Katſkill are paid thirteen dollars per month, and are

not eaſily procured. Here is a regular market, where beef is ſold at eight pence the pound.

Along the North-River is carried on a great trade in planks: but here, as in Maſſachuſetts and the diſtrict of Maine, the planks do not contain twice the thickneſs of the boards: their dimenſions vary in different places: they are an inch and half thick at Albany, an inch and quarter at Katſkill. It is on theſe dimenſions that all bargains are made which do not particularly ſpecify otherwiſe. The boards are an inch thick, and, of ſuch dimenſion, are ſold at ten dollars per thouſand feet; planks, ſixteen dollars and two ſhillings; ſhingles, ſeven dollars and half per thouſand; barrel-ſtaves, ſeventeen dollars and half. The ſtaves are of oak; all the reſt, of yellow fir. Hemlock-bark, of which large quantities are alſo purchaſed for the tanneries of the country and thoſe of New-York, is ſold at four dollars the cord. At Katſkill are built the ſloops employed in the trade between that place and New-York. At preſent their price is from forty-three to forty-five dollars per ton, ready for ſea: they are generally of from ſeventy to ninety tons' burden.

Horſe-races are common in the ſtate of New-York. There was one beyond the river on the day that we ſtopped at Katſkill. Although it was but an indifferent race, and this part of the country is not inhabited by wealthy people, the bets made on the occaſion exceeded the ſum of four thouſand dollars. The beſt races are ſaid to be at Poughkeepſie, at the diſtance of fifty miles lower down: they take place on regularly ſtated days, and I have been aſſured that the wagers ſometimes amount to eight thouſand dollars. The horſes that run there are uſed for no other purpoſe; and their price is from twelve to ſixteen hundred dollars. We have alſo been informed that the ſtricteſt honour does not prevail at thoſe races.

Katſkill, ſo denominated by the Dutch who made the firſt ſettlement on the ſpot, was, by the Indians, called Katſketed, which in their language ſignified "a fortified place." No foundation for that name can be diſcovered in the appearance of the country: and it is more-

over well known that the Indians, eſpecially at that time, erected no fortifications. The great quantity of human bones, hatchets, tomahawks, and arrows, found buried in the earth around Katſkill, prove at leaſt that this place formerly was the principal ſeat of ſome conſiderable tribe.

The cultivation of the ſoil in the vicinity of Katſkill is indifferent; the lands do not, on an average of years, produce above twelve buſhels of wheat per acre, though the ſoil is tolerably good. Thoſe belonging to Mr. Bogardus, having greater attention beſtowed on them, yield him from thirty to thirty-five.

There has occurred this year on a part of his eſtate a pretty remarkable phænomenon. All this tract of country is a ſucceſſion of little hills, or rather ſmall elevations, detached from each other, and only connected a little at the baſes. One of thoſe hills, the neareſt to Katſkill-creek, and elevated about a hundred feet above the level of the creek, ſuddenly ſuffered a ſinking of more than one half of its declivity. It might have meaſured about a hundred and fifty feet from its ſummit to the extremity of its baſe, following the line of inclination. A breadth of about eighty fathoms fell in, beginning at about three or four fathoms from the top. The ſunken part gave way all on a ſudden, and fell ſo perpendicularly that a flock of ſheep, feeding on the ſpot, went down with it without being overturned. The trunks of trees that remained on it in a half-rotten ſtate were neither unrooted nor even inclined from their former direction, and now ſtand at the bottom of this chaſm of above four acres in extent, in the ſame perpendicular poſition, and on the ſame ſoil. However, as there was not ſufficient ſpace for all this body of earth, which before had lain in a ſlope, to place itſelf horizontally between the two parts of the hill that have not quitted their ſtation, ſome parts are cracked and as it were furrowed. But a more ſtriking circumſtance is, that the lower part of the hill, which has preſerved its former ſhape, has been puſhed and thrown forward by the ſinking part making itſelf room—that its baſe has advanced five or ſix fathoms beyond a ſmall rivulet which before flowed at the diſtance of above

ten fathoms from it—and that it has even entirely ſtopped the courſe of its ſtream. The greateſt elevation of the chaſm is about fifty or ſixty feet: in its ſides it has diſcovered a blue earth exhibiting all the characteriſtics of marl, and which, from the different experiments that Mr. Bogardus has made with it in ſeveral parts of his eſtate, ſeems to poſſeſs all its virtues. In ſome of the ſtrata of this marl is found ſulphat of lime in minute cryſtals.

It is not known what may have been the cauſe of this event, which the people here attribute to the operation of water, without well knowing why; for the inhabitants of Katſkill are neither deep-read, nor verſed in natural philoſophy, nor addicted to obſervation. This ſinking took place on the firſt of June of the preſent year, unattended by any noiſe, at leaſt by any that was ſufficiently loud to be heard either at Mr. Bogardus's houſe which is but three hundred fathoms diſtant from the ſpot, or in the town, which is ſeparated from it only by the narrow ſtream of the creek.

Mr. Bogardus does not beſtow on his neighbours ſo favourable a character as I have heard given to the inhabitants of the country in every other part of America: he deſcribes them as miſchievous and thieviſh; I know not whether upon good grounds, or whether he does not extend to the whole neighbourhood this general accuſation of thieviſhneſs in conſequence of a few apples and peaches that have been ſtolen from him—or whether his predilection for England may not have perſonally expoſed him to ſome unpleaſant treatment.

One fact however may be adduced in ſupport of Mr. Bogardus's opinion. A bridge over a creek at two miles from Katſkill has lately been burned; and the country people think the deed was perpetrated with a view of promoting the private intereſt of a particular inn.

KINGSTON.

A wiſh to avoid the inconvenience of twice more croſſing the North-River induced us to prefer the weſtern road, though leſs frequented than the other. Between Katſkill and Kingſton the road all

along

along runs between that beautiful river to which the traveller often approaches, and the Katſkill mountains, which are ſeveral miles diſtant. As far as Sagodus-creek, the country is thickly inhabited: in many places the farms are of conſiderable extent: the banks of the river are almoſt every-where laid out in meadows; the lands farther diſtant are appropriated to the production of grain of every kind. You frequently diſcover very beautiful proſpects — extenſive, agreeable, rich, on the ſide toward the river—ſerious, romantic, magnificent, toward the mountains, whoſe forms are grand and variegated. You paſs Sagodus-creek in an indifferent boat, and enter a foreſt of white pines growing on a ſandy plain, from which you do not emerge till within two miles of Kingſton, that is to ſay, for the ſpace of ſeven or eight miles.

Kingſton—formerly called Eſopus, a name ſtill uſed by the country people—is the chief town of Ulſter county, and built on a creek of that name (the ſame which at ſome diſtance aſſumes the appellation of Sagodus, and which we had paſſed in the morning) in a beautiful little plain bounded on the weſt by that ſame maſs of mountains which here too are ſtill called the Katſkill mountains. The place of embarkation is two miles lower down, near the North-River, at the mouth of Redout-creek. This town was burned on the ſixteenth of October 1777 by general Vaughan, who had no other motive for his conduct than the luſt of devaſtation. At that time it contained a hundred and forty houſes: nor did more than a ſingle barn eſcape from the effects of his infernal barbarity. That expedition, which none of the inhabitants had expected, deprived them of every article contained in their houſes; and they were unable to ſave any thing except their lives. In the courſe of the ſame autumn two or three houſes were already rebuilt, and the remainder were reſtored in the following ſummer. As they were almoſt all ſtone houſes, the former walls had remained ſtanding, and facilitated this ſpeedy renovation of the town. It now conſiſts of about a hundred and fifty houſes, and carries on the ſame kind of trade as the other towns ſituated, like

it, on the weſtern bank of the North-River; but not being ſo conveniently circumſtanced as Katſkill for communication with the back country, its commerce is leſs extenſive; though this will be conſiderably increaſed by the natural operation of time in ſpreading population through thoſe tracts, which are now for the greater part un-inhabited.

Six ſloops belong to the town, which are employed in carrying to New-York the produce that it receives, ſome articles of which, as timber, beef, pork, corn, do not come from a greater diſtance than between thirty and thirty-five miles. Flax-ſeed is brought from the banks of the eaſtern branch of Delaware, that is to ſay from the diſtance of ſeventy miles. As far as the mountains, the lands which environ the town, and are called Flats, are of the beſt quality, and are ſold for ninety dollars the acre; thoſe which lie toward the centre of the Flats, from five to thirty-five dollars. The inhabitants of the town being for the moſt part of Dutch deſcent, the Low Dutch language is more familiar here than the Engliſh. There is no regular market in this town, though it contain a ſchool, an academy, a court-houſe, a priſon, and a Dutch-Lutheran church. When beef can be procured, it coſts ſix pence the pound.

We had letters to Mr. Van Groſbeck, one of the principal ſhopkeepers in the town, and formerly a member of Congreſs. To thoſe letters we were indebted for an invitation to tea, the ſmoking of ſome ſegars, a few glaſſes of wine, and a great portion of complaiſance in anſwering our queſtions: but this part of the country furniſhes few objects of inquiry. Mr. Van Groſbeck ſeems a good kind of man, and very temperate in his politics, which appear to intereſt him leſs than the concerns of his ſhop. An old phyſician, on the contrary, whom we met at his houſe, beſtows more attention on politics than on medicine. He is a decided republican, whoſe ſuſpicious diſtruſt ſeems incapable of being allayed. He bears a name which is celebrated in the annals of liberty—that of De Witt—and ſays he is deſcended from the famous John De Witt.

Mr. Van Groſbeck, in principle a federaliſt, but very tolerant in his politics,

politics, is the intimate friend of Colonel Burr, whoſe portrait, executed by a lad of the town, he has hanging over his chimney-piece. Mr. Burr, having diſcovered in that youth a great diſpoſition for painting, procured for him ſuch leſſons in the art as America was capable of affording, and has, at his own expenſe, lately ſent him to France and Italy to ſtudy the great models and receive the beſt inſtructions. The life of Colonel Burr is marked with ſimilar traits of beneficence and generoſity.

From our windows we diſcover, though above ſeven miles diſtant, the light of a conflagration in the woods, which has already laſted eight days. Such accidents are very frequent in the clearing of lands by the aid of fire. The ſlighteſt inattention ſuffers the blaze to ſpread beyond the intended bounds: in which caſe it is impoſſible to extinguiſh it, eſpecially at this time when the drought and the falling of the leaves furniſh it with the means of rapidly extending its ravages. It alſo frequently happens that conflagrations are cauſed in the woods by the hunters, who, for the purpoſe of more certainly killing the deer, ſurround with fire the places where they ſuppoſe them to be. Some of theſe lines of fire are ſeveral miles in circumference: their breadth is inconſiderable; for, however narrow they may be, the deer never croſs them. The hunters generally adopt the neceſſary precautions to prevent the flame from communicating: but ſometimes thoſe precautions are neglected: ſometimes alſo, although they have been obſerved, a ſudden wind ſpreads the fire, which often conſumes the entire incloſure, and even great tracts beyond its bounds, involving in the conflagration all the ſettlements and houſes it meets in its way, and thus reducing many families to ruin.

Lime-ſtone is very common in this part: the inhabitants have already begun to burn large parcels of it, and ſend it to the neighbouring iſlands. At Poughkeepſie is burned a great quantity, which is ſold at New-York for a ſhilling the buſhel. This circumſtance, which is highly advantageous to the country, may poſſibly clash with General Knox's ſpeculations on his lime from the diſtrict of Maine.—

The

The freight of corn from Kingſton to New-York is ſix pence per buſhel; to Albany, it is ten pence.

A conſiderable traffic in ſalt fiſh is carried on at Kingſton. The ſmall bay near the landing-place facilitates the fiſhery of ſhad, herrings, and ſalmon, which come up Hudſon's-River in abundance in the ſpring ſeaſon, and to the catching of which the inhabitants of this tract are more attentive than thoſe of any other part on the banks of that river.

NEW-PATTZ.

We were informed at Kingſton, that, in purſuing the road which runs at the greater diſtance from the river, we ſhould have no creeks to paſs, and ſhould find good inns. We came, however, to Walkill-creek, which we were obliged to croſs in a boat ſo full of water, that, notwithſtanding our caution, we were compelled to ſit on horſe-back during the paſſage: and, inſtead of good inns, we found only a wretched tippling-houſe. The road approaches the ſame maſs of mountains which we ſaw yeſterday under the name of the Katſkill mountains, but which here are called by that of Changung. The country in general conſiſts of beautiful and fertile plains, but ſometimes interſperſed with ſandy tracts, and woods of little value.

The Walkill is the ſame creek which at Kingſton bears the appellation of Redout-kill. In the Low-Dutch language, *kill* ſignifies *creek*: and, as the Dutch were the firſt ſettlers of the ſtate of New-York, and more particularly afterward of the weſtern bank of the North-River, ſuch towns, mountains, and creeks, as have not preſerved their original Indian names, have for the moſt part received Dutch appellations. The country bordering on the Walkill is, to a conſiderable diſtance back, annually infeſted with autumnal intermittent fevers.

New-Pattz is almoſt univerſally inhabited by families of French extraction, whoſe anceſtors, having quitted France on account of their religion, took refuge firſt in Holland, then paſſed over to America,

and

and eſtabliſhed themſelves at Pattz, a very old ſettlement founded by a Dutch colony. About forty years ſince, thoſe families quitted Pattz, and took up their reſidence a few miles farther, in a diſtrict to which they have given the appellation of New-Pattz. They now preſerve no other characteriſtics of their Gallic origin than a traditional recollection of, and a fond attachment to, the land that gave birth to their progenitors. Their names, ſtill remaining the ſame, are written and pronounced after the Dutch manner. Theſe people do not underſtand a word of French, but ſpeak bad Dutch and bad Engliſh: there is nothing in their manners by which an obſerver may be reminded of the country whence they have originated: they are dull torpid Hollanders, as ſavage as all the other inhabitants of the country whom we have met ſince our paſſage of the North-River. Their religion is the Dutch reformed. Each of theſe families, in ſome inſtances even the pooreſt, has one or two negroes or negreſſes; ſlavery being as ſtrictly maintained in the ſtate of New-York as in that of Virginia; with this difference, however, that, as ſlaves are leſs numerous here, they are much better treated. The price at which they are ſold is four hundred dollars for a full-grown man; half that price for girls. Theſe ſlaves are not baptiſed or inſtructed in religion, but are in that reſpect kept in the loweſt ſtate of degradation. The quakers and anabaptiſts who conſtitute a part of the population of new Pattz, have no ſlaves.

The lands in the neighbourhood are good; and their price is from ſixteen to twenty dollars the acre. Their produce is conveyed to Kingſton, but oftener to New-York. They are for the greater part laid down in meadows, and feed abundance of cattle. The meadow huſbandry does not continue longer than three years, after which ſucceeds a crop of grain. The culture of the grain is bad, and the lands do not produce above ten or twelve buſhels per acre, or twenty-five buſhels of Indian corn. The price of grain here is regulated by that in the New-York market: it is at preſent thirteen ſhillings the buſhel: Indian corn is at a dollar and half. During the laſt ſpring, hay was

ſold at five dollars per thouſand-weight: its uſual price is from three to four.

Workmen are not eaſily procured here; becauſe, as ſoon as they have been able to amaſs a little money, they go to the new countries and become farmers themſelves. They muſt be paid from ten to twelve dollars per month, and ſometimes two dollars a day in the harveſt-time. The greater part of the immigration to theſe new countries is from beyond the river, and from the ſtate of New-York itſelf.

Complaints are made here, as in every other place through which we have paſſed, of the extreme drought, which dries up all the waters, and reduces the greater number of the mills to a ſtate of inactivity.

NEWBURG AND NEW-WINDSOR.

The road from New-Pattz to Newburg is a continued ſucceſſion of inequalities. It croſſes all the hills which ſeparate this part of the country from the North-River. The country is thickly peopled, and exhibits pretty conſiderable farms, and vaſt barns, almoſt univerſally ſurrounded with ricks of hay. The lands are for the moſt part kept in meadows: but, each farm containing within its boundaries different expoſures of high and low land, a portion is always as regularly devoted to the plough. Such is the practice in the generality of the farms on the weſt ſide of the river, and to ſome diſtance back.

Newburg, which alſo lies in Ulſter county, is built on the bank of the river, and ſituate at the diſtance of four miles below the extremity of the Highlands. The back countries of which this town receives the produce being more thickly inhabited than thoſe that ſupply the other towns through which we have hitherto paſſed, its trade with New-York is more extenſive than theirs. Yet only ſix ſloops belong to Newburg: but thoſe ſloops, on account of the ſmall diſtance of New-York, perform almoſt twice as many voyages as thoſe even of Katſkill, which lies only ſixty miles higher. The produce from the banks

banks of the weſtern branch of Delaware comes alſo to Newburg by roads which are ſaid to be very good. It is averred that above ten thouſand caſks of butter are annually ſhipped at Newburg and New-Windſor. The quantity has even been greater this year, and muſt receive a further increaſe from the extenſion of the ſettlements and the improvements in agriculture.

New-Windſor nevertheleſs is in a ſtate of decreaſe; a great bar, which renders the approach to it tedious and difficult, cauſing a preference to be given to Newburg, which will, it is probable, entirely abſorb the trade of the former place. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, New-Windſor ſtill has two or three ſloops employed in conſtant voyages to and from New-York. That town, ſituate in Orange-county and two miles below Newburg, conſiſts only of about forty houſes; whereas Newburg contains at leaſt four times that number, almoſt all built ſince the war. There were not twenty erected on the ſpot when General Waſhington made it his head quarters in 1779.

The proſpect here is grand. To the left, the eye follows through an extenſive ſpace the majeſtic courſe of this beautiful river, bordered in its whole length by little hills of variegated forms and all well cultivated:—in front it commands a view of the river two miles in breadth; and of the hills on the other ſide, well cultivated likewiſe and thickly inhabited: behind theſe, riſe the mountains which a little farther form the Highlands, and which, though very elevated, are alſo covered with farms, houſes, and cultivation:—more to the right, the eye penetrates the narrow channel which the river has formed for its paſſage through theſe lofty and beautiful mountains, and diſcovers the fortifications of Weſt-Point: farther to the right, the view is intercepted by that ſame chain of mountains which recede in waning perſpective to the weſt, where they join the Alleghany ridge. The inhabitants of Newburg are almoſt univerſally immigrants from New-England. We are informed here that Orange-county is peopled by Iriſh and Germans, who are all induſtrious and good farmers.

At New-York a houſe is building for the college called the academy.

The expenſe is defrayed by the preſbyterians, who, having for this purpoſe obtained the endowment of an extenſive tract of land granted to the epiſcopalians in the time of the Britiſh government, thus fulfil the condition annexed to that donation. This academy receives moreover the annual ſum of four or five hundred dollars from the funds deſtined by the ſtate of New-York for the ſupport and encouragement of ſchools.

The price of every article has riſen here, as in all other parts of America, ſince the commencement of the war. Workmen are ſcarce; and their wages are from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. Beef coſts eight pence the pound; a pair of oxen, from eighty to a hundred dollars; a good cow, twenty-five.

We had a letter from Mr. Van Groſbeck of Kingſton for Mr. Seight, a lawyer of Newburg, from whom we experienced more civilities than ſervices; for he could not in ſix-and-thirty hours procure us a ſmall boat to convey us to Weſt-Point, whither we had ſent our horſes acroſs the mountains. We were obliged to wait for the garriſon's boat, which was ſent to us by the commanding officer when he found that we did not arrive.

PASSAGE OF THE NORTH-RIVER IN THE HIGHLANDS.

The navigation from Newburg to Weſt-Point preſents one of the moſt grand and majeſtic views that can be ſeen in any part of the world. The river, exceeding two miles in width, narrows its ſtream to paſs between the mountains, in a channel whoſe breadth is not more than half a mile. The mountains through which it forces its way, though not very lofty, exhibit the moſt beautiful, the moſt variegated, and the moſt majeſtic forms. In ſome places we behold maſſes of rock towering in perpendicular altitude, and threatening each moment to cruſh in their fall whatever paſſes beneath their feet. In other parts their form is more inclined: but here they are leſs naked, and bear a few oaks, a few pines, a few cedars, which grow on the rocks, though

though the eye cannot diſcover the earth which nouriſhes them. Again, theſe great mountains recede from each other, and their place on the banks of the ſtream is occupied by little hills, of fertile ſoil, and in many parts cultivated. The river inceſſantly winds through theſe different mountains: and the proſpect here is incomparably more beautiful than that of the junction of the Potowmack and the Shenandoah in the Blue-Ridge.

Weſt-Point is in the narroweſt part of this paſſage, which is eighteen miles in length. It is a promontory which advances a conſiderable way into the natural bed of the river, and forces the ſtream in a forward direction, where another mountain on the oppoſite ſhore preſents to it an obſtacle equally unſurmountable, and drives it back to the ſide which it had quitted; ſo that the water abſolutely ſurrounds this ſpot, which, by its poſition, commands the navigation of that great river. Its channel at Weſt-Point does not exceed a quarter of a mile in breadth. This is the poſt that General Arnold intended to betray o General Clinton. The former at that time commanded the advanced guard of the American army; and the accompliſhment of his ſcheme would for a long time have retarded the termination of the war. I have ſeen the houſe in which the interviews took place between that traitor and the unfortunate major André: it was that where Arnold had his head-quarters; it ſtands at the diſtance of a mile from Weſt-Point, and on the oppoſite bank.

WEST-POINT.

This poſt is nearly in the ſame ſtate at preſent in which it was during the war. Fort-Putnam—which ſtands on the ſummit of the mountain, and of which the object was to cut off all approach to Weſt-Point from behind, as well as to ſupport ſome ſtill farther advanced intrenchments on the neighbouring mountains—had been begun in maſon's work by the celebrated and unfortunate Koſciuſko, at that time employed as an engineer in the American army. That fortification

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was continued two years ſince by Monſieur Vincent, a French engineer, and upon an excellent plan. But thirty-five thouſand dollars expended on it by Monſieur Vincent have been no better than a uſeleſs expenditure, ſince the further ſum of forty-five thouſand, requiſite for the completion of that great and intereſting work, has been refuſed—and the fine erections in ſtone which are half finiſhed, together with the caſemates which are only commenced, remain expoſed to the inclemencies of the ſevere winters of this climate, which will ſpeedily deſtroy thoſe walls unleſs Congreſs will grant the money neceſſary for at leaſt covering them.

In every other inſtance the American government ſhow the ſame inattention to all the grand objects of primary importance: they diſplay great zeal and launch forth into great and ſometimes exceſſive expenſes during the firſt year, and afterward totally ſtop the ſupplies. Hence we ſee conſiderable ſums laviſhed without advantage, exhibiting moſt evident proofs of improvidence and fickleneſs in the government.

There is no other fortification at Weſt-Point, where indeed the hand of nature has already done ſo much, that, in caſe of emergency, it might ſoon be put into a reſpectable ſtate of defence. During the war, this part of the country, on both ſides of the river, was thick-ſown with ſmall forts, of which the veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen, and which, when once the Americans had eſtabliſhed them, the Engliſh never ventured to approach.

Weſt-Point is the ſtation of the corps of engineers and artilleriſts of the United States, which conſiſts of four batallions of two hundred and fifty men each, and furniſhes detachments for all the poſts where the United States entertain a military force; beſides an entire batallion at preſent with the army of General Wayne in the Weſtern Territory. This corps ſingly conſtitutes above one fourth part of the American ſtanding army, of which the total number is only three thouſand four hundred men; and, ſmall as that number is, it cannot be completed. So eaſy and comfortable are the circumſtances of the people in America, and ſuch their independence of ſpirit, that—notwithſtanding

withſtanding all the temptations of liberal pay, extreme facility in obtaining furloughs, and indulgences of every kind granted to the ſoldiers, together with the gentleneſs of the diſcipline and the ſhortneſs of the engagements—it is found difficult to recruit that little army: yet, although the law of the United States ordains that none be admitted into the military body except natives of America, Engliſh deſerters are enliſted, Germans, Iriſhmen newly arrived, in ſhort every one who preſents himſelf; and, after all, the ranks are not filled to their due complement.

I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the pay of the American troops. The fault to which they are moſt addicted is drunkenneſs, which is ſo habitual that it eſcapes puniſhment. Theft is very rare among the ſoldiery, as indeed in the country in general: but to filch proviſions or liquor is not conſidered as theft: it is a ſort of cuſtomary privilege at which the officers are obliged to connive, but which nevertheleſs does not extend to the ſtealing of live poultry, ſheep, or other animals; although it would not be quite ſafe to leave thoſe ſame animals expoſed, when dead and hanging up ready for uſe. Deſertions ſometimes happen, but in no conſiderable number. The term of ſervice was heretofore three years; it is now extended to five; and the bounty for enliſtment is fourteen dollars.

One muſt not expect to find the American troops well trained or remarkable for neatneſs: a European eye is ſhocked by their want of cleanlineſs and their unſoldierlike appearance. But theſe are defects ariſing from the nature of the country; and the recruiting ſervice would proceed ſtill more ſlowly, if greater ſtrictneſs were uſed to remedy them. This corps is exerciſed as the other troops, but with no greater ſucceſs. They are alſo taught to fire cannon and mortars; and this is the branch to which the chief attention is paid. The officer, however, knows little more of the buſineſs than the private ſoldier: and the government does not adopt any meaſures to provide that none but ſkilful officers be admitted, which indeed it would be difficult to accompliſh in this country—nor even to have them inſtructed after

their

their admiſſion, which would be an eaſier taſk. The corps of officers, firſt eſtabliſhed about two years ſince, is compoſed of men of all countries. Such of them as we have ſeen are men of advantageous appearance, and ſeemed to be very good company: but theſe were only ten in number; and we have been informed that all the others do not in theſe particulars reſemble them. The officers are paid from thirty-five to ſeventy dollars per month, with the addition of a greater or ſmaller number of rations according to their grade. They are lodged in ſmall houſes irregularly built on an extenſive eſplanade at the foot of the mountains, where they have better accommodations than the French officers ever have had in barracks. The commanding officer is Monſieur de Rochefontaine, who ſerved in the army of the United States during the entire period of the war. He has ſince been in the French ſervice; and he poſſeſſes much greater knowledge and ſkill than any of his officers.

I know not why the little army of the United States, conſiſting of three thouſand four hundred men, is not excluſively compoſed of artilleriſts, and, eſpecially, provided with a greater number of officers. In time of peace, thoſe artilleriſts might occupy the frontier poſts as uſefully as any other troops: they would even be more ſerviceable, ſince the occupation of thoſe poſts is entirely a ſervice of defence, and a ſmall detachment of artillery is ſtationed in each. The place of the regiments now on foot, which are not artillery, would be completely ſupplied in war-time by the militia or continental troops which then muſt be raiſed or aſſembled; and thus the United States would at leaſt poſſeſs an effective force of three thouſand four hundred artilleriſts, whoſe pay would not coſt them more than that of the other regiments.

But—again be it remarked—the American government betray the utmoſt improvidence, careleſſneſs, and ignorance, in every branch, and eſpecially in what concerns the military department. It is a frivolous excuſe to ſay that the executive power is cramped by the Congreſs: that may indeed be the caſe with reſpect to the expenſes required for the ſupport of a more numerous army, or even for the erection and maintenance

maintenance of the neceſſary fortifications: but it is not, it cannot be, true with reſpect to the moſt uſeful mode of employing the ſums granted.

There is alſo at Weſt-Point a ſmall arſenal containing between ſix and ſeven thouſand ſtand of arms. It is kept in much worſe order than that of Springfield. Forty pieces of cannon, of all ſizes, and about the ſame number of carriages, many of which were not made for the pieces, are kept at Weſt-Point, partly in the ſtores, partly planted in various places for the defence of this and the ſurrounding poſts, which would require above a hundred. Probably a time may come when more capable men will be placed at the head of the different departments, and when theſe objects of primary importance will engage more ſerious conſideration. But meanwhile much valuable time is loſt, and nearly all the expenſe incurred is fruitleſs.

It may be deemed ſurprizing that the military ſyſtem of England is that which is followed in this little handful of an army. In the firſt place, it is in itſelf a moſt wretched model for imitation: and beſides it would have been both proper and uſeful for the American government to break through the Engliſh habits, in this inſtance in particular, and eſpecially for the purpoſe of adopting ſomething better. The army is alſo dreſſed in Engliſh cloth; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, the muſkets which the contractors have undertaken to furniſh, and which are made after the ancient French model of 1763, are imported from England in pieces ready made, as locks, hammers, cocks, bayonets, &c. The contractor finds his advantage in this management on account of the high price of workmanſhip in America; and he is ſuffered to follow his own plan.

VERPLANCK-POINT.

Monſieur de Rochefontaine, after having given Monſieur Guillemard and me a very friendly reception, inſiſted on conveying us in his barge beyond the boundaries of the Highlands. This was a good op-

portunity of completing our examination of the whole of that intereſting part of the North-River; and with pleaſure we accepted his obliging offer. Mr. Lowel, adjutant-general of the corps, and friend of a rich inhabitant who reſided at the place where our navigation terminated, propoſed to conduct us to his friend's houſe, aſſuring us that we ſhould be joyfully received. We were not diſappointed of the pleaſure we had promiſed ourſelves from our little voyage; yet this part of the Highlands is much leſs beautiful than that which is paſſed in going to Weſt-Point. The mountains are here leſs elevated; their forms leſs bold; the bed of the river leſs narrow: the whole, notwithſtanding, exhibits a grand and beautiful ſcene, which the eye enjoys with rapture, and of which the mind long retains the remembrance.

On our way we paſſed under the remains of Fort-Montgomery, carried by the Engliſh during the laſt war. Farther on, and at the mouth of a little creek, we ſaw a flour-mill, erected two years ſince. The miller who built it was condemned by all his neighbours for the choice he had made of a ſituation: they aſſured him that the ſtream was not ſufficiently powerful, and that the water would often fail. Theſe repreſentations only encouraged him the more in the proſecution of his plan: he knew the extent of his reſources much better than his adviſers, to whoſe remonſtrances he made no other anſwer than that of giving to his mill the name of *ça ira*. Accordingly, the mill continues in motion, is conſtantly employed, does a great deal of work, and produces a conſiderable profit to the owner, who is a native of New-England.

As to the good reception with which Mr. Lowel had flattered us, we found ourſelves greatly diſappointed in our expectations on that ſcore; for Mr. Verplanck could hardly have given us a worſe, unleſs he had abſolutely turned us out of doors. This is the firſt time in the courſe of my travels in America that I ever failed to experience a hoſpitable reception. But Mr. Verplanck had not invited us; and it of courſe was quite natural that he ſhould have been diſpleaſed with our viſit: it was even candid in him thus to make us acquainted with his diſpoſition.

Verplanck-

Verplanck-Point is on the eaſtern bank of the North-River. It was in the extenſive plain behind it that the junction was formed between the American and French armies in 1781, previous to their marching into Virginia. On the other ſide of the river, and oppoſite to Verplanck-Point, is Stony-Point, which General Wayne took from the Engliſh at the point of the bayonet. His van was commanded by Monſieur Dupleſſis, a French officer, whoſe valour and intelligence are not forgotten in America.

ARRIVAL AT NEW-YORK

From Verplanck-Point to New-York we conſtantly proceeded along the eaſtern bank of the North-River: and travelling over very mountainous roads, much embarraſſed with rocks, and conſequently often bad, we hardly ever loſt ſight of that beautiful river, which in every point of view preſents intereſting proſpects: of theſe, the moſt beautiful in this part is the Tappan-ſea, ſo called becauſe here the bed of the river, for the length of ten or twelve miles, extends to ſuch a width as to reſemble rather a great lake than even the greateſt river.

At length we arrived by King's-Bridge in the iſland of New-York, where the ſoil, which is in general bad, is yet covered with indifferent woods in the parts moſt diſtant from the city. There are, however, numerous farms, and particularly country-ſeats, in all the tract which lies within ſix or ſeven miles of it, and in the parts bordering on the North-River, and on the arm of the ſea which ſeparates this iſle from Long-Iſland.

MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

American mineralogy, as I have already more than once remarked, offers few varieties for obſervation. The great mountains—that is to ſay, the moſt elevated—are generally formed of granite; as, for inſtance, in my laſt tour, the mountains of New Hampſhire, the Green

Mountains, and the Highlands. Thoſe of inferior altitude ſucceſſively exhibit ſchiſtus more or leſs perfect, ſlate, feldt-ſpath, calcareous ſtone, and ſome ſand-ſtones of extreme hardneſs, and in a ſtate of great perfection. At the diſtance of eight or ten miles from New-York is a pretty rich copper-mine: the ore is irregularly ſcattered through a kind of ſandy-ſtone often reſembling grit and ſometimes the pudding-ſtone. It yields from ſixty to ſeventy pounds of fine copper per hundred weight. Previous to the revolution it uſed to be carried to England, where it bore a higher price than any other ore of the ſame metal. The mine has been ſeveral times wrought, abandoned, and reſumed. At preſent there are workmen employed in it, who are for the moſt part Germans, brought over from Europe for the purpoſe, and paid from fifteen to twenty dollars per month. However excellent the copper, the company cannot ſell it in pigs, and are now erecting mills to roll it into ſheets, and manufacture it into various houſehold articles. The ſteam-engine for pumping off the water is very ill contrived, and the defect in its conſtruction extends its influence to the working of the mine. There is reaſon to apprehend, that, through the want of a good method and of ſkilful men to direct the works, this excellent mine will not prove advantageous to the company.

TREES.

Among the trees of various ſpecies, but ſimilar to thoſe which I had before ſeen elſewhere, I have diſtinguiſhed the kalmia, the liquidambar, the acacia triacanthos, the black walnut, and the *tulipier* * which does not grow to any conſiderable ſize in a higher northern latitude than that of forty-two degrees.

* I cannot learn the proper Engliſh name of the tree here deſignated by the French appellation of *tulipier* or *tulip-tree*. T.

JOURNEY TO FEDERAL-CITY IN THE YEAR 1797.

TOUR FROM PHILADELPHIA TO CHESTER AND WILMINGTON.

ENNUI and melancholy drive me from Philadelphia, and impel me to ſeek tranquillity, or at leaſt amuſement, in a courſe of activity—My preſent deſtination is Federal-City. This excurſion is ſtill more ſolitary than my laſt year's journies, for I had then the company of my poor faithful dog *Cartouche*, who is now too old and infirm to accompany me; thus the ſources of conſolation vaniſh at the moment when we need them moſt. I ſet out the 26th of March 1797.

Wilmington road leaves the city of Philadelphia by thoſe long ſtreets which William Penn laid down in his deſign for uniting the Delaware and the Skuylkill; which, however, are not yet built upon to more than a third of their intended length. Theſe ſtreets are uniformly railed, and the cultivated ground, whether farms or gardens, is alſo encloſed with railing. Though the ſoil here is of an indifferent quality, eſtates are valuable; as the vicinity of the city enables the occupier to manure his land plentifully, and enſures him the ſale of his produce at the beſt price. Dung is ſold by the cart-load at Philadelphia, at about a dollar per ton: the farmers uſe it much too freſh.

You paſs the Skuylkill at Gray's-Ferry, the road to which runs below Woodlands, the ſeat of Mr. William Hamilton: it ſtands high, and is ſeen upon an eminence from the oppoſite ſide of the river. It commands an excellent proſpect, but is not to be admired for any thing elſe. The houſe is ſmall and ill-conſtructed, very much out of repair, and badly furniſhed. The garden, which is ſmall, is neglected; but in an adjoining hot-houſe Mr. Hamilton rears plants procured at a great expence from all parts of the world. He is proprietor of from three to four hundred acres of the ſurrounding country, which with ſome pains and expence might be converted into a lucrative

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and pleaſant farm. His houſe and gardens would receive as great embelliſhment from the neighbourhood of a good tenantry, as he would himſelf derive emolument from their labour; but either from indifference, or from a want of the neceſſary funds to defray the firſt expences of clearing the land, it remains uncultivated, and his houſe ſeems ſurrounded by a deſert. No man, however, is happier to receive his friends, or entertains them better, than Mr. William Hamilton: he is a chearful man, a moſt excellent companion, and is in every reſpect the gentleman.

Gray's-Ferry itſelf preſents a moſt pleaſing view. The toll-houſe, ſituated amidſt large points of rock, which here ſkirt the ſouth bank of the Skuylkill, the trees ſcattered here and there amongſt them, and a conſiderable number of ſailing veſſels belonging to an adjoining inn, form together a truly intereſting ſcene. This inn is a place of general reſort for parties of pleaſure in the ſummer, and is frequently viſited in the winter by the young people of Philadelphia, who travel there in ſledges, dine, and ſometimes paſs the night there in dancing.

From this ſpot to Cheſter, however, there is not one agreeable proſpect. The country is flat without being ſmooth; the floods render it uneven in ſome places, but the ridges of the banks which they form are all of one ſhape and level. The whole of the land is in a ſtate of cultivation, and woods are only found in clumps. Cultivation however is neglected. Several houſes built with pieces of rock, cemented with a mortar of earth; a few, which are the neateſt, built with bricks; and a great number of block-houſes; are the only objects to be met with. Huts formed of logs and planks of wood, as miſerable as any that are to be ſeen in the pooreſt parts of France, cover the country. The inhabitant here is proprietor and cultivator: that he lives as he pleaſes, muſt be admitted; but in the moſt remote and uninhabited parts of America that I have viſited, I have never ſeen a greater proportion of wretched habitations. The men and women who are ſeen iſſuing from their huts are badly clothed, and bear every mark of poverty. The children are in rags, and almoſt naked. The preſent mo-

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ment however is by no means favourable to the appearance of the country. Nothing yet appears above the ground, except the corn, of which there is but a ſmall quantity in this part of the country. The water of the creeks, which we croſs, and that of the Delaware, which is frequently in ſight, is muddy, and of the ſame yellow colour as the banks which confine it; and the eternal wooden encloſures, which of themſelves are ſufficient to throw a gloom over the moſt delightful landſcape, add to the drearineſs of this, and to the tints of melancholy with which the ſeaſon of the year colours the ſcene. A ſmall creek near Cheſter ſupplies Philadelphia, from its banks, with ſtones which are uſed for paving their ſtreets; they are carried to within a mile of the mouth of the creek into the Delaware in ſloops, which are conſtantly ſailing to and from the city.

Cheſter is the chief city of the county of the ſame name in the ſtate of Pennſylvania. The court of common pleas and the quarter ſeſſions of the juſtices are held here. This place is celebrated in the annals of Pennſylvania as the ſpot where the firſt colonial aſſembly was held, in the December of the year 1682. Cheſter contains about ſixty houſes tolerably well built; of which five or ſix are good inns, very much frequented by travellers, and often by parties of pleaſure, beſides the ſtages, which are increaſed upon the Baltimore road, and in the eaſtern part of Maryland. They are alſo frequented by paſſengers from veſſels, who diſembark there in preference to purſuing their voyage up the Delaware to Philadelphia, which is frequently tedious when the tide is unfavourable.

Cheſter is admired for its proſpect, which is certainly extenſive, as the city, built upon a riſing ground ſomewhat elevated above the ſurrounding country, commands for a conſiderable diſtance to the right and left the plain below, and in front the Delaware with the country of Jerſey beyond; yet the eye, in running over this extenſive view, ſees nothing but a tireſome uniformity, the fields are flat, and without thoſe clumps of trees, which, in Europe, give them ſuch a pleaſing appearance. The borders of Jerſey are likewiſe flat. A few mean log-

houſes

houſes are juſt diſcernible at a very great diſtance, which being ſurrounded by two or three acres of cleared land are loſt in the foreſts behind them.

During the two hours which we ſpent at the inn we ſaw a great variety of travellers, the generality of whom were a civil, converſable, good ſort of people. Throughout the whole of my extenſive travels in America I have ſeldom met with any other ſort, but have always been confirmed in my opinion, that the Americans are in general a well-diſpoſed people. It muſt be underſtood that I do not allude to the inhabitants, eſpecially the wealthy inhabitants, of the chief cities.

The population of Cheſter amounts to about thirty thouſand ſouls; is about fifty miles in length, and forty-five in width. There are ſeveral iron mines, which however, at preſent, ſupply only ſeven or eight forges. A few miles beyond Cheſter we enter the ſmall ſtate of Delaware, which is diſtinguiſhed by the bad ſtate of the roads, and by the bridges, which are almoſt all conſtructed of wood. The country becomes more mountainous; it is covered with rocks, which are not even removed from the highway, although with little labour they might be broken into pieces, which would render the roads excellent and durable. Cultivation appears to be ſtill more neglected here than in the vicinity of Pennſylvania. The land is badly ploughed, the furrows are not even ſtrait. The grounds in general are under water, though they might be drained with very little trouble. The houſes are even worſe than the lands. From ſome parts of the road, in clear weather, may be ſeen the city of Philadelphia, and the capes of the Delaware.

Half-way from Cheſter to Wilmington ſtands an inn, where the ſtage generally ſtops. It was kept about three years ago by an Engliſhman, a diſſenter, who, in the ſpirit of a demagogue, had a ſign painted repreſenting a decapitated female, the head lying by the ſide of the bleeding trunk; underneath which was this inſcription, "*The guillotined Queen of France.*" No authority poſſeſſed the power of compelling him to take down this horrible ſign, at the ſight of which every body revolted; and as it was the only inn, within five miles either way, it could not be

be abandoned. However, that which the laws could not effect, the public voice accompliſhed. The horror excited by this infamous picture was ſo general, and ſo loudly proclaimed, that the brutal innkeeper was obliged to change his ſign, or at leaſt to alter it. He was unwilling, however, to relinquiſh the idea entirely. The female ſtill remained without a head, but erect, without any trace of blood, or implements of execution; and the inſcription was altered to "The *Silent Woman*." Such was the public reparation which this man partially made, but he continued to be deſpiſed: his inn was, however, ſtill frequented, becauſe, as I have before obſerved, it was the only one. Since that period other taverns have been eſtabliſhed; another innkeeper has ſucceeded the Diſſenter, and has exchanged the ſign of the *Silent Woman* for that of the *Practical Farmer*.

I have beheld a ſight to-day which, happily, is very uncommon in the United States: two women left their houſes when the ſtage arrived, to ſell bad apples to the paſſengers; they did not beg for money, but they received it. Among theſe was a woman who has fourteen children, all by different fathers; ſhe was never married, and is unable to ſay preciſely who is the father of any of her children. Such an inſtance would be mentioned as infamous, even in our European ſtates; but this poor woman by her own labour, and a few dollars procured from the charity of paſſengers, has brought up theſe fourteen children, without becoming burthenſome to the ſtate, and without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the fathers of theſe children, whom ſhe does not even know. This commendable attachment is ſome little extenuation of the licentious uſe which ſhe has made of her uncommon fruitfulneſs.

Brandywine Creek ſeparates the hundred of Brandywine from the liberties of Wilmington. Theſe hundreds are in ſome of the American ſtates, as in England, a diviſion of the counties. The ſtate of Delaware is thus divided. They do not contain preciſely one hundred pariſhes, as their name ſeems to imply; but they form, more than thoſe of England, a part of the adminiſtrative hierarchy of the ſtate of Delaware, which is divided into counties and hundreds. Each hundred

has its own officers choſen by itſelf. A proportion of the national taxes and the county rates is levied upon each hundred, and that ſum, added to the expences of the officers of the hundred, is defrayed by an aſſeſſment upon each individual. Some cities obtain from the aſſembly the title of hundred, and have a magiſtracy of their own: the juriſdiction of cities however is not confined within the limits of their own walls, as in Europe, but rather reſembles that of the preſent municipalities of France, extending, according to circumſtances, to a greater or leſs diſtance.

WILMINGTON, though not the capital of the ſtate of Delaware, or of the county of Newcaſtle in which it is ſituated, is the moſt populous city in that ſtate. The population is eſtimated at about four thouſand five hundred inhabitants, excluſive of the French, who have arrived from the different iſlands, and have increaſed the population within theſe three years by three or four hundred. Wilmington, like Philadelphia, and many other towns in America, does not cover all the ground marked out for it; the houſes, though almoſt all built in ſtreets, do not join each other; on the contrary, there are fields of a conſiderable ſize betwixt ſeveral of them. They are, in general, handſome ſubſtantial brick buildings, and are almoſt all of them built in the Engliſh ſtyle. The town contains about four ſquare miles, excluſive of a tract of land not yet built upon.

BRANDYWINE MILLS.

At the entrance of Wilmington is ſituated BRANDYWINE, a place which contains the greateſt part of the houſes belonging to the hundred of Brandywine. This village, or rather this hundred, takes its name from the creek which runs through it, and whoſe ſource is forty miles from the Delaware in the mountains of Pennſylvania. It is ſufficiently rapid, and contains water enough to turn, in its courſe, from ſixty to eighty mills, almoſt all of different deſcriptions, ſuch as paper, powder, tobacco, ſawing, fulling, and flour, mills, the latter of which are moſt numerous.

numerous. The principal ones are ſituated near the bridge over the creek. All the operations of the mills are performed by water, from the unlading the ſloops which bring the corn, to the complete finiſhing of the flour. Thus the ſacks are hoiſted into the granary, the flour is ſifted, is ground, and bolted, without the leaſt manual labour. The mills are ſimilar to thoſe at London bridge in England, and thoſe which the brothers *Perrier* have conſtructed at Paris near the *Gros-caillou*. The latter are firſt ſet in motion by a ſteam engine, but as the ſecondary motion is the principal, the mills of London and Paris give a ſufficiently exact idea of theſe of Brandywine. There is, however, in the proceſs from the grinding to the bolting, a difference in favour of the former. At London and Paris the flour when ground falls into troughs, and is afterwards conveyed by the labourer to another part of the mill, where it is ſpread, and turned by the hand to cool it before it is taken to be bolted: ſuch at leaſt was the proceſs when I left Europe.

At Brandywine the flour falls as it is ground upon a wooden roller, armed with little detached wings, which are ſo arranged as to form a ſcrew. This roller, fixed in a trough, is inclined towards a bin in ſuch a manner that it ſerves as a conductor to the flour, which would deſcend too rapidly if it fell perpendicularly, and too ſlowly and at intervals if it were merely conducted by a ſimple inclined plane. A chain of ſmall troughs, about three or four cubic inches long, dips into the bin, which receives the flour. This chain is incloſed in long perpendicular wooden caſes. It turns upon two pivots; one of which is placed in the bin where the little troughs fill themſelves with the flour which is depoſited there; and the other on the fourth floor, where the ſame little troughs empty themſelves, and thence deſcend empty to recommence their perpetual operations.

The flour, conveyed above by theſe troughs, falls on an inclined circular floor, in the centre of which are ſeveral holes; it is there ſpread about by a rake as large as the floor, the teeth of which are ſo placed as to conduct the flour towards the holes, through which it

falls, cooled, into the bolters. Theſe bolters are alſo different from thoſe uſed in France and England, as the ſtuff which covers them, and through which the flour paſſes, is a fine ſilk, very cloſely woven. The millers aſſert, that notwithſtanding they pay ſix dollars an ell for this ſtuff, it is cheaper than the common bolting cloth, to which it is likewiſe to be preferred for giving a more beautiful colour to the flour. Theſe bolters will laſt five years in conſtant uſe without any repair: about twelve ells of ſtuff is ſufficient to cover them. Hitherto the ſtuff has been brought from Holland; but a manufactory of it is about to be eſtabliſhed at Wilmington. Each pair of mills is furniſhed with its winged roller, its chain and troughs, its inclined circular floor, and its bolters. This mechaniſm for conveying the flour from the mill-ſtone to the bolter was invented five years ago by Mr. Evans of Philadelphia, who obtained a patent for the invention, which bears his name. There are three pair of mills, in this place, with that which we have viſited, that is to ſay, ſix mills and twelve mill-ſtones. I explain myſelf thus minutely to prevent miſtakes. There are ſome parts of the machinery of theſe mills, however, ſuch as the wheels, the trundle-heads, &c. which are not ſo well executed as in thoſe of Europe.

The proprietor of the mill which I particularly examined is a quaker, of the name of TATNALL. His ſon-in-law, Thomas Lea, took upon himſelf the trouble of ſhewing me the whole of it. He is alſo a quaker, about thirty years of age: he is a handſome, chearful, active, man. Like a true American patriot, he perſuades himſelf, that no-where is any undertaking executed ſo well, or with ſo much ingenuity, as in America; that the ſpirit, invention, and genius, of Europe, are in a ſtate of decrepitude (theſe are his words), whilſt the genius of America, full of vigour, is arriving at perfection.

Theſe opinions are not much to be wondered at in Thomas Lea, who is merely a good miller; they ought rather to excite pleaſure as the ebullitions of a patriotic enthuſiaſm, the indulgence of which is not likely to be prejudicial to him, as it does not prevent him from adopting

adopting all the good inventions of Europe, by which he may improve his mill. The ſame error, however, is diſcoverable in almoſt all the Americans—in legiſlators and magiſtrates, in whom it is more baneful —as well as in millers.

Thomas Lea is a moſt candid and obliging man; he anſwered all my queſtions with great politeneſs, and voluntarily imparted much information, for which I could not have taken the liberty to aſk. He is in partnerſhip with his father-in-law: their mill is not employed for the public, but ſolely in their own private ſervice. It is called a flour manufactory. They purchaſe their corn in Virginia, Maryland, and in the ſtate of New-York, which is brought from thence in two of their own ſhips; they convert it into flour; and the ſame ſloops carry it back again to Philadelphia, where it is ſold for exportation. They grind about one hundred thouſand buſhels of corn yearly. The whole labour of the mill is performed by ſix men only; whoſe chief employment is to place the flour in barrels: their wages are from ſix to eight dollars per month, with waſhing, board, and clothing. There are, beſides, twenty-four men employed by this manufactory for working the veſſels, and making the barrels. The coopers work by the piece; they can earn a dollar per day, but board and clothe themſelves. TATNALL does not employ any negroes, as they do not work with the whites; but are ſlow, and bad workmen. The laws of the ſtate of Delaware permit ſlavery, but the quakers, as is well known, do not make uſe of the permiſſion.

Almoſt all the labourers employed in theſe mills are foreigners, the greateſt part of whom are Engliſh or Iriſh. The millers complain of their drunkenneſs, and indolence, and would prefer Frenchmen as more induſtrious and ſober, if they could be procured; which they very much deſire. The corn trade is in a more flouriſhing ſtate at preſent than it has ever been; at leaſt wheat fetches a higher price. The common price of a buſhel of wheat, in time of peace, is ſeven ſhillings. In January 1795 it roſe from ten to ten and ſixpence, and during the eighteen ſucceeding months even as high as thirteen or fourteen

fourteen ſhillings. It has ſince fallen, but to nothing near its former level. The buſhel weighs ſixty pounds. Five buſhels yield a barrel of fine flour, containing a hundred and ninety-ſix pounds, beſides three other inferior ſorts of meal. The price of the fineſt flour is eight dollars and a half; of the ſecond quality, eight dollars; of the third, ſeven dollars; and of the fourth, five dollars. The bran is ſold at one eighth of a dollar per buſhel, containing thirty-five pounds: it is ſent to Philadelphia.

The following is a ſtatement of the produce of one hundred buſhels of wheat as given me by Thomas Lea:—nineteen barrels of fine flour; two barrels of flour of the ſecond quality; three barrels of the third quality; and thirty buſhels of bran. Total; five thouſand nine hundred and ten pounds: waſte ninety pounds.

The wheat of the eaſtern part of Maryland produces the fineſt flour, on account of the goodneſs of the ſoil and the quickneſs of its growth: but this flour is not ſo heavy as that of other parts; that of New-York for inſtance, though inferior in quality, is good, and is heavier, becauſe the grain is longer in ripening. The corn of the province of Delaware is nearly of the ſame quality as that of Maryland. Large quantities of Indian corn are likewiſe ground in theſe mills, of which they make bread and cakes: in ſeveral parts of the United States they uſe no other ſort of bread; in ſome parts it is even preferred without any motives of economy, as it is eſteemed by the faculty as the moſt wholeſome.

It is uſed to fatten poultry and cattle, and is exported in great quantities to the Weſt-Indies. As this grain contains more moiſture than other bread corn, it is dried in a kiln before it is ſent to the mill. A buſhel coſts at preſent five ſhillings; it weighs fifty-ſix pounds, and produces fifty-four pounds of flour. The proceſs of bolting ſeparates the fine from the inferior ſort of maize-flour, but the latter is reground and mixed with the other. One third of a barrel ſells for three dollars. The bran, which is in very ſmall quantities, is not taken from the flour. This information I received from the worthy Thomas Lea.

There

There are eleven other mills near his; four of them are very large, the others much ſmaller. The ice in this river ſometimes ſtops the mills for two months, at other times only three weeks, according to the ſeverity of the winter. At this time the millers ſettle their yearly accounts; which is eaſily done, as wherever their factors buy their corn they pay for it in ready money, and wherever they ſell their flour they are paid for it on delivery by a bill at ſixty or ninety days ſight, which they immediately diſcount with the bank. During this period they employ no labourers, whoſe pay whilſt in employ is ſo high, that they experience no difficulty in ſupporting themſelves during its ſuſpenſion: in general, after a few years' ſervice, they are enabled to purchaſe lands in the newly-inhabited parts of the country.

Another miller, who is likewiſe a quaker, and who has as large a mill as Mr. Tathall, has eſtabliſhed, about a year ſince, a manufactory for printing linens; the tubs, preſſes, &c. of which are worked by the machinery of a mill. This manufactory, though ſo lately eſtabliſhed, employs from twelve to fifteen hands at the laths, beſides about a dozen young girls, who work at home to fill up thoſe parts of the pattern with a bruſh which have eſcaped in the printing, or which cannot be otherwiſe finiſhed. Almoſt all the workmen are Engliſh or Iriſh; their wages are a dollar a day, without any proviſion. The work appeared to be well done; almoſt all the linens which they print are brought from India, and are reſold to the merchants of Philadelphia.

A cotton manufactory is now eſtabliſhing at Wilmington. The implements and workmen are already provided; the whole of the machinery for carding, ſpinning, &c. is conſtructed on Arkwright's plan. This eſtabliſhment is carried on by one of the richeſt men in the town. The number of workmen is at preſent only fifteen, but fifty more are expected: they are all Engliſhmen. The implements appear to be very well made.

I likewiſe viſited the manufactory for making *bolting ſilk*. The labourers

labourers are Iriſhmen; as well as the proprietor. This manufactory employs at preſent only three workmen: the ſilks are made to ſuit the different qualities of flour.

Though this manufactory has only been eſtabliſhed a year, it is a profitable concern, and when more extenſively known, it will be much more ſo, as theſe ſilks are cheaper than thoſe ſent from Holland, and laſt longer, as thoſe millers who uſe them have experienced. In a country like America where there are ſo many mills, the advantages of theſe bolters muſt be very great; in fact, almoſt all the millers uſe them in preference to linen cloths for bolting, as well as Thomas Lea. They are ſo uſeful, that an act of parliament has been made in England, to permit the importation of them into that country. The ſilk is brought from Georgia: if the Americans would plant mulberry trees, and raiſe ſilk-worms, this ſpecies of manufacture would be a ſource of great riches to the country *.

MR. GILPIN'S PAPER MILL.

I have ſaid that Brandywine-creek, in its ſhort courſe of ſeven or eight miles through the ſtate of Delaware, turns about ſixty mills of different ſorts. Among theſe I have viſited the paper mill of Mr. Gilpin, a reſpectable merchant at Philadelphia, and with whom I am intimately acquainted. This mill is ſituated at the diſtance of two miles and a half from Wilmington, on a truly romantic ſpot; for the word, *romantic* appears to me to convey the beſt idea of a view rather gloomy, wild and uncultivated, yet pleaſing. Such is the ſituation of this mill, and eſpecially of the proprietor's reſidence. The creek at this place paſſes between two very high mountains, almoſt covered with wood, and although ſo much pent up, turns a great number of wheels

* It is doubtful whether the rearing of ſilk-worms can be profitable to America for ſome time to come, for reaſons which the author himſelf has mentioned on many other occaſions: ſuch a proceſs requires much manual labour, and too many hands for a country where the population is ſmall, and labour conſequently dear.—*Tranſlator.*

without

without any noiſe: its breadth is about ſixty fathoms. Its courſe is impeded by a great number of rocks, few of which appear above the ſurface. Parts of the mountains are alſo covered with rocks, which ſpring up amidſt the wood. Theſe rocks are of the ſame nature as thoſe which are ſeen throughout the country, particularly about Cheſter: they are formed of a ſtone like that found in the foreſt of Fontainbleau. Some acres of land about the houſe are cleared, and laid out in meadows. The houſe is ſituated ſufficiently high to command a view of the creek of Brandywine for five hundred fathoms, when it is loſt among the trees, and is again viſible at the diſtance of three miles, where it joins the river Chriſtiana, which empties itſelf immediately into the Delaware. This view, which is wild and rugged in ſome parts, contraſted with a pleaſing ſoftneſs in others, muſt be ſtill more pleaſing in ſummer: it is, however, inferior to thoſe that are to be ſeen in the Voſges; to ſay nothing of thoſe of the Alps.

The paper mill is below the houſe. There are two warehouſes adjoining, where many labourers are conſtantly employed. The rags are pounded by vertical wheels, the bands of which are about ſix inches wide, armed with ſharp blades of iron, which drive the rags againſt ſix other blades, placed lengthways at the bottom of the great vat in which the wheel turns. I have deſcribed thus much of the proceſs, as it is performed in another manner both in France and Holland. The other parts are performed nearly in the ſame manner as in thoſe countries, but the manufactory is not yet brought to an equal perfection. The rags are not brought to the mill as in France, by people who collect them in the neighbourhood, as the ſmall population of America will not admit of ſuch induſtry. They are bought up by agents in the moſt populous towns, as far as three hundred miles diſtant, and are ſent by water to Wilmington; from whence they are brought in carts to the mill, as Brandywine creek ceaſes to be navigable above the bridge which leads to Wilmington. The conſumption of rags in Mr. Gilpin's mill is one hundred thouſand pounds weight a year, which makes one thouſand reams of different ſorts of paper. The

price of rags is from three to nine dollars the hundred weight, according to the quality; the average price is about four dollars and a third. The rags are divided into nine different ſorts at the manufactory, of which are made various papers, from vellum to coarſe brown. The vellum letter-paper is ſold for four dollars a ream; it is neither ſo white nor ſo well moulded as the fine European vellum paper; it is, however, a beautiful and good paper.

The large paper for merchants' account books, though not vellum, ſells as high as thirteen dollars a ream. Mr. Gilpin's partner, *Mr. Gifin*, who was ſo polite as to ſhow me the manufactory, is an Iriſhman, and ſuperintends the buſineſs himſelf, being well acquainted with the whole proceſs. The mill employs conſtantly twenty-ſix or twenty-ſeven hands. Seven of the beſt workmen are employed at the vat, and the mould; their pay is from four to ſeven dollars a week. They are all Iriſhmen. The other inferior workmen earn three dollars, and the women one dollar, a week. Notwithſtanding there are five other paper mills in the ſtate of Delaware, and from eighty to ninety in the province of Pennſylvania; yet Mr. Gifin aſſured me there was not much difficulty in procuring workmen: though an Iriſhman himſelf, he complains as much of a want of ſobriety in his countrymen as the millers of Brandywine. This manufactory is, no doubt, very lucrative, as Mr. Gilpin intends to build a new paper mill about three hundred fathoms below the other. The paper manufactured here is ſent in great quantities to Philadelphia, and retailed to the merchants there. The ſmall mills diſpoſe of their paper in another manner; they ſend it to Philadelphia in carts, and ſell it about the ſtreets in quires or reams.

DOCTOR WARTON, AND HIS FARM.

From the mill I croſſed the river and the woods to dine with Doctor Warton, who reſides about a mile from Wilmington, on the road to Philadelphia. The moſt common trees in theſe woods are the oak, the

the cheſnut, and the hiccory. Cedars known in Europe by the name of Virginian are likewiſe found in abundance; alſo Scotch pine trees, Lord's pines, and firs. The cedar wood is commonly uſed for ſupporters to the rails with which the fields are encloſed. The houſes are alſo covered with planks of cedar. Doctor Warton, who was educated with the jeſuits of St. Omer in France, but has ſince become a miniſter of the Engliſh church, is a very worthy man. He ſpent ſome years in England, from whence he brought much agricultural knowledge, with a ſmall mixture of prejudice. He ſpeaks French, he is very obliging, and is much eſteemed by his neighbours. He occupies a farm, which he has taken for fifteen years, ten of which are unexpired.

There were eight of us at dinner: every thing which we uſed was the produce of his own farm; even the table cloth, which was fabricated of the flax grown on his own grounds, and the table, which was made of a very beautiful wood, cut on his own eſtate, as ſmooth and as finely veined as mahogany. I obtained the greater part of my agricultural information of this country from Doctor Warton. He rents a farm of one hundred and fifty acres at two hundred and ten dollars; he lets off fifty acres at one hundred and thirty dollars, and thus retains the reſt himſelf at eighty dollars. He informed me that he had gained this year ſeven hundred and forty-ſix dollars, including thoſe articles which he had uſed, and which he muſt otherwiſe have bought. He has four oxen, which are ſufficient for the whole work of the farm. He has alſo eight cows, and two horſes for his carriage. Three negroes are conſtantly employed in his farm and ſtables. He does not hire additional labourers above twenty-five days in the year. He has four negreſſes, two of whom are employed in the houſe, the other two ſpin, make linen and cloth, and work in the field when it is neceſſary. The negroes and negreſſes eat bread made of Indian corn; at noon they are allowed ſome meat; but on the whole receive leſs nouriſhment than would be requiſite for white people in this country; and are therefore maintained much cheaper. The doctor ſays that he is as well ſatisfied with their work as he could be with that of the whites

which are to be found here. He dungs his lands tolerably well with about two hundred ſmall cart loads of dung obtained yearly from his own cattle. He dungs his grounds in general before he ſows maize; which he ſows in trenches eight feet diſtant one way, and one foot the other, contrary to the general practice of the country. He alſo turns up the larger intervals with the plough, and the ſmaller with the hoe: the latter work is done by the negreſſes. He frequently ſows maize two following years: after the maize, corn, and clover after the corn, in the ſpring. The clover remains for two, three, or even four, years: after clover he ſows maize again, and ſo on in ſucceſſion. This is his general practice, though it is ſometimes varied.

The neighbouring farmers do not follow as regular a ſyſtem as Doctor Warton, the ſcarcity of labourers being a great obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of a good ſyſtem of agriculture in this country, where its true principles are unknown. The farms are in general ſmall and ill-cultivated; they receive little or no manure, and are in every reſpect badly managed. Some Engliſh farmers have recently ſettled in this neighbourhood, and have taken farms upon long leaſes. They will doubtleſs make conſiderable improvements in agriculture. Within theſe two years ſeveral perſons have collected the weeds from the creeks which flow through their land, have mixed them with dung, and thus make a manure, which, though they do not allow it ſufficient time to rot before they uſe it, conſiderably improves the land. Turnips, carrots, and cabbages, are grown only in gardens, merely for the kitchen.

Doctor Warton, who underſtands the cultivation and management of maize, prefers it to the above articles, as a more certain produce; the leaves green, or dry, are fodder for the cattle, and the corn when ground into flour is, he ſays, more fattening than any other food. This opinion, however, is not founded upon experience and compariſon, but rather appears to be the offspring of a prejudice for a particular ſyſtem of agriculture, and the natural indolence of a man ill diſpoſed to alterations. I conceive it is very eaſy to prove, that a

more

more ſkilful ſyſtem would yield more dung, and would be more productive, without any additional labour.

Eight hundred perches ſquare of maize produce a ton weight of leaves, and two ton of tops. Every hundred perches ſquare, not dunged, yields from twelve to eighteen buſhels of grain; if well dunged, it yields thirty-five: I ſpeak of this part of the country, and of thoſe farms which are generally cultivated in this manner, eſpecially that of Doctor Warton. He plants potatoes between the rows of maize, and gathers by this means two hundred buſhels: they are uſually ſold at three ſhillings and ſix pence per buſhel, but this year fetched from five ſhillings to five ſhillings and ſix pence. He fattens yearly from ten to twelve oxen for ſale. As he brews his own beer, makes his own cider, and manufactures his own linen, one part of his farm is ſown with flax, others are planted with hops, and others with apple trees.

Such is the cuſtom of the country, and ſo much do the farmers pride themſelves upon its preſervation, that they will not purchaſe any thing for the uſe of their families, which they can make themſelves. Pride is the beſt colour which they can give to the impoſſibility of doing otherwiſe; on any other ground the ſpeculation is a bad one, as by multiplying in this manner their plantations, and the labours of the houſehold, the divided profits are conſequently ſmaller, and their average leſs advantageous. Time will rectify this prejudice.

The ſheep of this country produce good wool, fine and ſhort, but the fleece ſeldom weighs more than three pounds: it is worth a dollar and a half. The ſheep have long legs, and very large bones. The breed might be much improved by a little attention, of which it is well deſerving.

Some proprietors, who do not tenant their own farms, let them for a ſhare of the produce. The uſual method is to let them for half the profits, if the farmer and proprietor furniſh jointly the cattle and feed; or for a third, if no ſtock is advanced. This proportion ſometimes varies according to the value of the ground, or the addreſs of the proprietor or farmer. Doctor Warton obſerved, that at Wilmington any man, who knows how to purchaſe, might make ſix per cent in caſh of

his

his capital, by letting his lands as ſoon as he buys them. The cattle are very ſoon fattened with the maize flour; from eight to ten buſhels are ſufficient to fatten an ox. I ſaw a pig at one of the mills on the Brandywine, which the miller aſſured me was of an ordinary breed, and which was fed entirely upon maize, that weighed ſeven hundred weight.

The land near the Delaware conſiſts of rich meadows, with a good ſoil to the depth of thirty feet; it lets as high as ſix dollars and a half per acre, and ſells as high as one hundred and ſixty dollars per acre.

The hay is depoſited in barns. The farmers are ignorant of the method of making ſtacks, they therefore ſay that the rain penetrates them and ſpoils the hay; though leſs rain falls here, even including the ſnow, than in any part of England. Some farmers, however, heap up their crops into very imperfect ſtacks, by which means they are certainly often ſpoiled. Such is the ſubſtance of the information which I obtained from Doctor Warton. The details which I have entered into relative to the ſtate of manufacture and agriculture are not intereſting of themſelves to an European, yet, conſidering them as connected with the ſtate of population, civilization, and all the other circumſtances of this country, and as affording a compariſon with the old world, they poſſibly will not be found unintereſting.

BRANDYWINE-RIVER, AND WILMINGTON.

I have already noticed Brandywine; its ſituation is delightful. There are about fifty houſes built near the river, which ruſhes rapidly over large fragments of rock; and ſwelling into many channels turns mills of all deſcriptions in every direction. The banks of this river, both above and below the village, chiefly laid out in meadows, and covered with cattle; a bridge, over which travellers are conſtantly paſſing; the continual buſtle of the manufactories, with houſes of various forms and materials, built on different parts of two hills, which bound the river;—render this view extremely pleaſant.

The

The port of Wilmington is upon the Chriſtiana; there are three or four veſſels built there every year, either for ſale or for the trade that is carried on there, which employs twelve or thirteen ſhips of various ſizes. This port is two miles from the Delaware. Several ſloops are conſtantly employed in the coaſting trade carried on with Philadelphia.

Wilmington market is ſupplied with proviſions from the neighbourhood. It is held twice a-week; it is leſs than that at Philadelphia, which it reſembles in its market-place, in the nature of its regulations, and in the ſpecies of proviſions ſold there. Every neceſſary is to be procured there, and no-where elſe in this part of the country.

Freedom of religion is as unreſtrained in the ſtate of Delaware as in that of Pennſylvania. The expences of public worſhip are paid by thoſe who approve it. The letting of pews is one principal ſource of the church revenue, and, with ſome donations of land by individuals, is ſufficient to defray all expences, including the miniſter's ſalary. The preſbyterians are the moſt numerous ſect; and next to them, the quakers: the wiſdom of the latter, who being the richeſt have the moſt influence, oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of a democratic ſociety at Wilmington. There is one, however, at Newcaſtle, chiefly compoſed of the inhabitants of Wilmington.

This town is at preſent the aſylum of about forty families from the colonies of St. Domingo, moſt of whom have ſaved ſomething from the wreck of their fortunes, but whom misfortune has not inſtructed either in politics or domeſtic œconomy. On their arrival a ſubſcription was opened for the moſt needy of them, and a conſiderable ſum was raiſed, when it was diſcovered by the complaints of thoſe whoſe diſtreſſes entitled them to relief, that ſome men known to be in good circumſtances had applied for a ſhare. The eyes of the ſubſcribers being thus opened, the ſubſcription was ſtopped and the French name diſgraced. General DIKISON, a rich inhabitant of Wilmington, formerly governor of Pennſylvania, depoſited four hundred dollars with Mr. *Thouſard*, to be diſtributed among the moſt needy of the ſufferers. It could not have been

been placed in better hands; notwithſtanding which, jealouſy excited ſome unjuſt murmurs againſt him, which though treated with contempt by himſelf, have not failed to promote ſome ſcandal. Several of the St. Domingo families who have preſerved large fortunes, think that Mr. Dikiſon is not ſufficiently generous; yet will not themſelves give one farthing to their diſtreſſed countrymen.

Among thoſe who have eſcaped the diſaſters of St. Domingo, there are ſome, who, revolting at the idea of receiving gratuitous aid, labour with great induſtry to obtain a bare ſubſiſtence: but it muſt be confeſſed, that almoſt all theſe belong to Old France, and have not long ſettled in the colony. The neceſſaries of life are cheaper by two fifths at Wilmington than at Philadelphia: a family may live here very well upon eight hundred dollars a year. The plots of ground allotted for building houſes contain nearly two acres; and let at from four to ſix dollars a year. With a little dunging they will produce forty hundred weight of hay in two crops. The cows are turned in after the ſecond crop till winter. In ſummer they are driven on the road-ſide to graze, and are fetched home twice a day to be milked. The breed of cattle, although not ſo fine as that of New-England, is good and large; but rather too long in the body and legs: a little care would perfect the breed, and render the cattle of a ſhape and ſize proper for fattening. The poor-houſe of Wilmington is built on an eminence; it is a very large and handſome building: the poor of the county of Newcaſtle only are received there; who are extremely well treated. According to a moderate calculation the number of poor conſtantly maintained there amounts to ſixty. The expences of the houſe are eſtimated at about ſix thouſand dollars; the expence of each pauper is conſequently one hundred dollars: upon one half of which ſum he might ſupport himſelf. In almoſt every part of England, as well as of America, the poor-houſes are an object of pride and oſtentation to the people. They doubtleſs relieve the overſeers of the poor from much of that trouble which they would otherwiſe have in diſtributing relief with juſtice and diſcretion to the

poor

poor at their own homes. Yet theſe eſtabliſhments by no means conſtitute the beſt method of aſſiſting the poor, whether they are conſidered in a political or moral point of view; or as they reſpect the principles of economy or real benevolence.

The boundaries of eſtates in this ſmall ſtate are perhaps the ſource of more law-ſuits than any-where elſe, as in the lands formerly given to the Penn family, and to Lord Baltimore; the boundaries are not preciſely aſcertained, nor are the deeds of gift clearly worded.

Mr. Vining informed me, that his ſeat in Congreſs deprives him of at leaſt three thouſand dollars, which he might gain by his profeſſion as an advocate, notwithſtanding he undertakes ſome buſineſs even during the ſitting of Congreſs, which the vicinity of Philadelphia enables him to tranſact with eaſe.

The advantageous ſituation of the ſtate of Delaware for commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, ought naturally to increaſe its population. Half the ground however is not yet cleared: four-fifths of the county of Suſſex, the moſt ſouthern of the three, remains yet uncleared. The woods are certainly in ſome places filled with water, but with little pains and expence nearly the whole of theſe grounds might be drained, and doubtleſs would be very productive; as all thoſe that have been drained yield great crops. The want of hands is an obſtacle which prevents any attempts of this nature in this country of ſlavery; and induces a number of proprietors of woods to believe that their ground is more profitable to them in its preſent ſtate. They ſtrip their woods to ſupply Philadelphia; and as there are in this ſpot many pine-trees and cedars, they ſell them at a large profit, eſpecially as they have the advantage of conveying them by water. Mr. Well, member of the legiſlature, and proprietor of twenty thouſand acres of wood on the borders of the county of Suſſex, boaſted in my preſence of the revenue ariſing from his eſtate, which is about five thouſand four hundred dollars a year. Of theſe twenty thouſand acres, only ten thouſand are planted with cedars. I demonſtrated to him, that allowing all this profit to ariſe entirely from the ten thouſand acres of cedars, even in that caſe, each acre is worth

only half a dollar a year; which is nearly the ſame value to which the ſalt-tax, and the uncultivated ſtate of the land, reduced ſeveral of the foreſts of Lorraine about ten years ago. He was ſtruck with the calculation, which he could not contradict; but as his neighbours do not draw ſo much wealth from their woods as he does from his, he is ſatisfied with that difference. In every ſenſe this ſyſtem is pernicious; it deſtroys the growth of the woods, and it would reduce this moderate income in the courſe of forty or fifty years to nothing, if it were not to be ſuppoſed, that before that period the population of the ſtate will increaſe, the proprietors grow wiſer, and cultivation in conſequence become more general.

Within theſe fifteen months a bank has been eſtabliſhed at Wilmington, and incorporated by an act of the legiſlature of the ſtate. The capital is two hundred thouſand dollars, in one thouſand ſhares of two hundred dollars each. The legiſlature has reſerved the power of adding two hundred and fifty ſhares more. This bank appears to be of no real utility, at leaſt there is no apparent neceſſity for it—except to the Brandywine millers—the flour-trade being the only branch of commerce that is carried on to any extent in this ſtate. It will, however, have the ſame effects as all the ſmall banks eſtabliſhed on the continent; it will increaſe the means of ſpeculating ſtock-jobbers and adventurers; and will ſooner or later, like moſt others, prove pernicious to the cauſe of morality, and deſtructive to thoſe whoſe ſpeculations are at preſent aided by its diſcounts and the paper-money which it iſſues. The dividend on the two laſt half years was ſix per cent, that is to ſay, twelve per cent per annum: this was the firſt dividend made.

STATE OF DELAWARE, ITS CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

The ſtate of Delaware is the ſmalleſt of all the United States, as its greateſt length is only ninety-two miles, and breadth from thirteen to thirty miles: it was colonized in 1628 by the Swedes, and formed

part

part of New-Sweden, which is now called New-Jerſey. The Dutch took it in 1656. After it was conquered by the Duke of York, in 1683, he ſold to William Penn, founder of Pennſylvania, the town of Newcaſtle, and twelve miles of the ſurrounding country. William Penn afterward added to this the country which extends as far as *Cape Henlopen*. It was then divided, as it is at preſent, into three counties; Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex; and became part of Pennſylvania. In 1701 William Penn ceded them to *Edward Shippen*, *Phineas Pembleton*, *Samuel Carpenter*, *Griffiths Owen*, *Caleb Puiſey*, and *Thomas Story*, who of courſe became the proprietors: when, however, this part of the country, though under the governor of Pennſylvania, obtained the privilege of a ſeparate aſſembly, it took the name of the three counties of the Delaware. When the troubles in America broke out, the three counties of the Delaware ſeparated themſelves entirely from the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and aſſumed the name of the ſtate of the Delaware. It was only in 1770 that the limits of the ſtates of Delaware and Maryland were finally ſettled by the proprietors of the Delaware, and Lord Baltimore proprietor of Maryland; whoſe determination was not ſanctioned by an act of legiſlature till 1775.

The new conſtitution of the ſtate of Delaware was named in 1776, and reviſed in 1790. It divides the legiſlative power between two houſes of parliament. The houſe of repreſentatives is compoſed of twenty-one members; ſeven for each county; who are elected annually. The qualifications neceſſary for a member are;—that he muſt be twenty-four years of age, muſt poſſeſs an independent income, muſt have reſided in the ſtate three years, and in the county for which he is elected, one year. The number of ſenators is nine; three for each county: the ſenators muſt be twenty-ſeven years old; in poſſeſſion of an independent income of two hundred acres, or a fortune known to amount to one thouſand pounds ſterling. The ſame conditions as to reſidence are required of them as of the members of the houſe of repreſentatives. The ſenators are elected for three years; one of whom

retires every year by rotation. The qualifications of an elector are, a reſidence of two years in the county, and the payment of taxes for at leaſt ſix months. Money-bills may be brought in to either houſe. A majority of two thirds of the repreſentatives may impeach any of the officers of the ſtate, and a majority of two thirds of the ſenate may in ſuch caſes pronounce judgment. The general aſſembly have the power of increaſing the number of repreſentatives and ſenators, whenever two thirds of each houſe agree that it is neceſſary; but the number of ſenators muſt never be leſs than one-third of the repreſentatives, nor greater than one-half.

The governor of the ſtate is choſen by the ſame electors, who chooſe the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives. He is elected for three years, and cannot be re-choſen until after the expiration of that term. He has the appointment of all officers excepting thoſe of treaſurer, ſheriffs, and coroners, who are nominated by the aſſembly. He has the privilege of pardoning offences, except where the ſentence has been pronounced in conſequence of impeachment. He muſt be above thirty years of age, muſt have reſided in the United States more than twelve years; and in that particular ſtate more than ſix. He is aſſiſted in his government by the ſpeaker of the ſenate, or in his abſence by the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives. The judicial power is compoſed of a court of chancery, and ſeveral inferior tribunals.

The judges are nominated by the governor, and retain their places during good behaviour: they are ſubject to impeachment, whenever two thirds of the houſe of repreſentatives and two thirds of the ſenate deem it neceſſary, agreeable to the forms already noticed. In caſes where there is not ſufficient grounds for an impeachment, the governor may diſplace them on the repreſentation of two thirds of each houſe. The juſtices of the peace are appointed by the governor for ſeven years. The legiſlative aſſembly in the ſtate of the Delaware vote for the election of preſident and vice-preſident of the United States.

The population of the ſtate of Delaware was eſtimated in the

year

year 1790 at only fifty thouſand and ninety-four inhabitants, of which number eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-ſeven were ſlaves; and in conſequence the ſtate ſends but one member to the Congreſs of the United States. There is no doubt but at the next numeration there will be more than a ſufficient number of inhabitants to entitle it to ſend two members to Congreſs.

The militia of the ſtate is formed of one brigade from each county; each brigade is compoſed of three regiments. The Preſbyterians are the moſt numerous and powerful ſect in the ſtate; they have twenty-four churches. The Epiſcopalians have fourteen; the Anabaptiſts ſeven: beſides which, there are a great number of Quakers and Methodiſts throughout the country, eſpecially in the counties of Kent and Suſſex. The exports of the ſtate of Delaware amounted in 1791 to the ſum of one hundred and ninety thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-eight dollars—in 1792, to one hundred and thirty-three thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-two—in 1793, to ninety-three thouſand five hundred and fifty-nine—in 1794, to two hundred and ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-five—in 1795, to one hundred and fifty-eight thouſand and forty-one—and in 1796, to two hundred and one thouſand one hundred and forty-two dollars. The commerce of the ſtate of Delaware is chiefly in corn and wood. The only cuſtom-houſe in this diſtrict is at Wilmington. The greateſt part of the flour made there is bought by the merchants of Philadelphia, for exportation.

The taxes in the ſtate of Delaware have hitherto been rather improperly levied. The total amount of the ſum neceſſary for the exigencies of the ſtate was divided into twenty-one parts: the county of Newcaſtle paid eight; Kent ſeven; and Suſſex ſix. The counties are divided into hundreds. Each townſhip elected annually a collector; who being furniſhed with a liſt of perſons liable to be taxed, aſſeſſed them according to the vague eſtimation of their incomes, without paying any regard to the nature of ſuch incomes. Uncleared land, perſons under the age of twenty-one, thoſe who had juſt finiſhed an apprenticeſhip,

prenticeſhip, and ſlaves who had juſt obtained their freedom were exempted from taxes. Poor people having many children were taxed in a ſmaller proportion; but their incomes were always eſtimated at twenty dollars. Bachelors, whether they had or had not any known property, were taxed as having an income from twenty-four to forty-eight dollars. A court of appeal, elected for three years, one-third of which was changed every year, decided upon the complaints of ſuch as thought themſelves ſurcharged. The commiſſioners who compoſed this court received a dollar and one third for every day on which they were employed. The collectors received ſeven and a half per cent. on the ſum collected. As the amount of all the ſtate taxes for the counties and hundreds of the ſtate of Delaware did not exceed one or two per cent. on the fortunes of each individual, no body murmured; but this mode of aſſeſſment was not the leſs diſgraceful to a free country, for it was arbitrary.

During the laſt ſeſſions the aſſembly attempted to wipe away this ſtain: it was accordingly decreed, "that in future the aſſeſſors ſhould make out a ſtatement of all the taxable property in each hundred; that the capital ariſing from land ſhould be eſtimated at one hundred pounds value for every eight pounds of rent; that the capital ariſing from houſes or eſtates in towns or villages ſhould be eſtimated at one hundred pounds for every twelve pounds of rent; and that the rents both in town and country ſhould be taken at their real value:

"That ſlaves of both ſexes, from the age of eight to fourteen years, ſhould be valued at from twelve to fourteen pounds; and male ſlaves from the age of fourteen to thirty-ſix at from fifteen to thirty-five pounds:

"That ſlaves under eight years of age, male ſlaves above forty-five, and females above thirty-ſix, ſhould be taxed in leſſer proportions; but the male ſlaves who are artiſans always in proportion to the value of their labour:

"And, that plate ſhould be eſtimated at eight ſhillings and ſix pence per ounce; and laſtly, that all other perſonal property, not expreſsly exempted

exempted from taxation, ſhould be aſſeſſed in proportion to its value in ready money, according to the opinion of the aſſeſſors."

This new mode of taxation, which fixes the principles on which the aſſeſſment is to be made, ſtill leaves too much to the diſcretion of the aſſeſſors: it is not yet carried into effect.

The annual amount of the taxes varies very little in the ſtate of Delaware; it averages from thirteen to fifteen thouſand dollars. The ſtate has no ſurplus treaſure, but is free from debt.

On the general diviſion of the expences of the war, made by the commiſſioners of which I have ſo often ſpoken, the ſtate of Delaware was indebted to the United States ſix hundred and twelve thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight dollars. This ſum is much more than they are willing or able to pay; in fact, this ſpecies of debt will never be paid by any of the ſtates upon which it has been impoſed. The ſmall extent of the ſtate of Delaware entirely prevents it from enlarging its reſources; and it has already been propoſed by the ſenate to unite it to a part of the ſtate of Maryland on the eaſt of the Cheſapeak. This propoſition, which has not yet been agreed to by the houſe of repreſentatives, will no doubt be objected to by the ſtate of Maryland, which will not willingly diſmember itſelf to add to the ſtability of the ſtate of Delaware; whilſt on the other hand, the latter would not be deſirous of ſinking entirely into the ſtate of Maryland. This meaſure would alſo meet ſome oppoſition from the ſmaller ſtates, who at preſent are compenſated for the inferiority of the number of their members in the houſe of repreſentatives by the equal number of repreſentatives they ſend to congreſs, of which compenſation this meaſure would deprive them.

A motion was made in the legiſlative aſſembly this year, to declare all the children of ſlaves born after this period free, and to give freedom to all ſlaves now under the age of twenty-eight, when they attain that age; and that all above that age ſhould remain ſlaves for life. The motion was carried in the houſe of repreſentatives, but as the majority of the people of the country evinced great diſapprobation of the meaſure,

meaſure, it is expected that it will be thrown out next year by the ſenate; and that ſlavery, which every one condemns here, will remain preciſely as it is, even without any preparatory act towards its gradual abolition.

The ſmallneſs of the ſtate, its vicinity to Philadelphia, its ſituation on the edge of the bay, or the river Delaware, affords the negroes very eaſy means of running away from their maſters; which I am told they very frequently do.

The laws relative to ſlaves are very humane in the ſtate of Delaware. Every maſter who uſes his ſlaves cruelly is fined, and the murder of a negro is puniſhed with death. If a white man ſtrike a negro, who is not his ſlave, the maſter of that negro may bring the offender to juſtice, and puniſh him by a fine. Till within theſe two years the ſlaves were, for all offences, tried by two juſtices of the peace and ſix freeholders; they are at preſent tried by the ordinary judges, and by a jury if the offence is capital. They are in every other reſpect well treated, and well fed. The price of a good negro is two hundred and ſeventy dollars.

The criminal law is that of England, with a very few alterations.

The ſeat of government is at preſent at Dover, the moſt central town of the ſmall ſtate of Delaware; until 1794, it was at Wilmington.

A collection of the laws of the ſtate of Delaware is now printing; this is the more neceſſary, as there are many uſeful laws, which have never appeared in print. The Engliſh during the war plundered the town-houſes of this ſtate, as well as every other; and ſent the original records to the governor-general at New-York. After the war it was agreed that they ſhould be returned; but many of them were previouſly deſtroyed.

ROAD

ROAD TO NEWCASTLE, AND NEWCASTLE.

Half a mile from Wilmington, you croſs the Chriſtiana in a very ſmall ferry-boat, which, however, carries over ſeveral ſtages every day. The two fore-horſes are taken off and placed behind, which fills the whole boat, the ſides of which are not ſix inches high. Every thing in this country diſplays great want of fore-ſight; ſtages and ferry-boats, as well as politics, are made for the moment. A prudent man foreſees many dangers, which the inhabitants of this country are prevented by habit and careleſſneſs from ſeeing. Whenever, therefore, an accident happens, nobody is prepared for it; every one is agitated and alarmed, but no remedy is applied.

The country on this ſide of Newcaſtle is a continued flat; it is, however, better cultivated than that on the other ſide of Wilmington. The ſoil appears to be light. The land is laid out in meadows, a few corn fields, and ſeveral fields of maize, which are all encloſed: there is very little wood land, and very few good trees. The houſes are rather better than the land; ſome of them are very handſome. Newcaſtle is compoſed of ſeventy houſes, ſome of which are of brick, and are built adjacent to each other: the wide ſtreets and the graſs plots give it the appearance of an Engliſh village. Being the county town, it contains the ſeſſions-houſe and the priſon. The town is built on the Delaware; it does not, however, carry on any direct foreign trade, but confines itſelf to the coaſting trade with Philadelphia.

Newcaſtle, when in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, was called New-Stockholm. When the Dutch conquered it, they called it New-Amſterdam; and when the Duke of York took poſſeſſion of it he gave it the name which it has ſince retained. It is the oldeſt city of this ſtate.

A fund having been raiſed by way of lottery, ſanctioned by the ſtate, for the purpoſe of building quays at Newcaſtle, that place now affords

ſhelter to veſſels in the winter, and begins to riſe from the ſtate of decay into which it had ſunk.

Oak is ſold at Newcaſtle for five dollars a cord, and hiccory for nearly ſeven dollars. The population of the county of Newcaſtle amounts to about eighteen thouſand free people, and three thouſand ſlaves. The frequent communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the great traffic between the two cities, have occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a more ſpeedy means of conveyance of goods and paſſengers, than by the ordinary land and water carriage.

Four ſmall ſloops conſtantly ſail to and from Newcaſtle and Philadelphia. Regular ſtages convey the paſſengers to French-Town, on the Elk-River, about twelve miles diſtant from Newcaſtle. Goods are carried there in carts. Other ſloops ſail down the Elk-River, which empties itſelf into the Cheſapeak, eighteen miles from French-Town, from whence they proceed to Baltimore. The expence of the paſſage from Philadelphia to Newcaſtle is three quarters of a dollar, three quarters of a dollar by the ſtage to French-Town, and one dollar and a quarter from French-Town to Baltimore. This route is impaſſable during the three or four winter months, at which time the river Delaware is generally frozen.

Newcaſtle is the true point from which all the Philadelphian ſhips take their departure. When they are laden, they drop down thither with their pilot, and take in their poultry and vegetables, where the captains who remain at Philadelphia to ſettle their accounts at the cuſtom-houſe join them by land, and from whence they ſail with the firſt fair wind.

ROAD TO WARWICK.—THE RED LION.—MIDDLETON.

All the country is extremely flat until you arrive at the Red Lion, an inn much frequented by ſtages and travellers. The fields are very extenſive: ſome wheat is ſown here, which is beginning to ſhoot; but the general produce is maize; there are ſome meadows ſown with clover,

clover, and a ſmall ſhare of timothy-graſs. A few quickſet hedges are here and there to be ſeen, but they merely evince to an European the poſſibility of thus encloſing the fields in this country. Such is the manner in which they are here planted and kept, that they ſerve merely to relieve the eye, fatigued with the gloomy encloſures of dead wood. They ſeldom dig any ditch at the foot of the bank on which the quickſet is planted, or if they do, they cut it ſo narrow and perpendicular, that it is incapable of carrying off the ſmalleſt current of water. The thorns are planted in ſingle rows; when grown they are lopped at the bottom, and become ſmall trees, which are eaſily broken down and overthrown by the cattle. Time will no doubt teach the inhabitants of America the great advantage of this ſort of hedges, which would ſave an enormous quantity of wood, in a country where its ſcarcity begins to be already felt: they will learn that the firſt expence of planting and preſerving them would be abundantly repaid by their duration through an endleſs period, in which no further care nor expence would be required.

This will certainly be the caſe ſome day or other; but it is aſtoniſhing, that, notwithſtanding ſo many farmers are continually arriving from Europe, and particularly from England, where the utility of quickſet hedges and the method of raiſing them are ſo well known, the people of this country have not yet profited by their experience. Indolence, and a want of ſufficient funds, are, without doubt, the two principal cauſes which retard ſo neceſſary an improvement. The woods of the ſtate of Delaware and the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland abound with thorns ſimilar to our hawthorns, of which excellent and agreeable hedges might be made.

The road from Wilmington, through Newcaſtle, divides itſelf at the Red Lion inn: one road leads to DOVER, and to the ſouth of the ſtate of Delaware, the other to CHESTER-TOWN, and into the ſouth of the ſtate of Maryland: we have choſen the latter route;—I ſay *we*, for I travel in company with Mr. Guillemard, who is ſo kind as to accompany me the few firſt days of this little journey. Land in the

neighbourhood of the Red Lion is ſold at about twenty dollars an acre; the ſoil is rather light, but good. This inn is furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions from Newcaſtle, from which it is ſeven or eight miles diſtant.

The road from the Red Lion to WARWICK runs through the ſame ſort of flat ill-cultivated country. The ſoil, however, becomes ſtronger and better. Some large farm-houſes are to be ſeen on the right and left of the road; they are ſurrounded with little huts for the negroes, from which circumſtance it may be ſuppoſed a conſiderable number of them are employed here.

MIDDLETON, the only village between Warwick and Newcaſtle, is compoſed of about twenty houſes, ſome of which are of brick; it is the laſt village in the ſtate of Delaware, which, however, extends to within a mile of Warwick, that is to ſay, three miles beyond Middleton.

WARWICK.—CULTIVATION AND DISEASES OF CORN.

We croſſed ſome ſmall creeks to day, which turn a few mills and ſome forges. They fall into the Delaware either directly or in conjunction with others which they meet in their courſe. The ſmall creek of Bohemia, near Warwick, is the firſt which we have met with that runs as far as the Cheſapeak. The village of Warwick comprizes only five or ſix houſes; it is in the ſtate of Maryland, and in the county of *Cecil*. The farmers complain much of the injury done to their corn by the Heſſian fly. As this diſeaſe is very common in the eaſt of Maryland, I ſhall defer a more full deſcription of it until I have received ſome better information on the ſubject. I ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that from the converſation of two farmers, whom I ſaw at the inn, it appears to me that the Heſſian fly chiefly attacks ſuch corn as grows on a poor ſoil, and that ſeveral veins of earth in the ſame fields, which are of a better quality than the reſt, are free from them. Theſe farmers were of opinion, that if the lands were well dunged,

dunged, and kept in good order, they would not be liable to the diſeaſe. If this aſſertion may be depended upon, it ſhould have induced them to attend to cultivation; but this opinion, as yet, has not made one farmer more attentive. The corn of this country is alſo ſubject to the ruſt, and to a diſeaſe called the ſtab, which reddens a part of the ear, and deſtroys the grain. The obſervations of the inhabitants, who are neither profound nor perſevering in their reſearches, have not aſcertained the cauſe of this laſt diſeaſe of the corn, nor even its nature. They think, however, that the damp ariſing from fogs is one of the principal cauſes. The corn is ſometimes ſown here mixed with plaſter-of-Paris, or with aſhes, but they do not cleanſe it before ſowing, which is apparently one cauſe of the various diſeaſes to which it is ſubject.

Land is ſold here according to its quality, from fifteen to forty dollars an acre. The laborious part of cultivation is generally performed by negro ſlaves. The price of ſuch as are good workmen is at preſent from three to four hundred dollars a negro: they may be hired of thoſe maſters who do not employ them, but let them out at ſixty dollars a year. Labourers are alſo to be procured among the white men, whoſe wages are from one hundred to one hundred and ten dollars a year. Theſe latter are always better fed than the negroes. The farmers, moſt of whom have their own negroes, or hire them of ſlave owners, ſeldom employ white men, except in the time of harveſt, when they pay them a dollar and a half a day, and find them in proviſions. The landlord of the inn where we ſtopped, who is a farmer, and who hires negroes, not having a ſufficient number of his own, prefers them to white men; he aſſures us they will work as well, if properly looked after; and that the whites require as much attention in this reſpect as the negroes. He obſerved, however, that thoſe whites who conſented to work with the blacks were of the loweſt kind. He has a large field of clover before his houſe, every acre of which produces him yearly ſixty hundred weight of fodder in three crops. He has not held this farm more than one year: it conſiſts of two hundred acres; only ſixty of which are good land.

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As there is no market at Warwick, meat is only to be procured of the farmers; who, before they kill their oxen, calves, or ſheep, enſure a ſale for them in the neighbourhood. During this day's journey we have met with good dry roads. Thoſe which we travelled yeſterday were rocky, miry, and cut to pieces by carriage-wheels. The weather to day is very fine; it is a true European ſpring day; comfortably warm and pleaſant. The leaves of the willow trees begin to expand; the turtle-doves woo their mates; and the birds warble their ſongs. Blackbirds are more common in theſe parts than any other ſpecies.

CHESTER-TOWN, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH JUSTICE IS ADMINISTERED THERE.—OBSERVATIONS ON SLAVERY.

Between Warwick and George-Town, you paſs the ſmall creek called *Head of Saſſafras*. At the head of this creek are ſome mills, which are turned by its water, collected in a large pond; the natural declivity of the creek being very inconſiderable. This ſmall creek has ſeveral branches, which we have paſſed, and which unite together five or ſix houſes at the head of each. Neither theſe nor two or three other creeks which we have before croſſed, flow through valleys, but through hollows; which do not alter the appearance of the ground, or interrupt the perfect level of its ſurface. All the land in this neighbourhood is of a rich and fertile ſoil. The fields are ſtill more extenſive than thoſe which we ſaw yeſterday; the generality of farms are larger, and the appearance of the country is better: but we conſtantly meet with proofs of the little attention beſtowed on cultivation. The colour of the ſoil, in many places, indicates that it contains iron; which ſettles in the ponds, and on the ſurface of the earth. Among the mills of the *Head of Saſſafras*, there are ſome iron-mills.

The road to Cheſter preſents little variety; it is a continual flat, and the fields are ſtripped of their trees, as are all thoſe which we have ſeen ſince we left Philadelphia.

Cheſter,

Cheſter, where we arrived on the thirteenth of March, is ſituated in a valley, much larger than any we have yet ſeen. The college, which is a large building, on the ſummit of a hill, commands a view of this little town. This building is in a deplorable ſtate of decay, although it is not yet finiſhed. There is no glaſs in any of the windows; the walls have fallen down in many places, and the doors are without ſteps: yet this is the ſecond college of the ſtate, in which there are only two. This eſtabliſhment is endowed with three thouſand three hundred and thirty dollars a year. It maintains a preſident and three maſters; the number of ſcholars, however, is not more than forty or fifty, though for ſixteen dollars all the branches of learning which are taught there may be acquired. Boarders pay eighty or ninety dollars for their board. Twelve or fifteen hundred dollars have already been expended on this building. It is conſtructed on a plan large enough to receive five hundred ſcholars. Funds are wanting to complete it, and like almoſt all the public buildings in America it will be in ruins before it is finiſhed. There are no free-ſchools in this ſtate, but few day-ſchools, and ſtill fewer grammar-ſchools, where people in eaſy circumſtances can ſend their children. A propoſition was made at the laſt meeting of the legiſlative aſſembly, to eſtabliſh a grammar-ſchool in each county, at the public expence; but this propoſition, which has not yet been determined upon, will not be carried, becauſe in the firſt place nobody feels, or appears to feel, the advantages of a ſuperior education; ſecondly, becauſe the ſmall number of thoſe who are ſenſible of thoſe advantages do not ſuppoſe that much good will reſult from a ſingle ſchool in each county; and laſtly, becauſe the propoſed eſtabliſhment does not include any proviſion for the education of the people, at leaſt not for that part of the people who are unable to pay for it; and who, doubtleſs, are entitled to ſhare with the other members of the community in the advantages of an education purchaſed with the public treaſure.

Cheſter contains about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty

thirty houſes, almoſt all built in one ſtreet; a few of them are brick houſes, but the greater part are of wood: among the latter are ſome rather handſome, well painted, and large. The principal ſtreet—and, as I have ſaid, there is ſcarcely more than one—is built on a gentle declivity, ſloping towards the river. About the middle of this ſtreet, built on a large ſpace of ground, ſtands a church; the windows and the walls of which are not in a much better condition than thoſe of the college. A miniſter is maintained by ſubſcription, who receives about three hundred dollars: as he is alſo preſident of the college, with a ſalary of eight hundred dollars, beſides a reſidence, he may live very comfortably: the contributions of his pariſhioners would not afford him a ſubſiſtence. Near the ſame ſpot ſtands the hall of juſtice.

Chester, as the chief town of the county of Kent, is the ſeat of juſtice; courts are held here twice a year, as well as all the courts of common pleas for the ſtate of Maryland; they are held by a chief judge, or a judge of the diſtrict, who preſides ſucceſſively in ſimilar courts in the four counties, of which the diſtrict is compoſed; and by two aſſiſtant judges, who only ſit in the county-court. Mr. *Samuel Chew*, he brother of my reſpectable friend *Benjamin Chew*, of Philadelphia, is one of the aſſiſtant judges. I waited upon him at his houſe; nd as he was then in court, I went thither to him. This building s by no means to be admired, either for its exterior, which is falling o decay, like all the public buildings of this city, or for the decoraions of the hall of juſtice, which is not in a better ſtate of repair than he outſide of the building.

But here, as every-where elſe, the inſtitution of juries inſpires one with reverence! the jurymen here appear attentive, and anxious to deide with equity. Wherever this benevolent inſtitution is eſtabliſhed, we :xult to ſee the intereſts, the honour, the lives of men committed to the :harge of their equals; whom paſſion does not blind; whom the partial knowledge of obſolete ſtatutes does not prejudice; who, having ſimply to pronounce on matters of fact, require no other guide han the dictates of common ſenſe, of which few men, eſpecially few

plain

plain men, are deſtitute. The forms of juſtice here are leſs ſatisfactory than in England; where the judge himſelf notes down the depoſitions of the witneſſes, and the principal arguments of the counſellers, and repeats them to the jury before they pronounce their verdict, carefully diſengaging the ſimple facts on which they have to decide from every thing irrelevant. The judges here do not take that trouble; which is generally more neceſſary here, as the counſellors are garrulous, ignorant, and full of chicanery. Yet ſtill the juries ſeldom pronounce an unjuſt verdict; and, as one proof at leaſt of their zeal and attention in the diſcharge of their duty, I muſt remark, that during my ſhort ſtay in this city, a jury has been incloſed twenty-four hours before they agreed in their verdict on a cauſe the iſſue of which did not involve more than fifty dollars. The proceedings of the court at Cheſter appeared to me to be conducted with more decorum than in Philadelphia, or any of the American ſtates which I have viſited. All the attendants are uncovered: ſilence is preſerved: and the only indecorum is occaſioned by the counſellors, who wrangle, interrupt, and often abuſe each other; and appear here, as almoſt every-where elſe, calculated rather to perplex than elucidate the queſtions which they argue.

Houſe robberies are very frequent in Maryland; five or ſix trials for this offence occur almoſt every ſeſſions. Murders are very rare. The judges attribute the multiplicity of robberies to the free negroes, who are numerous in the ſtate of Maryland: I have heard the ſame accuſation preferred againſt them in all the ſtates where ſlavery is permitted. Such a charge is conſequently a ſtrong argument with the ſlave-holders againſt the abolition of ſlavery; but the evil, if it exiſts, as I am led to believe it does, is ſtill to be attributed to the ſtate of ſlavery, in which theſe newly-freed men have been previouſly kept, and from which they have been emancipated without any preparation for a ſtate of freedom.

It is natural to ſuppoſe, that a ſlave, haraſſed by continual labour, driven by the ſcourge to toil in the open fields whether he is healthy

or ſick, conſiders liberty merely as a releaſe from labour. Whilſt he was a ſlave, food of ſome ſort or other was always provided for him, without the leaſt care on his part; ſince he was aware that no induſtry, or attention of his, would procure him either better food or clothing. Labour therefore brought nothing but fatigue, and he became of courſe indolent and careleſs. The firſt moments of his liberty are enjoyed in a ceſſation of toil; for the laſh no longer reſounds in his ears: he feels the wants of nature; no education has been beſtowed on him but that of ſlavery, which teaches him to cheat, to ſteal, to lie; and he ſatisfies thoſe wants, for which induſtry has not provided, by pilfering the corn or proviſions of his neighbours, and becomes the receiver of goods ſtolen by the ſlaves.

Though ſuch are the neceſſary conſequences of freedom, *thus beſtowed* upon a ſlave, they ſhould by no means operate unfavourably with thoſe who are deſirous of the gradual emancipation of the negroes; who conceive that by a careful and liberal preparation for ſuch a benevolent meaſure, adapted to the number of negroes in the country, and many other circumſtances, the greater part of the evils deſcribed may be avoided, and may at length be entirely prevented, if not in the preſent, at leaſt in the future generation. But how can we hope for ſo general a ſpirit of philanthropy among men who look only to their preſent intereſt, of which they imagine it deſtructive?

In the ſtate of Maryland, ſlaves are tried in the ſame courts as the whites; they have alſo the privilege of trial by juries. The puniſhments for the blacks are very ſevere; but the manners of the people are mild, at leaſt in that part of Maryland where I am at preſent, and prevail over the rigour of the laws. I was witneſs to a fact which proves the humanity of the judges, and their deſire to render equal juſtice to the accuſed, whether whites or ſlaves. A female negro is now in priſon accuſed of having poiſoned a child, and of having attempted to poiſon her miſtreſs. Her miſtreſs, who is her accuſer, being a woman of conſiderable conſequence in the country, and allied to a family of great influence in the county, the judges, jealous of the effects of that influence

influence on the jury, have availed themſelves of the power they poſſeſs of referring the trial to the general court of the diſtrict, which is held ſixty miles from Cheſter, that the accuſed may enjoy every poſſible chance of a fair and impartial trial.

No meaſures have yet been adopted in Maryland for the gradual freedom of the ſlaves: ſome well-meaning men hope to lead the attention of the legiſlature in a ſhort time to the ſubject, but the opinion of the country ſeems by no means favorable to it.

The laws of Maryland empower the judges to alter the ſentence of death into a milder puniſhment; which is that of ſending the convict to labour for a longer or a ſhorter time in the public works at Baltimore. I am not of their opinion who admire this proviſion of the law; which, on the contrary, appears to me extremely reprehenſible, as it may, and often muſt, render the judges partial in the eyes of the public: whereas, in every well-regulated ſtate, the judge ſhould merely be the paſſive organ of the law. In the ſtate of Maryland how eaſily may each judge, in adminiſtering juſtice in his own county, be ſwayed by his natural diſpoſition, by an acquaintance with the families of the criminals, or by a momentary impulſe of paſſion! at leaſt, how liable is he to be ſuſpected of ſuch partialities! The judge of the diſtrict receives eight hundred dollars a year; the aſſiſtant judges only three dollars a day during the ſeſſions. The juries and the witneſſes receive one dollar and a third a day.

Near the juſtice-hall ſtands the priſon. It is a ſmall new building, which has not yet even a ſtaircaſe. There is a yard in which it was intended the priſoners ſhould walk for the benefit of the air, but the walls of it are ſo low, that the priſoners are prohibited from walking there, as they might eaſily eſcape. Debtors are confined in a ſeparate apartment of the ſame priſon. The other priſoners are kept together, and in irons: there were but four there when I ſaw the priſon, one of which was a negro, who, in attempting to eſcape from the window, fractured his leg in ſuch a manner, as to render amputation neceſſary. We entered this priſon, and viſited the whole interior of

the building without the gaoler, who was absent, and who had left the keys in the doors, in such a manner, that we, or any other persons who had come to the prison, might have released all the prisoners. This carelessness, this negligence, is, generally speaking, characteristic of the country. The gaoler receives eighteenpence a day for the maintenance of each prisoner; the whole of which pittance ought certainly to be applied to that object; but it is to be suspected, and indeed we were assured, that this is not very scrupulously done.

At Chester, as almost every-where else in America, the burial-place is in the middle of the town; here, however, to the danger of contagion, always great in warm climates, is added indecency; for the burial-ground is in the high street, near the prison; it is without walls, or any other inclosure to conceal it; and is not distinguished by any marks, which might inspire the respect due to every place set apart for the burial of the dead. The sadness which this indifference has occasioned me, will perhaps be ascribed to prejudice; but where is the son, or the husband, who could behold without shuddering the grave of the father, or the wife that he loved, trampled on by beasts? Reverence for the ashes of the dead appears to me as natural as respect for the aged; which perhaps some may also denominate a prejudice; but it is a prejudice of which few, I think, would have sufficient *energy* to divest themselves, though they may stile that corruption of the understanding, and of morals, *energy*, which throws off all restraint, which spurns the sentiments of nature, and renounces every ancient feeling and opinion merely on account of their antiquity.

A poor-house for the county is established at Chester. I have already repeated, that my opinion is unfavourable to the establishment of this sort of houses. This, however, is kept in as good order as any private house. The poor are well fed, and have the appearance of being very healthy. The building of the house cost about five thousand six hundred dollars. The annual expence for eighty-two paupers, old and young, is four thousand dollars, which is about forty-

six

ſix dollars and a third per head. The overſeers of the poor in each hundred of the county have the power of admitting into the poor-houſe ſuch perſons as they deem proper objects. The children are put out apprentices when they are of a proper age; and as they are bound to remain with their maſters till the age of twenty-one, no money is advanced by the houſe to the maſters. Hitherto the negroes have been excluded from the poor-houſe; which is certainly a juſt excluſion, as far as it reſpects ſlaves, as their maſters ought to take care of them; but which ought not to be extended to free negroes, negreſſes, and their children. It was ſaid by the governors of the poor, that if they admitted the claims of theſe people, their houſe would be filled by them, as their improvidence is greater than the whites. It is difficult to admit this reaſoning of economy as an excuſe for ſo inhuman a refuſal. Prejudice againſt the negroes, and particularly againſt the free negroes, is the true cauſe of this unjuſt deciſion; which reduces the old, infirm negroes, and their children, to ſubſiſt upon private charity, and in failure of that precarious ſource, frequently expoſes them to the utmoſt want and loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs. The poors'-rates in the ſtate of Maryland are levied upon each county. Every county has not a poor-houſe. In ſeveral, they adminiſter relief to the poor at their own houſes, but every-where the ſame regulations are adopted relative to the diſtributions of the public money.

Cheſter is built on a river of the ſame name, which riſes in the ſtate of Delaware. This river is about three quarters of a mile wide, and is navigable in boats ten miles above the town; after which it becomes a ſmall creek, the ſtream of which is barely ſufficient to turn a mill. Cheſter is thirteen miles in a direct line from the Cheſapeak; but the land is ſo flat, that the river before it reaches its mouth runs a zig-zag courſe of thirty-five miles. It is navigable to Cheſter for ſhips of from eighty to ninety tons. One veſſel of this burthen belongs to this port, and is employed in the commerce of the Weſt-Indies; I ſaw alſo ſome ſmaller ſhips, and ſome boats without decks,

which

which are employed in the navigation of the bay, and particularly in voyages to Baltimore. All the towns that are ſituated on the rivers which fall into the Cheſapeak employ ſimilar veſſels, the numbers of which have been greatly increaſed within theſe few years, as the corn which was formerly carried away by the Philadelphian merchants, or by the Brandywine millers, is at preſent ſent to Baltimore, where lately ſeveral good mills have been built: grain is likewiſe ſent to Elk-Town.

Corn is raiſed in large quantities in this part of Maryland: it is eſteemed the beſt and heavieſt of any which is grown in the United States, but, as I have before obſerved, it is ſubject to the attacks of the Heſſian fly, which often deſtroys half the harveſt. It ſeems to be univerſally admitted here, as well as in Warwick, that ſuch corn as is ſown in ſoils either naturally rich, or made ſo by dunging, is exempted from this diſeaſe, as the blade ſhoots faſt and becomes very ſoon ſtrong, and impenetrable to the attacks of this deſtructive little fly. Beſides the ruſt and the ſtab, the corn is likewiſe ſometimes injured by a ſpecies of fly, known in Virginia by the name of *Widles*, which renders it neceſſary to thraſh it immediately it is cut; but this diſeaſe is by no means ſo general here as in the lower parts of Virginia, though it is not long ſince they have ſuffered by it in this part of Maryland, where, however, they have as yet neglected the precaution of threſhing the corn as ſoon as it is cut. The conviction of the advantage of enriching the land has not induced the farmers to beſtow more dung upon their fields. Such land as is cultivated in the uſual way produces only from five to ſix buſhels of corn an acre, or from eight to ten buſhels of maize; whilſt ſuch as is well dunged produces ſix or ſeven times more: the latter is, beſides, leſs ſubject to injury from the damps than the former. It is, however, to the human ſpecies that the conſtant damps of this boggy and flat country are moſt pernicious; the fogs and vapours of the months of July and Auguſt are particularly noxious. Bilious and intermittent fevers are epidemical in Autumn, and attack more than an eighth of the white inhabitants.

Many

Many people ſink under theſe diſorders, the general effects of which muſt be deſtructive, as it is rare to find an inhabitant who has attained the age of ſixty-five. The negroes are leſs affected by theſe diſorders than the whites, and in general live longer. The preſervation of their health is attributed to their conſtantly ſleeping in the kitchens, where they are preſerved from the damps, which penetrate into all the houſes, even during the moſt unpleaſant heat.

Cheſter has a market regularly twice a week, which is well ſupplied with proviſions. Beef, mutton, and veal, coſts from ſix to eight pence per pound. The rent of the beſt houſes in Cheſter does not exceed one hundred dollars, and living in general is cheaper there by one half than at Philadelphia.

There are about fourteen or fifteen ſtores at Cheſter, one of which is kept by Mr. John Chew, another brother of my friend at Philadelphia. The goods are in general brought from Philadelphia, where they are obtained cheaper than at Baltimore, notwithſtanding the expences of carriage, which amounts to nearly one per cent. They are ſold at twenty or twenty-five per cent above the price of the ſhops in Philadelphia. When it is known that the greateſt part of the ſtore-keepers at Cheſter frequently buy their goods at a half, and always a quarter, below the market price, it muſt be ſuppoſed that though they tranſact little buſineſs they make great profits.

Free negroes for agricultural labour are eaſily procured at eighty dollars a year; ſlaves may be hired at fifty dollars. Some planters prefer white labourers and free negroes to ſlaves, as leſs troubleſome and more profitable. A cow is ſold here for fifteen or twenty dollars; an ox, for forty; and a horſe for labour, for one hundred. Carriage horſes often coſt ſix hundred dollars the pair. The county of Kent, of which Cheſter is the chief place, contains thirteen thouſand inhabitants, of which five thouſand ſix hundred are ſlaves; it furniſhes but few cattle for the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia, as almoſt all its produce is conſumed within itſelf.

COLONEL

COLONEL THYLMAN.

Having croſſed the river, we entered Queen Ann's-County, which affords no more variety in the nature of its ſoil or its cultivation than thoſe I have paſſed. I was informed that I was in the worſt part of the county, and that the more diſtant parts are fertile and produce great quantities of corn, which I am induced to believe, as every body agreed in the report; and as it is well known that the county exports a large quantity of corn, and ſends a great many cattle to Baltimore market: but all the land which lies near the road twenty-two miles on this ſide Colonel Thylman's is poor and barren, which is attributed to its having been drained by the long growth of tobacco here previous to the almoſt total relinquiſhing the cultivation of that plant in this part of Maryland. Theſe ſorts of ſoil produce from four to ſix buſhels of corn an acre, when they are not infeſted with either the Heſſian fly, with ſmut, by the ſtab, nor by the widle. The houſes by the ſide of the roads are of the moſt miſerable kind, and the inhabitants appear by their exterior as poor as their lands. Theſe habitations conſiſt of bad log-houſes, as ſmall as thoſe which are met within the midſt of the moſt diſtant woods.

The little village of *Church-hill*, containing a dozen old houſes, and two old little churches, the one epiſcopal, and the other methodiſtical, is the only one to be met with on this ſide *Centerville*, the chief town of the county; this place is ſituated upon a ſmall elevation above *Corſica-creek*. The county built the ſeſſions-houſe and the priſon; there are ſome other habitations here, conſiſting principally of taverns and warehouſes, making in the whole about twenty houſes tolerably well built of brick, but at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, without having any cultivated fields near them: there is a mill of conſiderable ſize, built upon the creek. A little further in the country there is an epiſcopal church, which the inhabitants in the neighbourhood who are in eaſy circumſtances attend regularly: I have ſeen many horſes and carriages attending at the door. As to Church-hill,

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the ſmall village which I paſſed, the epiſcopal church there is but thinly attended, almoſt all the inhabitants frequent that of the methodiſts.

From Centerville to Colonel Thylman's the ſoil ſeems to be a little better; there are ſome farms which appear to be for the moſt part the habitations of planters; but thoſe poor little houſes are much more numerous. The whole country is covered with cattle of a very poor condition, which are always, during winter and ſummer, left in the fields and in the woods: they are of a very ſmall ſpecies. Hogs are more abundant in Queen Ann's-County than in the county of Kent, and more ſcattered about in the roads and in the fields. Sheep are alſo conſiderably plentiful in this part of Maryland, but they are ſmall and long-legged; in general they produce only two pounds of wool, which ſells at two *ſchellings* a pound.

The houſe of Colonel Thylman is upon the river Cheſter; it is in a very flat ſituation, from whence a great maſs of water is ſeen, which is, however, only the bay of the river Cheſter parted by the iſles of Eaſtern, Neck, and Kent-iſland.

Colonel Thylman has a property of three thouſand acres of land contiguous, of which he uſes about one thouſand for growing corn and maize, and for meadow ground. He appears to know all the faults of the agriculture of his country, and to be convinced of the advantage reſulting from a change, but he ſees ſo many difficulties attending it, that the amendments he makes are only partial and few, though well informed, by the reading of good Engliſh books, of all that is neceſſary to be done in order to eſtabliſh a good and rich tillage. Cuſtom almoſt every where prevails over light and knowledge; people will not, they dare not, act contrary to others: and in the buſineſs of agriculture, where this cuſtom has a greater empire perhaps than any-where elſe, the great expences which are neceſſary to the introduction of a great change for the better, aid this general diſpoſition to follow the common routine.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE POPULATION OF LOWER MARYLAND.

The population of white people in the eaſt part of Maryland, diminiſhes inſtead of augmenting. In a country abounding in ſlaves, the whites do not apply much to labour. Their ambition conſiſts in buying negroes; they buy them with the firſt ſum of money they get, and when they have two of them they leave off working themſelves: this ſmall number is not ſufficient to keep their lands in good order according to the tillage of the country, bad as it may be. The ſmall farmers among the whites thus leaving off labour augment their expences, and their affairs are ſoon in a bad condition. Theſe, and thoſe who had never been able to purchaſe negroes, find themſelves in an inferior ſituation to their neighbours who have many ſlaves: diſpleaſed with their ſtation, they ſoon think of eſtabliſhing themſelves in a country where land is cheaper, and where they ſhall not be ſo much ſurpaſſed by proprietors ſo diſproportionably richer than themſelves. So that all theſe ſmall farms, the ſupporting of which becomes every year more chargeable, becauſe the wood for making the fences for encloſure is more ſcarce, and hand-labour at a higher price, are put to ſale, and are bought by rich planters, and thoſe who have ſold them go to eſtabliſh themſelves in Kentucky, in Teneſſee, and in the countries of the weſt. By this the province does not gain in agricultural improvements what it loſes in population; its lands are not better managed; their produce is not increaſed but often diminiſhed, becauſe the purchaſer of them looks rather at a good foundation for his property, that is to ſay, a ſure augmentation of property than an increaſe of revenue.

Here, as in other places, when the utility of negro ſlaves to the intereſts of the maſter is cloſely examined, compared with the employment of every other kind of labour, it will be found that in reality it has none. The old men and women, children, and pregnant females, muſt

muſt be fed and clothed, and taken care of in ſickneſs. Nothing is more common than to ſee the proprietor of eighty ſlaves unable to bring thirty to work in the field at the ſame time. Ten workmen, hired by the year, will perform at leaſt as much labour as theſe thirty ſlaves, and the maſter has nothing to do but to pay them. There are already a great many maſters aware of this calculation, and many perceive the inconvenience of ſlaves, who, as I have ſaid, cauſe all the white labourers to quit the country who would apply themſelves to work if there were no ſlaves. Maſters are embarraſſed with their negroes, the population of whom would otherwiſe augment in the ſouthern ſtates in the ſame proportion as that of the whites in other parts of America; but while they all perceive the inconveniency of ſlavery, they are the firſt to oppoſe the meaſure of the legiſlature's making a law for the gradual abolition of ſlavery.

The proprietors of negroes complain already that ſince their population has increaſed, they are leſs ſubmiſſive and more turbulent than they were before. Theſe ſymptoms ought to teach them the neceſſity of doing ſomething ſpeedily towards putting an end to this ſtate of ſlavery, which will be ſooner or later very dangerous to the maſters; but they fall aſleep over this as they do over other dangers; and in this caſe, as in all others, it is acknowledged that foreſight is null and void among the people of America.

The fields are in all this part of Maryland often of the extent of from ſixty to eighty acres. Thoſe who underſtand good tillage know how much this great ſize of fields muſt be detrimental to it, in a country where neither the horſes, the beaſts, nor the ſwine, are kept in the yards, and where conſequently dung cannot be procured for fields of four acres, much leſs for fields of ſuch great extent, which even with plenty of dung can never be regularly and well dunged. So that the harveſts, even in the better ſoil, are poor. They are here with reſpect to dung as they are with ſlaves; they perceive the advantage of uſing it in the ſame manner as they perceive the incon-

veniency of keeping negroes, but the conviction of what is beſt has no more effect in the one caſe than in the other.

Some farmers juſtify the largeneſs of their fields by the dearneſs of materials for fencing them. It is true that five panes or ſquares of this fencing will take rather more than a cord of wood, and that five ſquares will fence no more than about ſixty feet, and that they ought to be renewed every three years. When it is conſidered that a cord of oak coſts at Cheſter four dollars and a half, and alſo that every farmer who makes only three hundred ſquares of fencing, which is but little, ſince it is only an extent of ſeven hundred and twenty-two fathoms, or 4332 feet nearly, and that he could ſell this wood ſo employed for ſixty dollars, it will then not be ſurprizing to ſee ſo many fences in a bad condition, nor that ſo many ſmall farmers are diſpleaſed with their poſſeſſions on account of this expence alone. This calculation is made every-where; all the world knows the advantage of hedges as fences, every body ſees ſome of them in the country; the thorn is in every wood, and there are living fences without being regularly planted. Beſides, wood ſenſibly diminiſhes in this part of America as in every other. It is cut down every-where, and made uſe of by every body; it is every-where waſted, and no-where replanted; even the trees that have been cut are not permitted to bud and grow again, becauſe the cattle are ſuffered to run over and deſtroy them.

Queen Ann's-County contains about fifteen thouſand inhabitants, of whom ſeven thouſand are ſlaves: the number of free negroes is very conſiderable.

The county of Talbot, to the ſouth of that of Queen Ann, is fertile, and produces plenty of corn and cattle, they are conveyed into Cheſapeak-bay by the river Cheſapeak. The manner of tillage is the ſame.

The counties of Dorcheſter, Somerſet, and of Wincheſter, afford alſo ſome corn, but the greateſt part of them is covered with wood, particularly

particularly with cedars and pines, the carriage of which is effected by the rivers Crantikoke, Wicomeko, and Pokomeko, and is, in every reſpect, like to that of the woods of the county of Suſſex, of which I have ſpoken in the ſtate of Delaware.

Caroline-County, ſituated between that of Talbot and the ſtate of Delaware, is the moſt ſterile of the eight counties of this part of Maryland.

A plan of a canal is in agitation, which is propoſed to take place in the waters of the river Chaptank, in order to join the Delaware and the Cheſapeak. It is at preſent only a project, but the legiſlature has ordered an account of the places to be taken. It is ſaid, that the opinion of men the moſt acquainted with theſe affairs is favourable to its execution, and it is hoped that it will be accompliſhed. The diviſion of the waters of this peninſula, which run either into the Delaware or into the Cheſapeak, is made by a range of marſhes which reach through the whole extent of the ſtate of Delaware, and of which the poſition is a little more elevated than the reſt of the country. It is remarked, that the ſoil of theſe marſhes is more ſandy, and of an inferior quality to that of the reſt of the peninſula; and that the buſhes and ſhrubs which are commonly found upon the higheſt mountain are alſo to be met with in this marſhy country.

The inhabitants in eaſy circumſtances of the eaſt part of Maryland are polite and hoſpitable. Mr. Chew treated me in the moſt kind and obliging manner, and had a friendſhip for me which this excellent family have continued to preſerve during the whole time I have been in America. The people of this country are of gentle manners; it is towards the intereſts of their farms that their cares and attentions are generally turned, and the ſale of the produce of the ſoil is the only commerce to which they apply.

In political opinions they are federaliſts, but without any other predilection for England, than that which proceeds from the great attachment which they have here for the ancient preſident, who in the laſt years of his adminiſtration traced this path with credit. The people

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amuſe themſelves with the writings of *Fenno* and *Porcupine*; but they ſay already that the latter is a *black-guard*, who wiſhes to deliver America up into the hands of the Engliſh. There is no great advancement made in politics any-where. The young men are much taken up with fox-hunting and racing.

ISLE OF KENT.—PASSAGE OF THE CHESAPEAK.

After paſſing a day agreeably at the houſe of Colonel Thylman, one of the moſt amiable and polite men, and of the beſt company, which I have yet met with in America, I proceeded on my way towards *Kent-Iſland*, where I propoſed to embark for Annapolis. The country is every-where flat, and the land has been much uſed for the cultivation of tobacco, which is now abandoned: the houſes are miſerable. Twelve miles from the colonel's, after having paſſed through a mean little village, conſiſting of ſix or ſeven houſes, honoured with the name of Queen's-Town, I paſſed the *Kent-narrow* in a ſmall ferry-boat, and I travelled ſeven miles further in the flat iſle of Kent, where the land was of the ſame nature as that which I had juſt left. The inhabitants there appear to be ſtill poorer. Captain Calvert keeps a tolerably good inn at the point of the iſland, and two good ſmall ſloops for the paſſage. But theſe ſloops cannot approach nearer to the ſhore than within half a mile. It was neceſſary to take my horſe with me in a boat abſolutely flat, from whence he was hoiſted into this little veſſel. The awkwardneſs of the negro ſailors and of the captain in this affair, made us think that the horſe and we ſhould have loſt our lives on this occaſion. Happily we came off with but little injury, and after a paſſage of an hour and a quarter over twelve miles, the breadth of Cheſapeak-bay at this place, I and my horſe arrived ſafe at Annapolis the 3d of April.

The paſſage for a man and his horſe coſts two dollars, when there are no other paſſengers; when there are many, the price of the paſſage is only a dollar and a half. This little voyage is commonly performed

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in two hours; we went in leſs time becauſe the weather was admirable.

ANNAPOLIS.

The proſpect of Annapolis is extremely agreeable upon arriving there from the bay. This city is built upon the ſide of the *Severn*, upon a little hill, which, without being much elevated, commands a little of the flat country which ſurrounds it. Annapolis was formerly the principal city of Maryland, and there was ſome commerce carried on there. Since the revolution it retains the name of the metropolis of the ſtate, and continues to be the ſeat of the government, but Baltimore has drawn all the commerce from it. The capitaliſts, or thoſe who would become ſuch, have quitted it to go and reſide at Baltimore; and the inhabitants are in general families in eaſy circumſtances, who have property in the neighbourhood, officers of the government, and gentlemen of the law, attracted by the vicinity of the courts of juſtice. The population of this town diminiſhes every year; the houſes are for the moſt part built of brick, and are ſpacious, many of them are very large, and have fine gardens, in better order than any I have yet ſeen in America.

The ſtate-houſe is one of the largeſt public buildings in the United States, and its interior the moſt complete and finiſhed, at leaſt as far as the plan is at preſent executed. This ſtructure, which has already coſt one hundred and thirty thouſand dollars, will probably require from fifteen to twenty thouſand more before it is completed, which it will ſoon be, as the legiſlature grants every year the neceſſary ſums for this purpoſe. It contains apartments for the tribunals, for the aſſemblies of the executive council, and rooms for the principal officers of the ſtate, except for the governor, who has a houſe built by the ſtate. It has a large cupola with a lantern at the top, which is aſcended by a commodious ſtaircaſe, and from whence there is a proſpect as far as the Atlantic, beyond the Cheſapeak; of the peninſula of Delaware-bay; and of the little point of Jerſey, which ſeparates it from Annapolis.

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The college is another very conſiderable building. It has an endowment of five thouſand dollars, which is raiſed by certain duties of the ſtate, ſuch as licences, fines, &c. but of the weſt part of Maryland only. There are a hundred ſcholars there, and it is ſaid that the maſters of it are very good. The Engliſh, the learned languages, the French, the mathematics as far as aſtronomy, ſome philoſophy, and ſome common law, are taught there.

A church large enough to contain three times the number of inhabitants in Annapolis ſhews, that at the time it was built there was no ſuſpicion of the preſent depopulation of the city, which does not contain more than two thouſand inhabitants.

Annapolis is, however, as to ſociety, one of the moſt agreeable cities of the United States; hoſpitality, and an obliging ſincerity, are in no part ſo general; all the families are united, and a ſtranger, always well received among them, ſoon finds himſelf at his eaſe there.

I had a letter for Mr. Cooke, one of the moſt celebrated counſellors in the ſtate. He is eſteemed as one of thoſe who unite the greateſt talents to goodneſs, to virtue, and to kindneſs. He is ſaid to poſſeſs that delicacy in his profeſſion, which has always appeared to me to be neceſſary to make that of a counſellor the principal, and the moſt reſpectable, of all others. He never undertakes a doubtful caſe; and his fortune permits him to do his duty in juſt cauſes without emolument, to thoſe clients who are not in a ſituation to pay him. Can there be, for a man of talents and morality, a ſituation in life preferable to that? Always the advocate of juſtice, labouring without ceaſing to have it adminiſtered, in the manner ſuch a clear and virtuous conſcience ſees it in; what employment of life can be compared to this? Here I point at the ſpeculators in lands, in the funds, and upon the ruin of others, &c. &c.—call me a fool for avowing it.

Mr. Carrol, one of the richeſt inhabitants of the United States, has alſo a houſe at Annapolis, and many others in the ſtate: he has in general the favourable opinion of the people. Mr. Cooke introduced me to Mr. Ogle, to the houſe of Dr. Murray, and to many others.

others. All that I have ſeen of the men and women of this city leads me to think it one of the places which a ſtranger would be moſt inclined to chooſe, if he did not catch the diſeaſe of the country—the thirſt for ſpeculation.

Politics are here what they are in that part of Maryland I have juſt quitted. At preſent the people here are held in admiration by the ſucceſſes of Buonaparte, and I am very glad to have arrived at this period, in a city which is rather diſpoſed to Engliſh opinions than to favourable ones of my country.

A ſeparate peace with the emperor is wiſhed for, which would compel that of England. It is by far the deareſt of my wiſhes; but let us hope and ſpeak of ſomething elſe. The inhabitants of Annapolis ſay that the ſituation is healthful, yet they confeſs that they are ſubject to fevers in autumn. The country has not the appearance of being ſo unhealthy as that of the other ſide of the bay; but it is too much ſurrounded by water and creeks of a ſlow current, to be depended upon as a ſalutary abode.

The county of Ann Arundel, of which Annapolis is alſo the chief place, is peopled with about thirteen thouſand freemen, and eleven thouſand ſlaves. Wheat, maize, oats, and tobacco, are cultivated here. Iron is found, and three or four forges and furnaces for great works have been eſtabliſhed here during ſome years.

A cord of oak wood coſts at Annapolis four dollars and a half, that of hiccory five and a half. Virginia coals have been burnt here about two years.

The market here is very badly proviſioned; it is very often without beef; when there is any it ſells at eight pence a pound, and mutton and veal at ten pence. Fiſh, and eſpecially perch, rockfiſh, and ſhads, abound in the proper ſeaſon for them.

I learnt at Annapolis that Mr. Carroll in his large plantation near Ellicot's mill had attempted to cultivate the vine, without ſucceſs, though he had employed vine-dreſſers whom he had expreſſly ſent for from

France. From this they conclude here that the vine cannot proſper, and that the wine cannot be good. This proves that the nature of the ſoil and of the climate require ſome particular care and attention, of which good obſervation, and longer experience, may lead to the diſcovery of the ſecret; but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the ſoil of Maryland is incapable of producing good grapes.

THE HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, AND LAWS OF MARYLAND.

Annapolis being the ſeat of government, it appears to me proper to place here what I have to ſay of the hiſtory and conſtitution of Maryland.

The northern ſtates of America owe their eſtabliſhment to the perſecutions which the Preſbyterians ſuffered in England.

Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, a Catholic, received at his requeſt in 1633 a charter from Charles the Firſt, who gave to him and to his heirs the property of the countries to the north of the Potowmack. This charter granted to Cecilius Calvert endowed him with the power and authority of making laws both civil and criminal, of raiſing taxes, and granting honours.

The enacting clauſe of the charter ſtated an intention of extending the Chriſtian religion: Charles the Firſt therein engages for himſelf and his heirs, *never to lay upon the inhabitants of theſe new colonies any interior tax by an exterior legiſlature.*

The firſt colony, compoſed of about two hundred gentlemen of fortune and rank, and the ſame number of their partizans or domeſtics, all Catholics, landed in the beginning of 1633 near to the mouth of the Potowmack, in Cheſapeak-bay. They gave to their eſtabliſhment the name of Maryland, ſome ſay in honour of the virgin, others that it was in honour of Queen Mary, wife of Charles the Firſt. They made their eſtabliſhment in concert with the Indians, of whom they bought lands, and with whom they lived in great cordiality.

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They received for their eſtabliſhment more ſuccours from theſe ſavages than they could expect; they provided them with game, and the Indian women taught them how to make bread of maize, &c.

Lord Baltimore eſtabliſhed his colony upon laws of entire toleration for every ſect of the chriſtian religion, without preference for any, and alſo upon thoſe of civil liberty. This colony received ſucceſſively many new emigrations from Europe, and a conſiderable number of puritans whom the laws of Virginia drove from their infant ſettlement, in conſequence of which it increaſed very much. An aſſembly of freemen formed in 1638, in concert with Lord Baltimore, a kind of conſtitution for the formation of laws which ſhould not be enforced till after they had received the ſanction of two houſes, and the approbation of the governor.

In the midſt of theſe wiſe eſtabliſhments it is painful to learn, that ſlavery took root in this colony in its infancy, for an act made by an aſſembly of *freemen*, in giving a definition of the *people*, pronounced that *they conſiſted of all the inhabitants, the ſlaves excepted.*

This colony was diſturbed ſucceſſively by troubles, which were quickly appeaſed by Lord Baltimore, of whom it appears that prudence and excellent conduct in all ſituations never failed him.

After the death of Charles the Firſt affairs changed. Cromwell was acknowledged by this province, which was then dependent upon England. Lord Baltimore was obliged to take refuge in Virginia. The Catholic religion was excluded after the Engliſh religion was eſtabliſhed by law. In ſhort, after many viciſſitudes, and after the reſtoration of Charles the Second, Lord Baltimore was re-eſtabliſhed in the property of the ſtate of Maryland, where his heirs were fixed till the laſt revolution, in which a part of their poſſeſſions was confiſcated.

The conſtitution of 1638 was reviſed in 1650, and underwent ſome changes, was ſuſpended during the troubles, but after thoſe were blown over it was reſtored to full vigour, and remained ſo till 1776, when the preſent conſtitution was made.

By this conſtitution the general aſſembly is compoſed of a houſe of delegates, and a ſenate. Each county chooſes four members of the houſe of delegates: there are ſeventeen counties, and the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore nominate two each. The houſe of delegates is renewed every year. The conditions required to become a member are to be twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the ſtate, a reſident of the county of one year ſtanding, and to be poſſeſſed of a property of the value of thirteen hundred and thirty dollars. The electors of the repreſentatives are required to be twenty-one years of age, and to be freemen, poſſeſſing a perſonal property of eighty dollars, or fifty acres of land. There are fifteen ſenators who are choſen for five years, by two electors for each county, choſen by the electors who chooſe the repreſentatives. Seven ſenators out of the fifteen are required to be of the eaſtern part of the ſtate, and eight of the weſtern part; their functions all ceaſe together. In order to become a ſenator it is required to be twenty-five years of age, to have been a reſident of the ſtate during the three years preceding, and to have a property of two thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-two dollars.

The executive power conſiſts of a governor and five counſellors; they are choſen by the majority of the two houſes united. The ſame conditions required to become a ſenator are required to become a counſellor.

The governor is required to be twenty-five years of age at leaſt, to be poſſeſſed of property to the amount of thirteen thouſand two hundred and eighty-two dollars, and to have been a reſident of the ſtate during the five preceding years.

The governor, with the advice of the council, appoints to all places, except to thoſe of ſheriffs, treaſurers, and coroners. He has the power of expelling thoſe from office who are in, except the judges. He annuls or mitigates ſentences, and is military chief by land and ſea: he is elected for one year only, and can only be re-elected for three years in ſeven. His place is filled in caſe of abſence or death, by the counſellor of the eldeſt ſtanding. Every perſon before he enters into any

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official functions is required to take an oath that he is of the Chriſtian religion.

With very few exceptions, very reaſonable and of ſmall extent, all property in Maryland is ſubject to taxation. The legiſlature has made a valuation of the lands in each county, and according to different rates, which vary from half a dollar to four and a half. Slaves are valued according to their age and ſex, from as low as forty dollars up to one hundred and twenty. The lots in towns are valued in proportion to their rent; a hundred dollars when the rent is eight: the houſes at a hundred dollars for every ſixteen of rent.

Independently of theſe general taxes, every advocate at the time of his admiſſion into a court pays eight dollars, and ſo for every year he continues his profeſſion. The licences for keeping taverns pay eight dollars; thoſe for ſelling ſpirituous liquors ſixteen. Every marriage-licence pays a tax of a dollar and two thirds.

There are beſides theſe a great many other taxes, upon legal proceedings, upon judgments, upon deciſions of the court of chancery, and upon thoſe of the judge of the office of lands, &c. &c.

When the ſtate has an occaſion for taxes, the legiſlature which votes them appoints in the ſame bill five commiſſioners for the county. Theſe commiſſioners aſſemble, divide the county into diſtricts for taxation, and appoint an aſſeſſor for each of theſe diſtricts. It is the duty of theſe aſſeſſors to make uſe of all legal means to know the taxable property of every individual. Falſe returns made by proprietors are puniſhed by an augmentation of the tax, to the double, or triple, according to the nature of the caſe.

The baſes for the valuation of lands, and other property mentioned above, direct the aſſeſſors in aſcertaining the quota of the tax to be paid by each individual. Their labour is ſubmitted to the five commiſſioners of the county, who afterwards appoint the collectors; theſe depoſit the money they collect into the treaſury-cheſt of one of the two parts of the ſtate, according to the ſituation of the county where the tax is raiſed, for the more ready execution of their duty, under the

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inſpection of the commiſſioners: the collectors are required to give ſecurity. The goods, movable and immovable, of taxable perſons may be ſeized by the collectors, in default of payment, and thoſe alſo of the collectors are liable to ſeizure, for negligence in their collection. The commiſſioners receive a dollar and a half for every day they are employed. They fix the ſalaries of the aſſeſſors, which cannot exceed ſixty-ſix dollars; the collectors are rewarded with four per cent of what they receive. The ſtate has not laid a tax ſince 1786; it amounted in that year to two hundred and eighty-four thouſand dollars, and the expence of collection was only two and a half per cent. The taxes upon the profeſſion of an advocate, and upon licences joined to thoſe which are produced by legal proceſſes, by fines, &c. with the increaſe of the intereſts of the capitals of the ſtate, have been ſufficient to pay all the expences of government, which are eſtimated from ſeventy to eighty thouſand dollars per annum. The ſtate has no debts except that of a hundred and fifty-one thouſand dollars by the Union, eſtimated by the commiſſioners whom I have ſo often mentioned. It has in the Engliſh funds fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, which were placed there before the revolution, of which England acknowledges the claim, and to which even the Engliſh miniſter has given countenance; but Maryland has not yet been able to obtain payment from the bank in which theſe ſums are placed. The ſtate is deprived of this income by particular reaſons of ſtate, and by the negligence or bad conduct of its agents in England. So this capital of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling has been increaſing by accumulated intereſt during thirty years. The taxes for every county are not the ſame, but they are taxed at the mean rate of a dollar and a half for two hundred and ſeven-ſeven dollars in value of all taxable property.

The towns have alſo their particular taxes, according to their wants; that of Baltimore amounts to four dollars for every two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven dollars of taxable property.

Every one acquires the rights of a citizen of the ſtate of Maryland, by only making oath before a public officer of his profeſſion of Chriſtianity,

Chriſtianity, and of allegiance to the laws, and to the ſtate. The power of poſſeſſing every ſpecies of property, and of enjoying all the advantages of a native citizen of the ſtate, is the immediate conſequence of this oath, except the right of performing public functions. Foreigners are exempt by the law from taxation for two years, and during four years if they be traders, workmen, or manufacturers.

I cannot ſpeak at any length of the ſyſtem of the laws of Maryland, becauſe I have not been able to procure a collection of them, notwithſtanding the obligingneſs of the perſons to whom I applied. I have ſpoken in another place of thoſe of which I had a knowledge as far as I could obtain it.

The importation of negroes from Africa prohibited by the law ceaſed there in 1763. The introduction of negroes from other ſtates is forbidden by a recent law, with the neceſſary reſtriction for the emigrants who bring them as domeſtics.

ROAD TO FEDERAL CITY.

The company of Mr. Yates, an Engliſh merchant, whom I had ſeen in the ſociety at Annapolis, and who went to *Upper Marlborough*, induced me to prefer this road, notwithſtanding the inconveniency of three paſſages over rivers, which I could have avoided by taking that of *Bladenſburg*. The country from Annapolis to South-river riſes a little, at leaſt it is divided by ſmall elevations, which are not much more than banks, ſimilar to the other ſide of the bay. The landſcape is embelliſhed with handſome country-houſes, and with farm-houſes, almoſt all of brick, which are more frequent here. The lands are not ſtripped of trees, like thoſe on the other ſide; and as at this ſeaſon the fruit-trees begin to bloſſom, they are more diſtinguiſhable by their colours than at any other time of the year. The lands as far as South-river are cultivated for corn, which is grown almoſt every-where; for maize, which is not planted ſo early; and the reſt is laid out into meadows.

dows. In other reſpects, there is every-where the ſame negligence of tillage, wooden fences, and what is more diſagreeable and fatiguing to a traveller, a great number of gates to open. South-River is paſſed by a very good ferry-boat, at about two miles from its mouth in the bay; the paſſage is a league, the breadth of the river more than a mile, and its navigation does not extend three miles farther. At the head of the navigation there is an inſpection or exciſe office for tobacco, which is carried on by the ſame means as in Virginia, but with leſs care than upon James-River. The proſpect in paſſing the South-River is rich and agreeable; the ground riſes and falls in gentle undulations, and is well furniſhed with trees. The nature of the country beyond the river is the ſame, and much more variegated than on this ſide. At preſent they are preparing the lands for the planting of tobacco. After having worked the land it is thrown into ſmall hillocks: this is the mode of their actual labour in the fields. During that time the tobacco ſown upon beds prepared for that purpoſe, as I have obſerved in ſpeaking of Virginia, begins to riſe up. In ſome fields it is kept covered under leaves, or dry branches of trees. In others where the fields are cloſer, or where there is a natural ſloping in the land in a good ſituation, it is not covered. The cultivation of tobacco, which had been very much neglected during ſeveral years, is more followed this year on account of the high price it bears in Europe; but the ſoil has been ſo long worked with this exhauſting produce, and is ſo badly manured (for manure is abſolutely neceſſary for tobacco when the ſoil is not newly broken up), that it is not capable of producing good crops. The corn is here very ſeldom attacked by the Heſſian fly, and the cultivators of this ſide of the bay are equally unacquainted with the cauſe of their being exempt from them as thoſe on the other ſide are with the reaſon why they are tormented with them.

During the laſt three days the weather has been what would be called very hot in ſummer, and there have been four days, during which

which it was ſo cold as to require a great coat to ride in. Theſe ſudden and irregular variations in the temperature are extremely incommodious.

The woods upon the road are but few, and theſe few which remain are cutting down to make room for the ſowing of tobacco. New land that is tolerably good will produce two crops of it following each other ſucceſſively; but after that it would be incapable of producing any thing without manure. In every place upon my journey I have obſerved the greateſt quantity of land, which I have ſeen to be in an exhauſted ſtate: never any manure, no reſtorative tillage, no change in the productions, nor any of thoſe ſimple proceſſes in agriculture which tend to invigorate the ſoil. Independently of the expences of making, and the cuſtoms to be overcome in eſtabliſhing an order of things ſo eſſentially uſeful, the planters give as a reaſon for continuing their bad ſyſtem of culture, the neceſſity there is of obtaining large crops of maize for the proviſion of their numerous ſlaves. This reaſon, which can ariſe only from want of reflection, or from lazineſs, may ſerve to prove however that the inhabitants of Maryland begin to feel ſome inconvenience from their negroes.

The river of *Potakent*, which is paſſed at Mount-Pleaſant-ferry, is but about a hundred fathoms wide there, but this point is ſeventy-five miles from its mouth in the bay, and it is only five miles from Mount-pleaſant, where it ceaſes to be navigable for veſſels of two hundred tons burden.

Green trees, of which there are but few to be ſeen in the eaſt part of Maryland, at leaſt in the counties which I have paſſed through, are much more abundant on this ſide; but not ſo much ſo as in many other ſtates. The cedar, the Scotch-pine, the cypreſs, and the ſpruce-tree, are the moſt common. There are alſo ſome pines called *pins du Lord*, but their number is but ſmall.

Upper-Marlborough is three miles from Mount-Pleaſant-ferry: it is the chief place of Prince George's county. The court of juſtice was ſitting on the day I paſſed there; and the only inn of this ſmall village

contains, or entertains, all thoſe whom buſineſs or curioſity always draws to a court. It was then crowded, and the certainty that it would be ſo had taken Mr. Cook from Annapolis, for the purpoſe of engaging me not to ſtop till I came to the houſe of Mr. Dixes, five miles further, for whom he had given me a letter. This mode is very much practiſed in Maryland and Virginia, where hoſpitality is the general character, and the delicacy of an European, which at firſt ſeems backward in profiting freely by this hoſpitality, ſoon becomes reconciled to it, when he ſees how ſimple and natural it is, and how the maſters of houſes who load a traveller with kindneſs ſeem to be pleaſed with him for having given them an opportunity of treating him in that manner. All agree in ſaying that this diſpoſition is more general in Maryland and Virginia than any-where elſe; but it is my duty to repeat that I have found it common throughout America.

Embracing the favour of Mr. Cook's letter, I went to Mr. Dixe's; a young woman carried it to him, and in a little time after I was introduced into the parlour of an old man who could hardly walk; but he received me in the beſt manner. He is not the maſter of the houſe; it belongs to the widow of his brother, with whom he lodges, and to whom I was immediately preſented. She is a woman of about ſixty years of age, of very agreeable manners, with the deportment and tone of the beſt company. I was recommended to the old man; his infirm ſtate ſeemed to claim my moſt aſſiduous attention; it is of him then which I have the moſt to obſerve. This good old man, of ninety years of age, ſpoke with great animation, and particularly againſt France. He is a catholic, a prieſt, and a jeſuit: theſe titles are certainly ſufficient to juſtify the paſſion with which he expreſſed himſelf upon every thing relative to that country, *except the prieſts and the nobility, who, ſaid he, deſerve to have an abode in another country.* "I was reading," ſaid he, "a French book when you came in, and one of the beſt in your language; though I deteſt your country, peopled long ſince with atheiſts and villains, I like its language, for there are here and there good French works, better than in any other language."

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I was curious to know what my good old hoſt regarded as the maſterpiece of French literature. It was the mandate of the archbiſhop Chriſtopher of Beaumont againſt the decree of the parliament of Paris for the proſcription of the Jeſuits. "Oh! ſir," added he, "your people are the dregs of nations, a race of miſcreants. It is for the puniſhment of their ſins that God has permitted the preſent revolution; it is a ſcourge which he has in his hand to chaſtiſe that infidel people, and which he will never lay down till his wrath ſhall be appeaſed, and that will probably be a long time firſt, for he has a great many ſins to puniſh." It was not my intention to hurt the feelings of this old jeſuit, who all this time offered me wine, aſked me in the moſt cordial manner to dine with him, and engaged me to paſs ſeveral days at his houſe. I only repreſented to him, in a gentle manner, that it appeared to me that the wrath of God would not be confined to the chaſtiſement of the French people; and that they might alſo be conſidered as a ſcourge which God would make uſe of to puniſh ſome other powers, ſuch as the emperor for example, upon whom the late victories of Buonaparte fell, and our holy father the Pope, who at that time was in ſuch danger, and who nevertheleſs was ſurely not a ſinner. "O! ſir," replied he, "all this is only a temporary evil to our holy father; God will declare himſelf in his favour when he thinks it a proper ſeaſon for that purpoſe: but he will never pardon this race of atheiſts and raſcals; and you will ſoon ſee them diſperſed and annihilated, unleſs that God will ſuffer them to be recalled to the faith and practice of their fathers: but I fear that the goodneſs of God cannot go ſo far towards a people who have ſo long continued to amaſs ſuch enormous crimes upon their heads. "In ſhort," continued this exaſperated old man, "do you deſire to know the true cauſe of the French revolution? A great number of our brave catholics here ſee it in the writings of Voltaire and Rouſſeau; but I think otherwiſe. They were doubtleſs very worthleſs men, whoſe writings have ſpread very bad principles, but that is not the cauſe of the French revolution; it

aroſe entirely from the deſtruction of the ſociety of Jeſuits. A people who has committed ſuch a crime was a fooliſh and abominable race, and who would deſtroy of courſe all power, all property, and overthrow all the laws, ſince they had deſtroyed an order of men ſo uſeful, ſo ſacred, and ſo obviouſly the favourites of God." I was ſcrupulous of contradicting my aged hoſt, otherwiſe ſo obliging, whom I ſhould have ſo little convinced, and whom my opinion would have ſo badly recompenſed for a good reception. It was neceſſary to deplore a little with him the deſtruction of ſuch a holy ſociety, the deſtruction of the principle of all virtue, and of all order, and to acknowledge that the true cauſe of the French revolution was in the abolition of the Jeſuits, where, till then, I confeſſed I had been ſo little enlightened as not to have ſought for it. I had alſo to attend to a young babbler of a prieſt, who was not willing to grant that the deſtruction of the Jeſuits was the moſt hideous and the moſt unpardonable of crimes. In this manner I pleaſed my old Jeſuit, and amuſed myſelf by contradicting the young pedant, until dinner-time. It was Wedneſday in paſſion week, the dinner was therefore very ſparing, quite catholic, and conſequently not very reſtorative to a traveller. I do not know whether my friends will excuſe me for making ſuch a long article of this dotard; but at leaſt it will be an additional proof to this indubitable and well-known truth, that intereſt and the paſſions are the ſpectacles through which men view the greateſt events. Marcel ſaw the intereſt of kingdoms and the great ſecret of diplomacy in the art of dancing, in its propagation, and as he ſaid in a minuet; and the old Rev. Mr. Dixes ſaw the French revolution in the deſtruction of the Jeſuits.

As to the reſt, the manner of treating the injuries of my country excepted, it is impoſſible to have ſhewn more kindneſs for me than old Mr. Dixes did, and to have been more obliging and more civil than Mrs. Dixes, his ſiſter-in-law, who is really amiable, and appears to be altogether a very good woman.

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I had met in paſſing over Mount-Pleaſant-ferry a young man, who underſtanding that I intended to go to Federal-City, propoſed that we ſhould travel together, and promiſed to meet me at the houſe of the old jeſuit. He was faithful to his appointment. Two other inhabitants of Federal-City were with him, ſo that by their company I was eaſed of the inquietude common to ſtrangers travelling in Maryland, leſt they ſhould loſe their way, for there are no direction poſts by the road ſide to point out the true way, and the houſes are ſo thinly ſcattered, that a traveller may wander about a great deal without having an opportunity of being informed of the right road.

The politics of my new travelling companions were very different from thoſe of the houſe I had juſt quitted. "Is it true," ſaid one of them to me, "*that France has declared war againſt America?*" "I believe nothing of it," anſwered I; "France loves America ſincerely; ſhe has a little quarrel with the government, but ſhe wiſhes for nothing more than the happineſs and proſperity of the people of America."

"Theſe reports of a declaration of war are falſe, and ſpread by the merchants who wiſh to raiſe the price of their commodities, or by the Engliſh who wiſh the Americans to hate the French." "Ah! ſir, they will never ſucceed in that; and ſhould France be in the wrong, ſhe has rendered us ſervices ſufficient not to be treated ſo rigorouſly: and as for me, if this country ſhould go to war with France, I would go over to the ſide of the French, and take my friends with me." "And I alſo"—"And I alſo," ſaid the other two. "If an American were to fight againſt a Frenchman," ſaid they in the courſe of their converſation, in which I took part only for the ſake of ſupporting it, "that would be like fighting againſt his father." "And worſe ſtill," ſaid another, "for our father has only given us life, and it very often happens that he does not give us any money. France has given us liberty, advanced us millions when our paper currency was in great diſcredit, and that at a time when ſhe was not ſure that we ſhould ever be able to repay it; and ſhe has lent us troops and ſhips. Theſe villanous

villanous Engliſh merchants wiſh us to forget all this, that they may ſell us their merchandize the dearer, but they will not ſucceed in their deſign."

The affection which theſe brave fellows ſo plainly manifeſted to have for France was united with an attachment for the unfortunate M. de la Fayette; and it is remarked, that it is the ſame throughout America, and that the ſentiment of hatred for France, and indifference about la Fayette, are alſo found united in the oppoſite party. "Is it not ſhameful," ſaid my fellow travellers, "that the United States ſhould have done nothing for that brave man who has rendered us ſo many ſervices? If the preſident had demanded him from the Emperor, it is certain he would have given him up to us, for he belongs to us." "Without doubt," added they, "the preſident thought that he did well in not demanding him, but he would have done better if he had, and alſo if he had not made that infamous treaty; and be aſſured, ſir, that we are very numerous in every part of America who think the ſame."

I detail this converſation, to which I affirm that I add nothing, in the firſt place, perhaps, becauſe it gave me pleaſure, and then becauſe it is, whatever the Engliſh may ſay of it, the expreſſion of the ſentiments of a great majority of the people of America; ſentiments which France ought carefully to maintain without abuſing them, and which, in the mean time, ſhe would put an end to by alienating them, if ſhe were not to conduct herſelf with juſtice and liberality towards America—if ſhe does not ſpeedily put a ſtop to all the piracies which are exerciſed at this time by her commiſſioners in the Weſt Indies, at which every honeſt Frenchman revolts who is a friend to his country, under whatever denomination he may come.

I could every day recount ſimilar examples, for there are but few taverns at which I ſtop where I do not hear the ſame expreſſions of attachment, from which I become every day more perſuaded of the neceſſity of ſpreading in this country wiſe and moderate writings, which ſhould diſplay the actual political ſituation of France with the

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United States, and ſhew that ſhe is the friend of America, and that it is her intereſt always to be ſo.

The country from *Upper Marlborough* to *Eaſtern-branch* riſes ſucceſſively, and every where preſents the ſame range of barren and bad cultivated lands. From the tops of the mountains which border upon the Eaſtern-branch, the river Potowmack is ſeen far beyond George-Town, and as far as Alexandria. The Eaſtern-branch is alſo ſeen in its courſe for five or ſix miles; and, in ſhort, there is a proſpect of the whole ſite of the new city, the public and private buildings of which may be diſtinguiſhed as they riſe: this view is ſublime and beautiful, but ſufficiently confined by the heights beyond the Potowmack, to enable the eye to embrace the various objects of it without being loſt in its immenſity.

The county of Prince George, of which Upper Marlborough is the chief place, is peopled by about twenty-two thouſand inhabitants, of which twelve thouſand are negro ſlaves. Tobacco is cultivated here in a conſiderably large quantity, and is reckoned the beſt in Maryland.

It may be remarked, that in this county, as in almoſt all the others in this ſtate, the old towns or villages are built at the place where the rivers begin to be navigable, becauſe tobacco being formerly the only article of exportation, it was neceſſary that the warehouſes for inſpecting it ſhould be placed in ſuch ſituations, and they have ſerved as a pattern to other houſes.

The Eaſtern-branch is paſſed in a tolerably good boat, a little too flat, and a great deal too ſmall for the quantity of horſes which are taken into it. I paſſed in this boat with ten horſes and a carriage, and was uneaſy till I arrived on the other ſide. The paſſage over this river is from three quarters of a mile to a league. After having croſſed it you enter into Federal-City, that is to ſay, in its ſite, for at preſent there are only a few houſes to be ſeen in this capital of the United States—in this metropolis of North America.

But as Federal-City is by its deſtination, or at leaſt by the project of its deſtination, a principal point in the territory, as well as in the interior

terior policy of the United States, I ſhall ſpeak of it at ſome length, and in ſuch a manner that the hiſtory of this great project may be well comprehended; and of the means employed for its execution, of its ſituation, actual and deſigned, as well as a mature examination of all the circumſtances enable me to foreſee.

FEDERAL-CITY.

A little time after the conſtitution of the United States was made, its partizans—and no one was then accuſed of not being ſo—ſaw, that to make the ſyſtem of confederation complete it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a general ſeat of government in a central point of the United States, independent of every particular ſtate, and of which the ſovereignty ſhould belong to the Union. As the general government exerciſed a judicial authority apart from that of the ſeveral ſtates, the vicinity of its tribunals to thoſe of a particular ſtate, which, having a juriſprudence of its own, might inflict a different puniſhment from that of the Union for the ſame crime, and even on the ſame ſpot, was a great inconvenience, and was to be remedied. The advantages reſulting from the reſidence of the general government in a particular ſtate might be the occaſion of jealouſy among the ſtates, and cauſe the diſſolution of the Union; and this ſource of diſcontent it was neceſſary to remove: neither Philadelphia nor New-York was placed in the centre of the ſtates; and the deputies of the ſouthern ſtates being removed at a greater diſtance from the ſeat of the government than thoſe of the north, this circumſtance might be a cauſe of diſſatisfaction to the former, and interrupt that harmony it was ſo important to preſerve. To conclude; the ſovereign government having ſomething of a fiction in its exiſtence, its eſtabliſhment in a territory belonging ſolely to the Union, and in which it could exerciſe all acts of ſovereignty without any mixture of other ſovereign authority, would give it a greater appearance of reality: ſuch were the principal reaſons which were in fact plauſible for adopting the ſcheme of placing the reſidence of the general

general government in a territory abſolutely ceded to the Union. In July 1790 the Congreſs paſſed a law to this effect, in which the following are the principal proviſions:

1ſt. To authorize the general government to accept, for the permanent ſeat of its reſidence, a territory which ſhall not exceed ten miles ſquare, at the confluence of the Potowmack and the Eaſtern-branch, or *Connogecheque*; but with a reſervation to the ſtate in whoſe limits the territory at preſent is, of the exerciſe of its ſovereignty without impeachment by this law, till the actual eſtabliſhment of the general government in ſuch territory, unleſs the Congreſs ſhall provide otherwiſe by a ſubſequent law.

2d. To authorize the preſident of the United States to appoint, and continue with ſalaries, three commiſſioners to ſurvey, meaſure, and deſcribe the limits of ſuch diſtrict, with the limitations above provided; the ſaid commiſſioners to act under the direction and control of the preſident of the United States.—Two of the three, at leaſt, agreeing to each act.

3d. To authorize the ſaid commiſſioners to purchaſe or receive the ceſſion of ſuch lands on the eaſt bank of the Potowmack as the preſident of the United States ſhall judge proper for the uſe of the general government; and to enjoin the ſaid commiſſioners to have in preparation on the firſt Monday in December 1800 the buildings neceſſary for the reception of the Congreſs, the preſident, and other officers of the United States; the whole to be erected upon plans adopted by the preſident.

4th. To authorize and enjoin the preſident to accept donations of money, which may be contributed towards the defraying the expences of ſuch acquiſitions and buildings.

5th. To declare, that on the firſt Monday of December 1800 the government of the United States ſhall be transferred to ſuch diſtrict and place as is before mentioned. To require, that the ſeveral offices attached to the government ſhall, in like manner, be tranſ-

ferred to the ſame place, under the ſuperintendance of thoſe who at the time being ſhall be at the head of ſuch offices; and that thenceforth the buſineſs of ſuch offices ſhall be tranſacted only in the ſaid place: and to aſſign for the payment of the expences occaſioned by ſuch removal the duties on importation and tonnage to the extent neceſſary.

This law, which paſſed while the Congreſs ſat at New York, provided alſo, that the government of the United States ſhould be removed to Philadelphia, to remain there till the firſt Monday of December 1800, the period of its inſtallation in its permanent reſidence.

The Congreſs had been previouſly aſſured of the favourable diſpoſition of the States of Virginia and Maryland towards this plan; both one and the other having, in preceding ſittings of their legiſlatures, offered to cede the part of their territory neceſſary to its completion. The ſeat of the government certainly could not be better choſen: it was not only central, but was at a diſtance from all danger of being diſturbed by a foreign power, in any caſe of war; and was a ſituation favourable for the erection of a great commercial city, with ample means of being furniſhed with proviſions, and in a fine and healthy ſpot.

As the ſtates of Virginia and Maryland had an evident advantage in the eſtabliſhment of the government in the place choſen by this law, they were active to forward the execution of the ſcheme, towards which Virginia gave the union the ſum of a hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, and Maryland, ſeventy-two thouſand dollars. The proprietors of lands on the ſpot choſen for the new city had an intereſt ſtill more immediate in the plan. They gave the union the abſolute property of the half of the lots of which the city was to be compoſed. They alſo gratuitouſly ceded all the ground neceſſary for ſtreets and ſquares, with a reſervation of eighty dollars to be paid for every acre employed in forming public gardens. The lots remaining in the hands of individual proprietors, and thoſe that became the property of the federal

federal government, were to be ſo diſtributed that individuals and the government ſhould equally divide the advantage and inconvenience of the reſpective ſituations of the ſeveral lots.

In March 1796 the Congreſs paſſed a law, by which the commiſſioners were empowered to borrow, with the ſanction of the preſident of the United States, the ſum of three hundred thouſand dollars, to defray the expences of the eſtabliſhment ordered by the law of 1790, with proviſoes, that they ſhould not borrow more than two hundred thouſand dollars in the ſame year, nor pay more than ſix per cent for the loan; that the ſums borrowed ſhould be redeemable in 1803; and that the lots in the city belonging to the government, not ſold, and deſtined to be ſo, ſhould be the pledge for the loan, and the means of its re-payment, the United States undertaking to make good the deficiency, if there ſhould be any. The ſame law enjoined the commiſſioners to make a return every ſix months to the ſecretary of the treaſury of expenditures of the ſums thus borrowed.

The commiſſioners, therefore, had at their diſpoſition a hundred and ninety-two thouſand dollars, the donations of Virginia and Maryland; and three hundred thouſand dollars, the loan authorized by the Congreſs, independent of the produce of the ſale of lots, the property of the general government, which they were empowered to ſell, with certain reſtrictions impoſed by the preſident of the United States.

The navigation of the Potowmack was interrupted in many places below Cumberland, to the diſtance of a hundred and ninety-two miles from the ſeat of the new city; but more eſpecially at fifteen miles above George-Town, where there was a great fall, and at a place ſix miles nearer, where there was a leſs conſiderable fall. A company had been incorporated by the ſtates of Virginia and Maryland, in 1784, by the name of the *Potowmack Company*; with a gra t of tolls on different canals they had undertaken. The adoption of the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing the general government on the banks of the Potowmack, gave new activity to theſe undertakings, which had begun to languiſh. In 1795 the ſhares of this company, which at its eſtabliſh nent

amounted to five hundred, at four hundred and forty-four dollars each, were increaſed to ſix hundred; and thus the company had the diſpoſal of two hundred and ſeventy thouſand four hundred dollars to improve the navigation of the Potowmack. The ſtates of Virginia and Maryland were moreover particularly intereſted in the ſucceſs of the company, by being proprietors of a great number of its ſhares.

When the undertakings of this company ſhall be finiſhed, the produce of an immenſe extent of country, which at preſent is conveyed by land to Philadelphia and Baltimore, will find a more ample, ready, and leſs expenſive market through the means of this great river; and Federal-City will acquire new reſources both for its conſumption and its commerce, adding greatly to the natural advantages of its ſituation.

The point of land which ſeparates the Potowmack from the eaſt branch, and which is within the ſite of the new city, is, at different times of the year, not only difficult, but dangerous to double: and the Eaſt-branch preſenting the greateſt depth of water, and the ſafeſt anchorage for ſhips, it became an object of importance to join the Potowmack to that branch by a canal; beſides, that ſuch a canal would be of great advantage to the new city. Two lotteries were authorized by the ſtate of Maryland, in 1798, for the forming ſuch a canal; each lottery conſiſting of a hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand dollars, of which a profit of fifteen per cent, that is to ſay, twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty thouſand dollars was granted to the canal.

Such were the means employed for the eſtabliſhment of Federal-City, whoſe ſite extends more than three miles along the banks of the Potowmack, and the Eaſt-branch; and includes four thouſand one hundred and twenty-four acres ſquare.

In America, where, more than in any other country in the world, a deſire for wealth is the prevailing paſſion, there are few ſchemes which are not made the means of extenſive ſpeculations; and that of the erecting of Federal-City preſented irreſiſtible temptations, which were not in fact neglected.

Mr.

Mr. Morris was among the firſt to perceive the probability of immenſe gain in ſpeculations in that quarter; and, in conjunction with Meſſrs. Nicholſon and Greenleaf, a very ſhort time after the adoption of the plan purchaſed every lot he could lay hold on, either from the commiſſioners or individual proprietors; that is to ſay, every lot that either one or the other would ſell at that period. Of the commiſſioners he bought ſix thouſand lots at the price of eighty dollars per lot, each containing five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-five ſquare feet. The conditions of his bargain with the commiſſioners, which was concluded in 1793, were, that fifteen hundred of the lots ſhould be choſen by him in the north-eaſt quarter of the city, and the remaining four thouſand five hundred wherever Mr. Morris and his partners choſe to ſelect them; that he ſhould erect an hundred and twenty houſes of brick, and with two ſtories, on theſe lots within the ſpace of ſeven years; that he ſhould not ſell any lot before the firſt of January 1796, nor without the like condition of building; and finally, that the payment for the lots ſhould be completed within ſeven years, to commence on the 1ſt of May 1794; a ſeventh part to be paid annually—that is to ſay, about ſixty-eight thouſand dollars yearly, the purchaſe money for the whole being four hundred and eighty thouſand dollars.

The lots purchaſed by Mr. Morris from individuals amounted to nearly the ſame number, and were bought at the ſame price. The periods for payment varied with the different proprietors, and are not of importance in this general hiſtory of Federal-City.

The ſale made to Mr. Morris was the only one of like extent made either by the commiſſioners or individuals. Expecting a higher price, the commiſſioners waited for a time when demands for habitations would be more numerous. The private proprietors acted on the ſame principle, and both one and the other, in the ſale made to Mr. Morris, conſidered it chiefly as the means of haſtening the completion of the city, by the inducement he would have to ſell part of his lots, and ſo augment the number of perſons intereſted in the rapid progreſs of

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the undertaking. Mr. Morris, in fact, ſold about a thouſand of his lots within eighteen months of his purchaſe. The building of a houſe for the preſident, and a place for the ſittings of the Congreſs, excited, in the purchaſers of lots, the hope of a new influx of ſpeculations. The public papers were filled with exaggerated praiſes of the new city; accounts of the rapidity of its progreſs towards completion; in a word, with all the artifices which trading people in every part of the world are accuſtomed to employ in the diſpoſal of their wares, and which are perfectly known, and amply practiſed in this new world.

Mr. Law and Mr. Dickinſon, two gentlemen that had lately arrived from India, and both with great wealth, General Howard, General Lee, and two or three wealthy Dutch merchants, were the perſons who bought the greateſt number of lots of Mr. Morris; but none more than Mr. Law, who purchaſed four hundred and forty-five lots. The loweſt they gave was two hundred and ninety-three dollars per lot—or rather five pence for each ſquare foot, of Maryland money; for all the lots were not abſolutely of the ſame extent. Many of the lots ſold for ſix, eight, and ten pence per ſquare foot; the laſt comers conſtantly paying a higher price, and the ſituation of the lots alſo making a difference in their value. Some of the more recent purchaſers, in order to have one or more of the entire ſquares into which the whole was divided, or for other purpoſes of their ſpeculations, made their purchaſes of the commiſſioners, paying at the ſame rate for them. The bargains were all clogged with the ſame conditions to build as that of Mr. Morris. The number of lots ſold in this manner amounted to ſix hundred. Each of the purchaſers choſe his ground according to the opinion he had of its general advantages, and of its being in a neighbourhood that would the moſt readily be filled with houſes. The neighbourhood of the preſident's houſe, of the *Capitol*, of George-Town, the banks of the Potowmack, the Point, and the banks of the Eaſt-branch, were the places chiefly choſen by the firſt purchaſers.

The

The opinion that the ground marked out for the whole city would ſoon be filled was ſo general, and the preſident of the United States and the commiſſioners were ſo much of the ſame opinion, that in their regulations they prohibited the cultivating any portion of the ground otherwiſe than for gardens; or to build houſes with leſs than two ſtories, or even to build houſes of wood.

Theſe regulations were, however, ſpeedily afterwards withdrawn; and the original proprietors had liberty to incloſe and cultivate at their pleaſure the ground they had not diſpoſed of.

Mr. Blodget, one of the moſt conſiderable and intelligent ſpeculators of Philadelphia, having purchaſed a large quantity of lots, under the pretence of forwarding the building of the city, but more probably with the real motive of diſpoſing moſt ſecurely and advantageouſly of his acquiſitions, made two lotteries for the diſpoſal of them. The principal lot of the firſt was a handſome tavern, built between the capitol and the Preſident's houſe, valued at fifty thouſand dollars; the three principal lots of the ſecond were three houſes to be erected near the capitol, of the reſpective value of twenty-five thouſand, fifteen thouſand, and ten thouſand, dollars. Theſe lotteries were made before the prohibition of the ſtate of Maryland to make private lotteries, without the authority of the legiſlature. They were powerfully patronized by the commiſſioners, who conſidered them as the means of advancing the building of the city. It appears that theſe lotteries were attended with the effect propoſed to himſelf by Mr. Blodget, that of gaining a large profit on the diſpoſal of his lots, and that he was the only perſon not deceived in the tranſaction.

The ſpeculations of Mr. Morris, and the ſucceeding purchaſers, had not the ſame rapid ſucceſs. After the plan of the city had been for a while admired for its beauty and magnificence, people began to perceive that it was too extenſive, too gigantic, for the actual circumſtances of the United States, and even for thoſe which muſt follow for a ſeries of years, admitting that no intervening accidents arreſted the progreſs of their proſperity. It was diſcovered that the immenſe

extent

extent of ground marked out for the city would not be ſo ſpeedily covered with houſes as was expected; and every proprietor of lots intrigued to get the neighbourhood of his lots firſt inhabited. From that inſtant the common intereſt ceaſed, and the proprietors became rivals. Each began to build in his own quarter, with the hope of drawing thither the new-comers. Each vaunted of the advantages of that ſide of the city where his property lay, and depreciated others. The public papers were no longer filled with the excellencies of Federal-City, but with thoſe of one or other of its quarters.

The commiſſioners were not altogether clear from this venal conteſt. Two of them poſſeſſed lots near George-Town; and if that had not been the caſe, their habits and prejudices relative to the city would have determined their opinion as to the advantage of beginning to build in one quarter or another, and would not have permitted them to remain indifferent ſpectators of the emulation of the ſeveral proprietors.

There were four principal quarters to which different intereſts had drawn the greateſt number of houſes. The inhabitants of George-Town, who had purchaſed a great many lots in their neighbourhood, maintained that a ſmall town already built was the proper ſpot to begin the new city, by facilitating and augmenting its reſources. They boaſted of the port of George-Town, and repreſented the commerce already belonging to the place as a favourable opening to the general commerce of the city.

The proprietors of lots near the Point declared that ſituation to be the moſt airy, healthy, and beautiful in the city; advantageous to commerce, as it lay along the banks of both rivers, and as being a central ſituation between the capitol and the Preſident's houſe, from each of which it was equally diſtant.

The proprietors of the Eaſt-branch contemned the port of George-Town, and the banks of the Potowmack, which are not ſecure in winter from ſhoals of ice; they decried the Point, which, placed between the two rivers, was far from being able completely to enjoy the advantage

vantage of either; and boaſted of their own port, becauſe of its great depth, and its ſecurity from ice, and from the moſt prevailing winds. They vaunted of their vicinity to the capitol, which muſt be the common centre of affairs, it being the place of the ſittings of the Congreſs, and in which all the members muſt meet, at leaſt once in the day, and from which their diſtance was not more than three quarters of a mile.

The proprietors in the neighbourhood of the capitol contended, that Federal-City was not neceſſarily a commercial town; that the eſſential point was to raiſe a city for the eſtabliſhment of the Congreſs and government; that the natural progreſs was, firſt to build houſes round the capitol, and then to extend them towards the Preſident's houſe, which, although of a ſecondary conſideration, was nevertheleſs next in importance to the capitol; and that every effort ſhould be made, for the convenience of Congreſs and the facilitating of public affairs, to unite, by a continuation of ſtreets and buildings, theſe two principal points of the government.

Thus each proprietor ſupported with his arguments the intereſts of the quarter where the maſs of his property lay; but he built notwithſtanding with great caution, and with a conſtant fear of ſome of the oppoſite intereſts prevailing.

The commiſſioners, to whom was entruſted the erection of public edifices, were accuſed by the proprietors that lay at a diſtance from George-Town of paying an undue attention to the completion of the Preſident's houſe, which was in their neighbourhood; of deſigning to eſtabliſh the public-offices there, and, conſequently, to neglect the capitol; in a word, of being partial to George-Town to the injury of the three other quarters of the town.

Each of theſe opinions relative to the ſpot at which they ſhould begin to build the city might find advocates, even among diſintereſted people, regarding only the public advantage; but the public advantage was no motive of any of the rival parties.

This ſtate of things continues at preſent. The Preſident's houſe

is ſufficiently advanced to be covered in this year; that wing of the capitol which is at preſent begun (for the plan of that edifice is ſo extenſive, that the execution of two thirds of it has been abandoned to an indefinite period), may, perhaps, be covered in during the ſucceeding year; and about a hundred and fifty houſes are ſcattered over the vaſt ſurface traced out for the city, each of the four contending quarters having from thirty to forty, for the moſt part very diſtant from each other.

The publicity of theſe circumſtances is no doubt one of the principal hindrances of an acceſſion of new adventurers. The ſame cauſes have checked the efforts of the preſent proprietors; among whom Meſſrs. Morris, Nicholſon, and Greenleaf, are moreover embarraſſed by the ſtate of their affairs, having pledged their property for the payment of their debts, and being in fact diſabled from making the neceſſary advances to retrieve their affairs, or even to fulfil the conditions of their contract in building. Laſt year they built, or began, forty houſes of brick, in different parts of the city.

From the concurrence of theſe circumſtances, it is to be expected that few houſes will be begun this year. This at leaſt is the general apprehenſion of the perſons moſt intereſted in the growth of the city. Few lots are at preſent ſold; there is more public fear, but eſpecially more jealouſy among the proprietors, than any other diſpoſition; and theſe are not favourable to the proſperity of the new eſtabliſhment. Federal-City has alſo enemies in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, who reluctantly ſee the Congreſs on the eve of departing from them; and even in many parts of the ſtates of Virginia and Maryland, who regret the ſums which the public expenditure will draw to this point, each being eager more immediately to partake of the advantage.

He who contemplates the ſubject, without intereſt and paſſion, having caſt his eye over the limits of this great plan for a city, need not enter into the particular circumſtances that aggravate the evil, to augur unfavourably on the promptitude of the execution of the plan, or even of its practicability. The idea of forming a city for the ſeat of the general

neral government, having no dependence on any of the ſtates, is at once grand and delightful. The ſite of the city, as I have already obſerved, is well choſen; if indeed it had not been more politic to place the Congreſs at a diſtance from a maritime city, to preſerve it from the real danger of the direct influence of commerce on its deliberations. The plan of the city is both judicious and noble; but it is in fact the grandeur and magnificence of the plan which renders the conception no better than a dream.

The plan of the city, I have already ſtated, includes four thouſand one hundred and twenty-four acres. Of theſe, ſeven hundred and twelve are allotted to ſixteen ſtreets, ſeverally bearing the names of the ſixteen ſtates; to other ſtreets of leſs magnitude, ſquares, and public gardens. The three thouſand four hundred and twelve acres which remain, being the property of the original proprietors and the Union, contain twenty-three thouſand lots of houſes, excluſive of three thouſand feet of lots ſet aſide for quays, whoſe price the commiſſioners have fixed at ſixteen pence per foot, in the front, with about eighty feet in depth, ſome of which, but very few in number, being already ſold.

The capitol is at the diſtance of one mile and a half from the Preſident's houſe; and three quarters of a mile, at leaſt, from the neareſt part of that quarter on the banks of the river, where the intereſts of commerce will draw merchants, if ever they eſtabliſh themſelves in any number in this city, together with the different deſcriptions of perſons depending on them. Excluſive of the inconvenience of the great diſtance between the place where the Congreſs holds its ſittings, and the Preſident's houſe, which will be every day more felt, it will require more than three hundred houſes to fill the interval, without extending the buildings on either ſide. Houſes muſt alſo be built round the capitol, and round the Preſident's houſe, to ſupply the neceſſaries of theſe eſtabliſhments. Thus, to eſtimate the houſes to make the junction between theſe two points at five hundred, would be

to make the computation too low; and, after all, this would form only a ſingle ſtreet, of which there is not even a ſingle houſe built.

This quarter, no doubt, is a convenient reſidence for the members of Congreſs, and a fit place for the building a few ſhops and taverns; but it is not the ſpot on which either people of buſineſs in general, or thoſe who prefer the moſt agreeable ſituation, will be drawn. It is beſide the quarter where the preſent proprietors have the leaſt inducement to build, the greater part of their lots being ſituated at a diſtance, and if the interval is not filled, the communication between theſe two important points will be impracticable in winter; for it is ſcarcely to be ſuppoſed that the government will pave and light the ſtreets at their own expence.

Two thouſand houſes would not fill one of the other quarters of this vaſt city, ſo as to connect it with either of the two principal points, the capitol, or the Preſident's houſe; and if even any one of the quarters was filled up, the other quarters, which the preſent poſſeſſors of lots are deeply intereſted in completing alſo, would be deſtitute of habitations, or would be ſo ſeparated from the quarter that ſhould be completed, as to be nothing better than ſo many villages perfectly cut off from the town.

Cities have, indeed, in general commenced with a ſmall number of houſes, to which others have been ſucceſſively added; but here there are two centres, at the diſtance of a mile and a half from each other. And it is to be conſidered that this city ought to be already formed for the reception of the Congreſs, the Preſident, and the foreign miniſters. It ought to be completed ſo far as to afford theſe public characters the accommodations to which they are entitled; and which they will be the leſs diſpoſed to ſacrifice, as they have been accuſtomed to enjoy them in Philadelphia to the whole extent of which America is ſuſceptible.

When it is ſaid, as I hear it continually repeated here, that the actual reſidence of the government will promptly draw after it all the accommodations

commodations neceſſary, it is forgotten that thoſe who are the members of this government, and their dependants, little taken with the idea of this key-ſtone of the arch of federaliſm, will not patiently ſee themſelves deprived, even for a while, of the moſt ſimple conveniences of life. And when perſons, paying little regard to the convenience of theſe public characters, rely on the faith of Congreſs, and expect to ſee the government transferred to Federal-City in 1800, they do not reaſon with more foreſight; for, even if that ſhould happen, which I expect, but which many doubt, that the government of the United States will be eſtabliſhed in Federal-City in 1800, to diſcharge the engagements of the Congreſs, and in ſome degree to juſtify the public expenditure of money there, the general diſcontent of thoſe who compoſe the government would render this merely a temporary meaſure, which would be ſucceeded by ſtill more diſaſtrous effects than the continuation of the ſeat of the government where it is. There is leſs public ſpirit in this part of the world than in Europe; or at leaſt of that ſpecies of public ſpirit which ſacrifices particular intereſts to the general welfare, or even to the vain-glory of accompliſhing a great national work. What are called convenience, eaſe, and comfort, are not, perhaps exactly the ſame things that receive thoſe names in Europe; but whatever extent the Americans give to theſe things, they eagerly embrace them, cleave to them, and will poſſeſs them at any price: and it muſt be acknowledged, it would not be greatly exaggerating the idea of comfort, to deſire to be in ſafety from being plunged in the mud for want of pavements, or breaking one's neck for want of lamps. And theſe muſt be wanting in Federal-City for many years to come, from the too great extent of the plan, and the diſtance between the two centres of public affairs.

Uſually, in the eſtabliſhment of a city, the firſt proprietors and the firſt inhabitants heartily concur in the ſucceſs of the enterprize. In this place all the ſtrength of the community is loſt. There is no common effort, becauſe the intereſts of the ſeveral individuals are really different. Thoſe who purchaſed lots of the commiſſioners with a condition of

building,

building, endeavour to relieve themſelves from the condition. The unfortunate ſituation of the affairs of Meſſrs. Morris, Nicholſon, and Greenleaf, has, in fact, relieved them from it. Thoſe who purchaſed ſhares from them avail themſelves of their incapability to ſue them, and neglect the condition of which thoſe unfortunate men are guarantees to the government. The commiſſioners act with more or leſs indulgence to the proprietors of lots, ſometimes waving, and ſometimes enforcing the obligation to build. They perceived, that if even the conditions were ſtrictly executed in the ſix or ſeven hundred lots they had ſold, they would not yield more than the ſame number of brick houſes, which being ſcattered through the great extent of the city would contribute in no important degree to its completion.

In the caſe of a town growing in the ſame ſpot from motives of commerce, it would naturally commence in the quarter moſt convenient to trade, and would increaſe with more or leſs rapidity in proportion as its advantages were felt. Each of the new inhabitants, having a complete intereſt in the improvement of the place, and coming with an entire free will, would cheerfully ſubmit to the inconveniences of a new-formed eſtabliſhment, with a conviction, that one by one they would diſappear, ſince the natural advantages the ſituation afforded to commerce, being the baſis of the eſtabliſhment, it could not fail of ſucceſs, and meanwhile the increaſing gain of the individuals would contribute to their patience. In Federal-City the caſe is quite otherwiſe. It has no other baſe than the Union of the ſeveral ſtates; and if this foundation is not already deſtroyed, it cannot be denied, that it is at leaſt ſhaken in that degree to excite diſtruſt in all ſpeculations that muſt reſt on its ſolidity for their ſucceſs. Commerce is no more than a ſecondary object in this city, and ſuch of its inhabitants as are engaged in commerce, are, for the moſt part, at ſuch a diſtance from the quarter that is the ſeat of the government, that two or three large towns might ſtand in the ſpace between them. The majority of the members of Congreſs will come to this city with a diſſatisfaction to the plan, and a diſpoſition to decry and exaggerate its defects.

defects. Such among them as we may ſuppoſe to be inimical to the federal government, and conſequently to the eſtabliſhment of this place, will find in the enormous public expences already incurred here, and thoſe ſtill greater that muſt hereafter be incurred, an ample field for their oppoſition; which will gain acceſſion of numbers from the inconvenience to which all will be ſubject. It is impoſſible to overlook the influence which in every country in the world the tempers and views of individuals have on public affairs; or if overlooked, it is miſerably to miſunderſtand human nature.

There are, moreover, a multitude of powerful reaſons that give probability to the opinion, that the Union will not remain unbroken for a great number of years. There are ſo many ſymptoms of its diſſolution, that it is idle to imagine that Federal-City will arrive at the execution of the tenth part of its plan, before that event, which a thouſand circumſtances may haſten, ſhall take place. The prevalence of theſe reaſons with many Americans, who dwell on them either from an apprehenſion of their ſolidity, or a deſire of their being verified, is in itſelf an obſtacle to the growth of the city, without thoſe difficulties it otherwiſe muſt encounter.

From this combination of circumſtances, which I have endeavoured to detail as briefly as poſſible, no perſon can conclude, that Federal-City, laid out and even begun as it is, will ever reach that degree of improvement to render it even a tolerable abode for the kind of perſons for whom it was deſigned.

We are not to be ſurprized that the authors of the plan gave it ſo great an extent, for it is probable it belonged to the dignity of their project to deſcribe a vaſt plan which they left to time to fill up. But it is impoſſible to conſider with too much aſtoniſhment the conduct of thoſe who preſided over the commencement of the city, which was of a nature to render impracticable a plan that time might ſooner or later have forwarded, if political events had not interpoſed in oppoſition. We cannot ſufficiently wonder, that they did not apply their efforts to one point; for inſtance, that they did not protect and encourage

courage the firſt buildings by the natural aid of George-Town, which, had they commenced in its vicinity, ſmall as it is, would have been an important motive to an influx of adventurers. But if the poor vanity of commencing Federal-City independent of the reſources of George-Town, ought to have prevented the commencement of buildings cloſe to that town, no one place has been choſen for the commencement with probability of ſucceſs. At preſent the miſchief appears to me irreparable; at leaſt, fatal to the objects which firſt gave birth to this eſtabliſhment.

Five hundred thouſand dollars have already been expended on the part of the public, and nothing is erected but the walls, timbers, and ſtaircaſes, of a wing of the capitol, and the preſident's houſe. To complete theſe two buildings, and to erect others for the different departments of the adminiſtration, ſix hundred thouſand dollars are ſtill wanting, on the computation of the commiſſioners themſelves; and even then there will be no courts of juſtice, priſons, churches, pavements, lamps, fountains, or public gardens.

No doubt it is poſſible, it is even probable, that ſome parts of the bank of the Potowmack, and of the Eaſt-branch, will draw inhabitants for the purpoſes of commerce, and that one or more towns will be eſtabliſhed on thoſe rivers; and this proſpect may be a compenſation for the purchaſers of lots in thoſe quarters, but it is nothing to Federal-City.

In collecting the information I have given my reader on this ſubject, and the little that I have to ſay further reſpecting it, and in impartially obſerving the paſſions and prejudices of the majority of thoſe from whom I made my enquiries, I was led more than once to the compariſon between the man who employs his property and time in clearing and ſettling a large tract of land, and the perſon who is engaged with others in the eſtabliſhment of a new city. The former can ſucceed only by collecting round him a number of families to whom it is his intereſt to ſell his lands at a low price, and to whoſe proſperity of courſe he contributes. The pooreſt man is for his purpoſes a good occupier of his grounds. In conferring benefits on others, he increaſes

his

his own welfare and happineſs; he multiplies three-fold, nay ten-fold, the value of the lands that he holds ſtill in his own poſſeſſion, by the neighbourhood of the inhabitants he has drawn around him. The happineſs of others is the proper element of his ſucceſs. If he is of a humane diſpoſition, he finds a multiplicity of occaſions to do good without injury to himſelf. It is indeed his intereſt to be benevolent. Every inſtance of his expenditure is alſo turned to the public advantage; it is a ſervice he renders, a pleaſure he affords, to his colony; and no expence judiciouſly applied is prejudicial to his fortune; on the contrary, it inceſſantly augments his wealth: as his colony increaſes, more wealthy ſettlers preſent themſelves, and his lands ſell at a price he could not have procured without the previous exerciſe of his benevolence. When his colony has made a ſtill greater progreſs, the produce of lands formerly waſte, is a new and real ſource of wealth to the ſtate to which it is ſubject, and a new maſs of productions for merchants and conſumers. His condition is at once noble and delightful. He lives in the midſt of huſbandmen, conſequently among men of the pureſt manners and diſpoſitions, the furtheſt removed from vice of any among the human ſpecies. He is beloved and eſteemed. And all theſe enjoyments he commands in a ſhort period of time, and owes them all to himſelf. If before the commencement of his enterprize he was virtuous, he is become better by the very means he employed to enlarge his fortune. His heart is improved ſimply by the contemplation of the good he has effected. In a word, he is more happy than ever. There are many examples of this kind in America, and among the moſt eminent of them is Captain Williamſon of Geneſee, who by an undertaking of this nature has augmented his fortune as greatly as he has increaſed the eſteem in which he was held.

He, on the contrary, who is engaged in the eſtabliſhment of a new city, can rarely confine to himſelf the conduct of the enterprize. If he is not counteracted in the whole of his views, he is ſure to be ſo in the greater part of them. The poorer inhabitants that he receives on his eſtate are of no advantage to him. They are even burthenſome, as

they occupy the ſpace that he wiſhes to fill with others, whoſe wealth may advance his fortune. Benevolence is baniſhed from his ſyſtem, by the neceſſary calculations of his intereſt. If thoſe calculations induce him to expend ſums for buildings, it is to erect taverns, ſhops, to open billiard-tables, and to create lotteries; in a word, to furniſh the means of diſſipation and pleaſure—that is to ſay, the means of prodigality and vice. It is ſuch objects as theſe that draw crowds of inhabitants to cities, and without them cities will never be extenſive. When this adventurer ſees his city increaſing in population, it is only to ſee a conflict of intereſts, to contemplate jealouſies daily ariſing, and enmities making good their footing. And when, at length, after years of innumerable vexations and inceſſant anxiety, he has gathered inhabitants to the extent he propoſed, he has only drawn round him rivals and opponents, while he has done nothing for the real welfare of ſociety. He may have increaſed his wealth, but he will not have added one to the number of his benevolent ſentiments; and even ſuch as he might have had before the commencement of his undertaking will be defaced by the ſpectacle he was obliged to witneſs, and the injuſtice to which he was ſubjected. If his mind is not wholly corrupted, it will be the reſidence of remorſe; but more probably his heart will be hardened. It is to be feared, that ſome of my friends will laugh at my mode of viewing theſe things, but they have my ſentiments in their native colours. If, in the compariſon I have drawn, I had contemplated the founders of Federal-City, my picture of a new city would have been more diſguſting, but would not have been the leſs juſt.

I have ſomething more to add relative to Federal-City, although what I have ſaid on the ſubject has already run to too great a length. The number of its inhabitants is at preſent very inconſiderable, and they are ſo ſcattered, that if they were leſs occupied with their ſpeculations, rivalry, and hatreds, they could ſtill form no ſociety. They viſit like people in the country, living at a diſtance from each other. The tradeſmen and labourers for the moſt part reſide at George-Town,

where

where the inhabitants of the other quarters are obliged to ſend for almoſt all neceſſaries. The few ſhops that are in the heart of Federal-City are miſerably provided, and exceſſively dear; and the workmen are the very refuſe of that claſs, and nevertheleſs very high in their demands. Proviſions are furniſhed almoſt by chance; and this is ſo abſolutely the caſe with reſpect to butchers' meat, eſpecially beef, that during the ſix days I paſſed there I never once ſaw any. Eggs are brought from time to time from the country, but neither conſtantly nor often. In ſhort, I have not been in any of the obſcureſt parts of America, where I found proviſions ſo badly furniſhed.

The ſtone of which the capitol and preſident's houſe are built is extremely white, and the workmanſhip is excellent; but I do not admire the architecture of thoſe buildings. The ſtone is a ſpecies of granite, and is ſtrong, yet not ſufficiently ſo to reſiſt the ſevereſt kind of froſt; it is taken from a quarry near the Potowmack, at thirty miles below the city. At the ſame diſtance above the city are quarries of fine white marble, and of a red marble with veins; and alſo a quarry of ſlate. Lime-ſtone is found near the Potowmack, but at the diſtance of ſixty miles above the city. The interior navigation, from the Potowmack to the Eaſt-branch, for the forming of which the firſt lottery is at preſent drawing, is not yet begun; but the workmen have orders to aſſemble for its commencement in a month. Two ſmall creeks paſs through the city, the water from which may be conveyed to any part. One, which is called *Tyber-creek*, has its ſource at ſome miles diſtance from the city; above which it is elevated ſeventy-eight feet, and may therefore be carried to any height that may be wanted in any of the buildings.

GEORGE-TOWN.

This ſmall town, which is ſeparated from the new city by a creek called *Rock-hall-creek*, ſtands upon ſeveral ſmall hills, which render its aſpect pleaſing; but the communications between its ſeveral parts are

difficult. Some years ſince the commerce of this place was conſiderable, but at preſent it is much diminiſhed.

In 1791 the total value of its exportation amounted to 314,864 dollars; in 1792, to 348,539 dollars; in 1793, to 364,537 dollars; in 1794, to 128,024 dollars; in 1795, to 196,790 dollars; and in 1796, to 159,868 dollars. Tobacco, corn, and ſeeds, form the chief articles of exportation from George-Town; it re-exports directly a very ſmall quantity of foreign articles, and is even compelled to ſend to other ports that are better markets much of the merchandize brought from Europe in its veſſels. Its imports have alſo decreaſed: in 1792 the value of them amounted to 99,873 dollars; in 1973, to 87,400 dollars; in 1794, to 139,964 dollars; in 1795, to 153,584 dollars; and in 1796, to 29,193 dollars. The ſhipping it employs in its foreign trade, is at preſent about 2,500 tons; and in its coaſting trade nearly a thouſand tons.

The diminution of the culture of tobacco is one of the cauſes of the decay of its commerce; in 1792 it exported 9,444 hogſheads; and in 1796 no more than 2,461. But ſpeculations in the lots of Federal-City is a more powerful cauſe of that decay. They have turned a great part of the capital of the merchants into that channel, and conſequently diverted it from the trade of the place. Shares in the bank of this town, which were held by many of thoſe merchants, have fallen through the ſame cauſes from forty dollars, their original price, to thirty. This bank, eſtabliſhed by the name of *Columbia Bank*, had originally a capital of 400,000 dollars, divided into ten thouſand ſhares. Its capital was augmented with 150,000 dollars, by an act of the legiſlature of Maryland in its laſt ſeſſion: it is employed in the ſame ſervices as all the other banks of America. The notes it has in circulation are for the moſt part of the value of a dollar, and they are current at Alexandria, and all the weſtern parts of Maryland as far as Baltimore.

The ſtores of George-Town are uſually furniſhed from Baltimore; it is at that port that the ſhips belonging to George-Town generally diſpoſe of their cargoes in returning from Europe. The merchants of this

this place expect to ſee their trade revive, from the completion of the two canals of the large and little falls of the Potowmack, the remainder of the navigation of that river being cleared from obſtacles. They then expect to be the medium of exporting the produce of the countries watered by the Potowmack and the rivers that fall into it, which at preſent can be conveyed to George-Town only by land, at as high a price as the conveyance of them to Baltimore, which from its ſituation has the advantage of the towns on the banks of the Potowmack; where the price of the carriage of flour by land is three dollars per barrel, it will be only eight ſhillings and ſix pence by water. This advantage will be communicated alſo to the Eaſt-branch in Federal-City, and Alexandria.

The merchants of George-Town perſuade themſelves that they will reap the greater part of the benefit of theſe navigations. Being placed the firſt on the route of thoſe who will bring their produce from the countries above the city, and being provided with warehouſes to receive goods, it will be a ſaving of money and time, in veſſels coming down the river, to diſpoſe of their cargoes at George-Town. They aſſert, that the port of this place, that is to ſay, the part of the river that may be converted to that purpoſe, will hold a great number of veſſels with ſecurity; and the danger from ſhoals of ice, which they do not deny to exiſt during two months, they obſerve, may be avoided by veſſels uſing the Eaſt-branch for that period.

The inhabitants of the banks of the Eaſt-branch truſt to the depth and ſecurity of their river, to draw all the commerce of the place to themſelves; and they do not doubt, that even the merchants of George-Town will ſoon find the advantage, and remove there. They are ſecure from the ice; and the interior canal between the Potowmack and them will, they imagine, directly afford them all the advantages of that great river.

The inhabitants of Alexandria pretend, that participating in like manner of the advantages of the navigation of the Potowmack through the canal, they have, moreover, the advantage of a commerce long

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed, and that is daily increaſing—an advantage that is not to be counterbalanced by the difference of five miles more of ſailing, which cannot deter veſſels from proceeding to the market where they can both ſell and buy to greater advantage.

Time will ſhew which of theſe three places argues with the greateſt truth. I think the argument is in favour of Alexandria.

At George-Town there is a very handſome ſmall Catholic college, maintained by private donations and ſubſcriptions.

FALLS OF THE POTOWMACK.

An excurſion that I made to the *falls* gave me an opportunity of ſeeing the canals, which are forming for the purpoſe of avoiding them, and are the undertaking of the *Potowmack Company*. The canal of the *ſmaller falls* is entirely finiſhed; it is a mile and a half in length: four locks ten feet high, placed at its upper extremity, convey veſſels down the river. The ſmaller falls are not ſtrictly ſuch; but the water is ſufficiently checked and diſturbed in its courſe to render the navigation impracticable, and the noiſe it makes is conſiderable. Above the ſmaller falls, at a place where the Potowmack is confined to a narrow paſſage between mountains, a bridge has been lately erected, of the ſame kind as the bridge of Merrymack, near Newbury-port, in Maſſachuſetts: the ſame architect was employed in both. The bridge over the Potowmack is one hundred and twenty feet in the ſpan; it is much admired here, becauſe the people in this place have no knowledge of the arts, but is indeed diſguſting for its heavineſs, having an immenſe quantity of timber and iron waſted on it, that would have been ſpared in Europe, and with it a great part of the expence.

The canal of the *great falls* is alſo finiſhed, excepting the locks, which are to be ten in number. The height of the falls themſelves is ſeventy-eight feet, and the deſcent from the upper end of the canal to the lower end is about ninety feet. To make ſome uſe of the canal in its preſent ſtate, till the locks can be conſtructed, large maſſes of earth

are

are left to check the rapidity of the water; veſſels proceed to the place where theſe are, and the barrels of flour, and hogſheads of tobacco, which are the principal articles brought down the river, are rolled down an inclined plane made of wood (for this temporary uſe), to veſſels that wait for them below.

The great fall of the Potowmack is beautiful, and deſerves to be viſited by all who arrive in this neighbourhood; but if the traveller has ſeen that of Niagara, he will not be ready to compare any other with that ſublime cataract.

The fall of the Potowmack is about half a mile acroſs; it preſents a very fine ſight; and the effect of the rocks, with which the country everywhere abounds, adds greatly to its beauty. The inhabitants of its vicinity employ fragments of theſe rocks for the foundation of their houſes, ſome of which indeed are entirely built of them. On the other ſide of the Potowmack, from the ſmaller to the great falls, the banks, though not very well cultivated, are pleaſing, and abound with fine ſituations.

The ſtate of Maryland is at preſent making a road along the banks of the river from George-Town to the bridge. This road is made in a very excellent manner, and will be pleaſant when finiſhed; it however appeared to me to be a little too narrow. The workmen employed in it are paid eleven dollars per month with their board; they are white men, and generally Iriſhmen, and new comers. Almoſt every year a veſſel filled with Iriſh labourers arrives at George-Town.

Bricks are made at George-Town and Federal-City, and are ſold for ſix dollars per thouſand. Lime is at preſent ſold for four dollars per barrel: as lime-ſtone is found in abundance, it is expected that when the navigation ſhall be entirely open, the price of lime will be reduced to one half.

George-Town is the county town of Montgomery in Maryland. The population of this county amounts to eighteen thouſand ſouls; of which there are more than ſix thouſand ſlaves. It is ſeparated from the county of Prince George by *Rock-creek*. Thus all the new part of the city belongs to this latter county, and, by the proviſions of the law

relative

relative to this ſubject, will continue to belong to it till the government of the United States is actually eſtabliſhed at Federal-City.

MR. LAW.

All the time that I paſſed at Federal-City I reſided with Mr. Law. Laſt year he very much increaſed his domeſtic felicity by marrying an amiable woman, who unites accompliſhments, ſweetneſs of manner, and a charming figure, to a ſound underſtanding, and all the qualities that contribute to make the married life happy.

I cannot, however, felicitate Mr. Law on the ſpeculation which induced him to purchaſe a number of lots in this new city, and to chooſe it for the place of his reſidence. It appears to me, that he might have made a more prudent and fortunate uſe of the great property he amaſſed by many years toil in India. He enters every day more deeply into the concerns of this city, without being able ſincerely to predict his ſucceſs. His fortune is ſuperior to the greateſt fortunes in America, and he might have lived on his own revenues with ſplendour, happy himſelf, and making others ſo. His temper, which is ſincere, humane, and generous, qualified him for that mode of life; notwithſtanding which, he has wilfully plunged himſelf into an abyſs of cares, and all the contentions of this diſtracted city, which not only prevent the enjoyment of his fortune, but even endanger it. He is not himſelf very confident of ſucceſs, and he is far from being avaricious; but his ardent temper is continually deceiving him concerning the iſſue of the unfavourable circumſtances which he cannot overlook; and every day his obſtinacy on this ſubject increaſes, continually leading him to new expences in this vexatious ſpeculation. I fear he will not be ſo fortunate as he deſerves to be.

ALEXANDRIA.

I went by water from Federal-City to Alexandria, which is a diſtance

ſtance only of ſix miles. The Potowmack, the whole way from one place to the other, is two miles in breadth; and its banks are well cultivated, and covered with a conſiderable number of houſes. The Maryland ſide being more elevated preſents a finer aſpect. A ſucceſſion of ſmall hills and beautiful vallies, interſected with ſtreams, and having clumps of trees, and even pleaſure-grounds, ſcattered up and down, give it a very lively appearance. The oppoſite ſide belonging to Virginia is not abſolutely flat, but the ground does not riſe except at a diſtance from the river, and not in the ſame degree as on the Maryland ſide. It however does not want proſpects which are charming. It is in going from Alexandria to Federal-City that the traveller has the beſt view of this country. The eye is not loſt, as in the other route, in the immenſe extent of the Potowmack; which, continually enlarging, leaves nothing to be ſeen at length but the horizon. In this paſſage the country cloſes till the proſpect is bounded by the chain of mountains which form the falls at fifteen miles diſtance; and in the intervening ſpace, the eye reſts on the ſloping ground deſtined for the ſite of Federal-City, and where already there is a ſufficient number of houſes to ornament the ſcene. The mountains on the ſide of Maryland and Virginia, which decreaſe in approaching the Cheſapeak, conſequently riſe and enlarge on the view in proceeding the other way. The diviſion of the waters of the Potowmack and the Eaſt-branch, made by the point of land which is the ſite of Federal-City, is an object that arreſts the attention, and whoſe grandeur deducts nothing from its beauty. It is unqueſtionably among the fineſt views that are to be ſeen on any river. It does not, however, make me forget thoſe of *North-River*, in the ſtate of New-York, which in my opinion are even preferable; without ſpeaking of that moſt delightful ſcene of the paſſage on that river in the highlands.

This is at preſent the ſeaſon when ſhoals of herrings appear on the coaſts of America, and in the rivers communicating with the ſea. I have conſtantly ſeen at every creek a number of people employed in fiſhing for them with long nets, which they drag for a while and then draw

the extremities together. There is ſeldom a draught at which they do not take thouſands. The greater part of them are inſtantly cured. There is an immenſe conſumption in every part of America of this ſpecies of food. Freſh herrings ſell here for four dollars a thouſand. Sturgeon is alſo very plentiful in the rivers of this country, but I do not think it is as good as the ſturgeon in Europe. Alexandria is, beyond all compariſon, the handſomeſt town in Virginia, and indeed is among the fineſt of the United States. It ſtands on a ſmall plain, elevated however a few feet above the river, and ſo as not to be incommoded with the water. This town, which was begun about thirty years ſince, is built on a regular plan. Streets ſufficiently wide interſect each other at right angles; and ſpacious ſquares add to its beauty, convenience, and ſalubrity. Almoſt all the houſes and warehouſes are of brick. Although all the buildings have not an appearance of magnificence, all are convenient and neat; and the houſes are of two ſtories. The quays are large and commodious, and extend along the river every day.

This town increaſes very rapidly, owing to the flouriſhing ſtate of its commerce, which, no doubt, will be ſtill improved by the opening of the navigation of the Potowmack.

It is maintained by many of the inhabitants of Federal-City that the quays of Alexandria are not ſo ſafe for ſhipping as thoſe of the Eaſt-branch, being more expoſed to ſhoals of ice; and that ſmall veſſels, deſcending the Potowmack, and paſſing through the canal, will not venture again into the Potowmack as far as Alexandria. This opinion is not that of the merchants of Alexandria; who, beſide, would very little raiſe the price of flour, which boats would bring down the Potowmack, if they were even obliged to reload them in larger veſſels at the canal. Hitherto they have received the produce of the upper parts of Virginia by land, and the carts which bring them conſtantly arrive in great numbers.

Alexandria carries on a conſtant trade with the Weſt-India iſlands; and alſo ſome with Europe. The price of flour here at preſent is ſix dollars

dollars and a half per barrel. The population of this town amounts to nearly five thouſand ſouls, of which there are about eight hundred black ſlaves. It is ſituated at the diſtance of a hundred miles from the mouth of the Potowmack, in the bay of Cheſapeak.

The value of the exportation of Alexandria amounted in 1791 to 381,242 dollars; in 1792, to 535,592 dollars; in 1793, to 812,889 dollars; in 1795, to 948,460 dollars; and in 1796, to more than 1,100,000 dollars.

There is a bank at Alexandria, and it is the only one in Virginia. It was eſtabliſhed in December 1792 by an act of the legiſlature. Its original capital was 150,000 dollars, divided into 750 ſhares, of 200 dollars each. By a law paſſed in December 1795 it was authorized to augment its capital by the addition of 350,000 dollars, divided into 1750 new ſhares.

This bank, which was eſtabliſhed on the ſame principles, and for the ſame purpoſe, as all the other banks of America, makes a dividend from four and a half to five per cent half yearly. It iſſues notes to the value of a dollar, which are current throughout all Virginia, at George-Town, and even for the moſt part in Maryland.

The eſtabliſhment of a bank at Richmond was authorized by the legiſlature of Virginia in December 1792. Its capital was to conſiſt of 400,000 dollars, in ſhares of 200 dollars each; but the ſubſcriptions not filling, it does not exiſt.

JOURNEY FROM FEDERAL-CITY TO BALTIMORE.

The country from Federal-City to Bladenſburg is beautiful; that is to ſay, nature deſigned it to be ſuch, by the form, and multiplicity of the ſmall hills with which it is covered. The ground is poor, and as ill cultivated as in moſt other places. Bladenſburg is a ſmall village decently built, where there is a place for inſpecting of tobacco, little uſed at preſent; and a ſchool of conſiderable reputation in the country. Bladenſburg is ſituated on the upper part of the Eaſt-branch, at the

ſpot where it begins to be navigable. Not far from one of the ſtreams which fall into that river is a fine ſpring of mineral water, which is ſeparated from the bed of the ſtream only by a ſlip of land four or five feet in breadth.

From Bladenſburg to Baltimore the country is every-where hilly, and often not unpleaſing to the ſight. It is filled with woods, but of a very ſmall kind; and which is permitted to remain only for want of hands to clear the ground, or rather for want of capitals to enable the proprietors to employ the negroes on it.

It is ſaid that the ground is better at ſome miles' diſtance from the road. At Vanville the price of land is from ſix to twelve dollars per acre. It produces from ſeven to eight buſhels of corn; from twelve to fifteen, of Indian wheat; from ten to twelve, of barley; and twenty of oats, becauſe this laſt kind of grain is ſown on the beſt land. I received ſimilar information at Spurries, twenty-five miles farther on.

At eight or ten miles from Vanville I paſſed the two branches of the Potukent, which are there very narrow, and over which are thrown wooden bridges, the worſt and moſt dangerous I ever ſaw. The weſtern branch ſeparates the county of Prince George from that of Ann Arundel. Not far from theſe two ſtreams are the iron-works of Snowden, and a ſlitting mill. The country abounds with ores, which is found on the ſurface, as well as in the bowels of the earth, and in all the ſtreams. The *Patapſko*, which lies between Spurries and Baltimore, at eight miles from the laſt place, is not more than thirty toiſes in breadth. I paſſed it in an excellent ferry-boat, which is dragged over by the help of a rope. At this ferry the Patapſko ceaſes to be navigable; and here, conſequently, according to the cuſtom of the country, there is a place for the inſpection of tobacco. It has a ſmall village built around it, which is called *Elkridge-landing*.

It is on the *Patapſko* that Baltimore is built, or rather on an arm of that river. The mouth of the harbour is not more than two hundred toiſes acroſs, and is conſequently eaſy to defend. A fort is erected on a ſmall eminence at the point of land which ſeparates the harbour from

from the river. It is, like all works of the kind in America, poorly conſtructed; but a little labour and expence would render it what it ought to be.

BALTIMORE.

I found Baltimore larger than when I was here laſt year. Several quays which were only begun, and ſome even no more than projected, were entirely finiſhed; and large and handſome warehouſes of brick entirely built from the ground. In every quarter of the town buildings increaſe; and there is an air of buſineſs and plenty throughout the whole.

There are no veſſels built at preſent at Baltimore, for the ſame reaſons that put a ſtop to the building of veſſels in other parts of Maryland and Virginia. Baltimore has, notwithſtanding, loſt in the courſe of the year a great many ſhips at ſea. This port continues to trade to the Weſt-Indies; and ſome of the merchants engaged in that commerce have not been unſucceſsful.

The value of the exports of Baltimore in 1791 amounted to 1,576,588 dollars; in 1792, to 1,843,225 dollars; in 1793, to 3,084,545 dollars; in 1794, to 5,312,209 dollars; in 1795, to 5,542,051 dollars; and in 1796, to more than 8,500,000 dollars. But that this aſtoniſhing increaſe in the exportation of this port may not be exaggerated, the augmentation in the price of the produce of the Weſt-India iſlands muſt here, as in every other part of America, be deducted from the value of the exports. There are no merchants here as rich as thoſe of Philadelphia. The fortunes of this town are in their infancy. Luxury is not only leſs in individuals, but is leſs general.

I am told that the number of corn-mills built within ten miles round Baltimore exceed ſixty. Some that I ſaw near the town were as handſome, upon as large a ſcale, and as complete as any at Brandywine.

There

There are two banks at Baltimore. One is a branch of the bank of the United States; the other is a bank belonging to the town, which was incorporated in 1791, by a law of this ſtate, with a capital of three hundred thouſand dollars. The ſtores of Baltimore partake with Philadelphia in ſupplying thoſe of Kentucky, the territory of the weſt, and Teneſſee. Philadelphia, however, would not enter into this competition with Baltimore, were not its commerce more extenſive, and its ſtock and capital larger, ſo that purchaſers find a greater variety of aſſortments of every kind there. It is ſaid alſo that the ſpirituous liquors ſold at Baltimore are more adulterated than even thoſe ſold by the merchants of Philadelphia. The merchants of Baltimore allow the traders of Kentucky from twenty to five-and-twenty per cent profit on their articles, and give a twelvemonth's credit.

Baltimore, however, may expect to loſe ſome of the branches of its commerce from the following cauſes:

1ſt, The entire opening of the navigation of the Potowmack, by bringing down the corn and other produce of the parts of Virginia and Maryland watered by that river and others which flow into it, will give that branch of commerce to George-Town, Alexandria, and Federal-City; Baltimore being obliged to procure theſe articles by land-carriage.

2d, A ſcheme is undertaken for joining the Potowmack above Cumberland with one of the branches of the Monongahela, which falls into the Ohio; which, if it ſucceed, will take from Baltimore the market of Kentucky, and even of Pittſburg, as articles will then be carried to thoſe places by water through Alexandria and George-Town.

3d, If the ſcheme of uniting the Cheſapeak-bay with the Delaware-bay by a canal paſſing through the eaſt of Maryland is completed, which appears to be probable, the corn of that part of the eaſt, and even of the weſt, which at preſent is carried to Baltimore, would be carried to Philadelphia and Brandywine, where they would find an ample market; and the more ſo, as flour generally ſells at Philadelphia for a dollar, or a dollar and a half, per barrel more than at Baltimore.

The

The merchants of Baltimore, who are aware of theſe conſequences, expect that at the ſame time the Suſquehannah will be made entirely navigable; and in that imagine they will have a complete compenſation. But it appears to me that they deceive themſelves in theſe expectations; for the articles which are brought down the Suſquehannah will probably take the route of the canal that will join the two bays when it is finiſhed; and as Philadelphia is extremely intereſted in the completion of that canal, it is certain that the legiſlature of Pennſylvania will never conſent to the works neceſſary to render the Suſquehannah navigable—that river flowing chiefly through its territory—until the legiſlature of Maryland ſhall conſent to the opening of the canal between the two bays, which is at preſent obſtinately oppoſed by the merchants of Baltimore.

From theſe obſervations it follows, that Baltimore is ill ſituated for commerce; owing its preſent ſucceſs merely to the want of other ports in the Cheſapeak, and to the obſtructions to navigation on all the interior rivers.

The commerce of Baltimore was raiſed from the funds of the merchants of Philadelphia, who in that place ſaw a convenient entrepôt between themſelves and the back countries. It has ſince increaſed by the capitals gained by the merchants, who at firſt were only factors to thoſe of Philadelphia; but the decreaſe of its commerce is not therefore the leſs probable.

I went to ſee one of the frigates of the United States here, and which is one of thoſe that have been ordered to be finiſhed: ſhe will be launched in Auguſt. I thought her too much encumbered with wood-work within, but in other reſpects ſhe is a fine veſſel, being built of thoſe beautiful kinds of wood, the *ever-green oak* and cedar: ſhe is pierced for thirty-ſix guns.

An inhabitant of Baltimore has erected an obſervatory on a ſmall hill on the other ſide of the port, from which, with a teleſcope, one ſees to the diſtance of thirty-five miles into the bay. A flag is hoiſted on the obſervatory, to announce the arrival of veſſels. This little eſ-

tabliſhment

tabliſhment is not only very grateful to the merchants, but in ſome degree uſeful, and is already encouraged with many ſubſcriptions.

A public library is erecting by ſubſcription at Baltimore: two thouſand volumes, ſome good and ſome bad, are already collected for it. This is the only public library throughout Maryland.

Baltimore has afforded great aſſiſtance to the unfortunate Frenchmen who fled from the diſaſtrous ſtate of St. Domingo, individuals having conſiderably added by ſubſcriptions to the donations made by the legiſlature of the ſtate.

BUSH-TOWN.

The ground between Baltimore and Buſh-Town is ſtill worſe, if poſſible, than that between Federal-City and Baltimore: the Heſſian fly, which to the ſouth-weſt of the town attacks the corn very little, lays it waſte in this quarter; very little corn is therefore ſown. Small grain, Indian wheat, and paſture, includes the huſbandry of the country. It is beſide very much filled with woods of a very uſeleſs kind, and very mean appearance.

At fifteen miles from Baltimore, at a place where I breakfaſted with a farmer named *Webſter*, land ſells from eight to fifteen dollars per acre; there is very little that exceeds this price, and this is paſture-ground, improved by ſome years manuring. Webſter has a ſmall flock of ſheep, whoſe wool he ſells partly to neighbouring farmers, and partly to the hatters of Baltimore, at four ſhillings per pound. His houſe ſtands at a little diſtance from *Bird-River*, which appears to be rather an arm of the bay than a river.

A mill not far from Webſter's houſe grinds the little corn that is grown in this part; and the flour is ſent to Baltimore.

Bird-River is navigable for ſmall veſſels to a place about a mile from Webſter's houſe; about a quarter of a mile above which it is not more than four toiſes in breadth, and is eaſily forded. This is a uſual caſe with the ſeveral creeks and rivers of the country, and they are very numerous. I paſſed the *Long-Cane*, or *Great Gunpowder*, where there

there was water enough at that time to reach the girth of my horſe; the *Little Gunpowder*, which I paſſed on a very miſerable wooden bridge: this river ſupplies ſome iron-works and ſlitting-mills, known by the name of *Onion's-works*; the *Winter's-Run*, a ſmall creek; and the *Buſh-River*, which, like *Bird-River*, is only four toiſes acroſs, and is not more than a foot in depth, at a place not more than a quarter of a mile from the ſpot where it is twelve feet in depth, and a mile in breadth. There is a handſome and large corn-mill on *Buſh-River*, to which corn is brought from a great diſtance, the proprietors being rich and active. The flour is ſent to Baltimore.

The *Little Gunpowder* creek ſeparates the county of Baltimore from that of *Hartford*. The county of Baltimore, excluſive of the city, contains twenty-five thouſand inhabitants, of which ten thouſand are ſlaves. The population of the town of Baltimore amounts to fifteen thouſand white men, and from ſix to ſeven thouſand ſlaves.

This road has a mournful appearance, and is very thinly inhabited. The road is tolerably good for a horſe; but almoſt impaſſable for carriages. Notwithſtanding which, there are four ſtages that paſs it every day; and it lies between two of the moſt conſiderable places for trade in America.

At the diſtance of a mile before I arrived at Buſh-Town I paſſed through *Abington*, a ſmall and poor village, which is remarkable for nothing but for the remains of a very handſome college, built by the Methodiſts, and which was burned down about two years ſince. It is aſſerted here, that this fire was occaſioned wilfully; and when it is known that the Methodiſts, as well as the Quakers, exhort to the emancipation of the ſlaves, we cannot be ſurprized that they ſhould be hated and perſecuted in a country where the inhabitants are attached to the ſyſtem of keeping ſlaves, by their education, habits, and a narrow view of their intereſts. It muſt be allowed that there is a great deal of enthuſiaſm among the Methodiſts; and I am inclined to believe that they are too general in their plans for the abolition of ſlavery, even to

guard ſufficiently the intereſts of the ſlaves themſelves. Nor are they very diſcreet in their ſermons. But from all I have been able to gather concerning this ſect, I am perſuaded it includes many worthy and virtuous men, and even many men of talents. None of the Methodiſts poſſeſs ſlaves. Many before they were of that perſuaſion were proprietors of ſlaves, and freed them. There have been ſome who have freed three hundred negroes at a time; binding the children to maſters, with the condition of their teaching them to read, write, and cypher, and of their ſerving only to the age of eighteen or twenty, when they were to be entirely at their own diſpoſal. Buſh-Town is in the county of Hartford, which contains fifteen thouſand inhabitants, five thouſand of which are ſlaves. *Belair* has been the county town of Hartford for ſome years paſt, but hitherto contains only the town-houſe, a priſon, and a ſmall number of wooden houſes. It was made the county town for its central ſituation. Buſh-Town was formerly the county town, and was at that time called Hartford.

JOURNEY FROM BUSH-TOWN TO HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

The country till I reached the Suſquehannah was of the ſame kind as that through which I had already paſſed. In travelling twelve miles, I did not ſee more than four houſes that were not miſerable huts; and yet the farms are tolerably large, the ground being partly ſown with Indian corn, and the remainder immenſe fields very rarely manured. The land is in general ſandy and poor. From ten to twelve buſhels of Indian wheat per acre is the uſual produce, and from five to ſix of corn (where that is ſown), when the Heſſian fly does not infeſt the grain, it being as common in this part of Maryland as the on the other ſide of the Cheſapeak. Some meadows, eſpecially thoſe that lie neareſt the bay, yield forty hundred weight of hay per acre. There is ſome ground to be met with ſuperior in quality, the produce of which is a third more than what I have named.

Throughout

Throughout the whole of this journey, I found that lands generally ſell as at Buſh-Town, from ten to twenty dollars per acre. Near the Suſquehannah ſome rich meadows ſell for thirty-five dollars per acre.

The rain which fell inceſſantly for two days, and detained me at Buſh-Town, ſwelled the creeks ſo much, that at many places we paſſed, where the water is generally no more than four or five inches in depth, it was then more than four feet. The ſtage that goes between Philadelphia and Baltimore was compelled to remain four-and-twenty hours at Buſh-Town; the *Winter's-Run*, which is uſually no more than two feet in depth, having riſen to fifteen feet, and there being no bridge over that river.

The Swan-river is the only one of any conſequence between Buſh-Town and the Suſquehannah. It is of the ſame kind as the reſt; that is to ſay, very narrow at a quarter of a mile from the ſpot where it is two or three miles acroſs.

The land is tolerably good in the bottoms, and is ſold for thirty-four dollars per acre; that on the heights ſells only for ten and twelve dollars per acre. The wages of labourers are from eight to nine dollars per month, for the ſummer ſeaſon, or ninety-two dollars by the year; and three ſhillings and nine pence per day when there is nothing particular to do, and a dollar and a half in harveſt-time. They make a demand of half a dollar extraordinary for mowing.

HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

A few houſes that ſtand together on the weſt banks of the Suſquehannah bear the name of *Havre-de-Grace*. A company conſiſting of eight perſons projected the eſtabliſhment of a town there. A plan was drawn out, the ground was meaſured and bounded, and the ſtreets laid out. The ſite included a thouſand acres, divided into three thouſand ſix hundred lots of houſes. The projectors already enjoyed their town completed in imagination; or affected to do ſo.

Their reaſons for ſuppoſing it would be peopled with rapidity were the following:

1ſt, That the produce of the Suſquehannah, navigable in both its branches for three hundred miles above Havre-de-Grace, could have no other outlet, at leaſt for timber, which abounds along its banks as well as along the banks of the rivers that fall into it.

2d, That Cheſapeak-bay, which commences at this ſpot, has at that place fourteen feet water without a rock or ſand-bank beneath it; and that, therefore, veſſels of a conſiderable burthen might there eaſily take in ſuch articles as could not venture into the bay in the ſmall craft that brings them down the river.

3d, That the road of Havre-de-Grace, being in that part of the town which lies upon the bay, would be ſecured from the ſhoals of ice, and in other reſpects perfectly ſafe.

Thus the proprietors of the ground of this new city imagined that the commerce of Baltimore, and even that of Philadelphia, would in part be transferred to Havre-de-Grace.

The navigation of the Suſquehannah, however, although practicable, with great care, for ſmall veſſels and timber rafts, is not without danger, and does not admit of any larger veſſels. It flows through the ſtate of Pennſylvania, except for the laſt twenty miles of its courſe: and as the legiſlature of Pennſylvania entertains the project of joining the Suſquehannah and the Schuylkill, by a canal which is already begun at Swectara; and as this plan has no other intention than to give Philadelphia the means of receiving directly the corn that the Suſquehannah brings as far as Middleton; it is to be expected that even if this canal is not completed (which the inhabitants of Havre-de-Grace believe to be impracticable), the ſtate of Pennſylvania will never employ funds to facilitate a navigation the profit of which will wholly belong to a neighbouring ſtate. The depth of the canal that comes up to Havre-de-Grace is not, even below *Point-Concord*, conſiderable enough to admit veſſels of great burthen; and conſequently

not

not directly to carry on foreign commerce with advantage. I take this project therefore to be another dream, at leaſt as to the extent given to it. This town, which may very well become an entrepôt, where the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore may eſtabliſh agents, does not appear to be calculated for any higher deſtiny. Pamphlets are however circulated to praiſe the advantages of its ſituation, and conſequently to attract adventurers. The company have ſent an agent to Europe to ſell their lots, the price of which is from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars, according to their ſituations. Notwithſtanding the activity of theſe meaſures, and even the probability that this place will become an entrepôt, I am perſuaded the tenth part of the ſite of Havre-de-Grace will never be covered with houſes; or, to ſay the leaſt, not for a great number of years. Many people aſſert that the ſituation is far from being healthy.

There are obſtructions in the navigation of the Suſquehannah eight miles above Havre-de-Grace, and within the territory of the ſtate of Maryland. A canal which will remedy the evil is almoſt finiſhed. The funds for defraying the expences of this canal were raiſed by ſubſcriptions of individuals and the ſtate of Maryland. The tide flows ſix miles above Havre-de-Grace; and herrings abound there as in the Potowmack. There are ten different fiſheries eſtabliſhed within that ſpace on the weſt banks of the Suſquehannah, where the ſhoals are the greateſt; and five on the other ſide. The herrings are taken in large nets, from a hundred and eighty to two hundred fathoms in length, and from four to ſix fathoms in breadth. The nets are ſpread acroſs the river by boats, a rope at one end being faſtened to the ſhore, and the other end conveyed by the boat to a certain diſtance; and they are drawn by the help of a capſtan. There is no other fiſh here but herrings and ſhad-fiſh; and the latter are found in very ſmall quantities. The moment the herrings are taken, they are thrown into large caſks with ſalt. The fiſhermen do not clean them, nor take off the heads, as on the Potowmack. Having been left five days in theſe caſks, they are taken out, and packed in barrels, which

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at each end have a layer of ſalt; and then they are fit for ſale. The fiſheries, the curing the herring, and the packing them in barrels, employ from fourteen to fifteen men in each fiſhery, who have each fifteen dollars per month, with their proviſions. Every barrel contains about five hundred herrings, and requires a buſhel and a half of ſalt, which coſts five ſhillings per buſhel; the barrel itſelf coſts five ſhillings and ſix pence: the nets laſt three or four ſeaſons, and coſt from two hundred to three hundred dollars, according to their dimenſions. That part of the river where the fiſhery is eſtabliſhed is taken of the proprietor of the adjoining land; and from thirty to fifty dollars annually are paid for a fiſhery, according to its ſituation; for the difference of a point in the land, or of the nearneſs of the current to the ſhore, makes a great difference in the ſize and quantity of the ſhoals. The ſeaſon for fiſhing continues five or ſix weeks, during which the ten fiſheries in the neighbourhood of Havre-de-Grace take about 12,000 barrels of herrings: they are ſent as far as Baltimore: ſome are ſold freſh to the inhabitants, who cure them themſelves. A barrel of cured herrings is ſold for five dollars and a half: freſh herrings are four dollars per thouſand, which is the ſame price as on the Potowmack. Small veſſels of about forty tons carry the cured herrings to Baltimore; they are generally built at Havre-de-Grace, and coſt twenty dollars per ton for the hull, which makes them amount to thirty-five or thirty-ſix dollars per ton when they are ready for ſea.

While I was viſiting one of theſe fiſheries I ſaw a net drawn, with an immenſe quantity of fiſh; enough, it was computed, to fill two hundred barrels: the fiſhermen calculate the medium quantity of a draught to be about forty barrels.

JOURNEY FROM HAVRE-DE-GRACE TO ELK-TOWN.

I have ſpoken in my journal of laſt year of the beauty of the banks of the Suſquehannah at its mouth; theſe banks are lofty, diverſified in their appearance, well cultivated, and covered with dwellings. At the entrance of the bay the proſpect extends as far as the ſight can reach; ten

ten miles higher up, on the ſide of Philadelphia, noble mountains of various beautiful forms bound the proſpect.

In this part of the Suſquehannah are immenſe flocks of wild ducks, known by the name of *canvas-back ducks*, and are eſteemed delicious eating. This fowl, which in ſummer haunts the more northern lakes of the Continent, viſits the Suſquehannah towards the month of December, and remaining there till the froſts ſets in, at that ſeaſon proceeds to the Potowmack; when the ice diſappears, it returns again to the Suſquehannah for a week or two, and then departs for its ſummer haunts.

Having croſſed the Suſquehannah, I found myſelf in the county of *Cecil*, through the ſouthern part of which I had travelled three weeks before from Warwick to a river called the *Saſafras*. It was my intention to pay a viſit for a day to *Philip Thomas*, one of the richeſt proprietors in this part of the country, and a partner in the Havre-de-Grace company. I was even on my road to his houſe, when I learned that he had been two days at Philadelphia; I therefore abandoned my deſign, and took the road to Philadelphia, through a country a little more pleaſant, better cultivated, and better inhabited, than that between Baltimore and the Suſquehannah; but by no means either rich or well peopled.

A ſmall creek called *Principio*, which is no more than four toiſes in breadth in one ſpot, after a fall among rocks of about thirty feet, ſpreads to a mile in breadth, and continues to widen till it falls into the bay. Juſt below this fall is a cannon foundery belonging to Colonel *Youth*, one of the partners of the Havre-de-Grace company; this foundery is at preſent entirely employed in caſting cannon for the frigates building by the United States: a hundred and twenty dollars for every twenty hundred weight of metal is the price the colonel receives for all cannon that are proof, which amounts to about three hundred dollars for a cannon of twenty-four pounds caliber. The colonel procures his ore from the neighbourhood of the place where Webſter reſides, at a little diſtance from Bird-creek; it is brought to Principio in boats.

boats. This ore does not yield more when melted than two fifths of its weight of iron; and the metal, on the mere inſpection of it, did not appear to me to be good. The great number of cannon that burſt in the proof, with the fragments of which the ground is covered, confirmed me in this opinion: the cannons however appear to be caſt with conſiderable ſkill, and great care.

This is the ſecond cannon foundery in the United States: there is, as I have ſaid before, another ſituated in the ſtate of Rhode-Iſland, and theſe are the only ones. They have been eſtabliſhed by French founders, ſent by the French government for that purpoſe about ten or twelve years ago: thus, for every thing that contributes to their ſafety, the United States are indebted to France.

Colonel Youth's foundery conſiſts of a furnace with bellows, and a reverberating one. When he is not employed in caſting cannon he manufactures pots, chimney backs, and other large works. The number of workmen at preſent amounts to fifty, who are paid from ten to twenty dollars a month.

The view of the fall is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The ſmall veſſels of from forty to fifty tons, which bring the ore, approach it within fifty fathom.

From ſeveral elevated points of the road from Elk-Town the bay of Cheſapeak may be ſeen: you approach it even at *Charles-Town*, and at *Nordwaiſt*, a little village built on *Nordwaiſt-River*; which, like the others, is only a continuation of the bay. The ſmall creeks, however, which we paſs at the ford are innumerable. It is probable, that in a dry ſeaſon they are not to be perceived, but after the heavy rains, which have fallen for ſome days paſt, they are almoſt all wide and deep.

ELK-TOWN.

This ſmall town is the capital of Cecil-County, and contains about 300 houſes, almoſt all built in one ſtreet, which leads to Philadelphia.

Elk-River is navigable only a mile below the town, and at which point

point there is alſo an aſſemblage of houſes and warehouſes, which may be conſidered as a part of the town.

Elk-Town has a pretty good trade in corn with Philadelphia, which is brought particularly from the eaſtern part of Maryland. From Elk-Town it is ſent by land to Chriſtiana-bridge, a village at the diſtance of twelve miles; and from thence conveyed on the Chriſtiana to Brandywine and Philadelphia. It is aſſerted that 300,000 buſhels are ſent annually from Elk-Town by this route. The price of carriage to Brandywine is nine pence per buſhel, and to Philadelphia eleven pence halfpenny.

One of the plans for joining the Cheſapeak and the Delaware, by inland navigation, is to join the Elk-River to that of the Chriſtiana. Another has for its object to join the *Bohemia* to the *Apoquimini*. A third is to make a communication between the river Cheſter and Duck-River; and the fourth would join the Choptank to Jones-River. Each of theſe plans is favoured by the inhabitants of the part of the county which it would paſs through.

It is aſſerted that the ſtate of Delaware oppoſes almoſt all, becauſe a great number of horſes belonging to the inhabitants are conſtantly and uſefully employed in carrying corn from Elk-Town to Chriſtiana-bridge. I can hardly believe that ſo trifling an intereſt can miſlead the inhabitants, and eſpecially the legiſlature of Delaware, in oppoſition to the important intereſts of the ſtate.

The commercial intereſts of Baltimore, as I have before ſaid, oppoſe this junction. To judge which of theſe four plans ought to be preferred, we ſhould know the plan of the engineers, and the nature of the ground and the obſtacles. If the difficulties were equal, that which would join the Bohemia to the Apoquimini appears the beſt, as being higher in the river Delaware. The ſmall ſpace of ground to be cut through to join the two rivers ſhould likewiſe be taken into conſideration, as rendering its execution quicker, and leſs expenſive. As the part to be cut through is entirely in the ſtate of Delaware, the acquieſcence of the legiſlature of Maryland is unneceſſary.

A general obſtacle exiſts againſt all theſe projects;—which is, the difference in the height of the waters of the Delaware and of the Cheſapeak.

This difference is occaſioned by the rapid influx from the Gulph of Mexico, which, on account of the direction of the currents, and the narrowneſs of the baſon, ruſhes with more force on the waters of the Delaware than on thoſe of the Cheſapeak, mixes with them ſooner, and raiſes them higher; whilſt on the other hand after having paſſed the capes of the Cheſapeak, it immediately turns into a vaſt baſon, and thus loſing its force renders the reſt of the bay from two to three feet lower than the Delaware.

But this variation in the height of the water of theſe two bays might be remedied by ſluices at the points where the rivers would unite.

About a mile from Elk-Town is the boundary of the ſtates of Maryland and Delaware. There are in the neighbourhood ſome meadows, which are kept in good order; ſituated in a good bottom, and ſowed with clover and timothy-graſs, which yields in two crops from eighty to one hundred weight of hay an acre. Ten hundred weight of hay ſells here for ſix dollars and a half. Theſe excellent meadows do not, however, ſell for more than thirty dollars per acre: the price of other land is from ten to fifteen dollars.

Labourers are paid here ſix ſhillings a day, or eleven dollars a month; the greater part of them are negroes let out by their maſters. In harveſt time they pay them a dollar a day.

Elk-River as well as the other rivers abounds in herrings and ducks: this abundance is a great reſource for poor families, who may procure by their own pains, or at a very low price, their food for almoſt all the year in theſe two ſorts of proviſion. Some hogs, whoſe feed coſts them nothing, as they let them run in the woods, provide the reſt: but the conſequence of this eaſy method of procuring food in abundance is, that, unleſs they have the intention of emigrating, they become indolent. Three weeks' work in harveſt time, and the ſale

of

of the ducks which they kill, procure them as much money as they want: one or two acres of maize which they cultivate furniſh them with bread; and a great number of them are therefore idle all the year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON MARYLAND.

All that I have ſeen of the ſtate of Maryland—and I have travelled through the greateſt part of it during this year and the laſt—induces me to believe that its ſituation in many parts is inferior to almoſt all the other ſtates of America.

Slavery, which gives a very great advantage to the eaſtern ſtates over the ſouthern, in reſpect to the cultivation of the ground, and ſuch manufactures as the ſtate of population in this new world permits, produces ſtill more evils in Maryland than in Virginia and the Carolinas, as Maryland is leſs extenſive than the three other ſtates, and does not produce, like them, fine and rich crops of rice, cotton, and tobacco: added to which, the number of ſlaves in thoſe ſtates is greater in proportion than elſewhere. All the land, as I have before obſerved, is exhauſted by the crops of tobacco which have been continually drawn from it ſince this ſtate has been inhabited. The impoſſibility of obtaining more crops, at leaſt from the greater part of the land, has reduced the cultivation of this plant to nothing; and the cultivation of maize, which is carried on in thoſe parts which cannot produce any more tobacco, completely deſtroys them. The great number of ſlaves, however, who are to be maintained renders the cultivation in ſome degree indiſpenſable; and the Heſſian fly with which the wheat has latterly been attacked, likewiſe encourages the cultivation of maize: the leaves of this plant are very good food for horſes; thus the advantages of its cultivation induces the planter to forget the damages which it occaſions to the ſoil already irreparably deſtroyed, as well as the portion of labour which it requires from the time of ſowing to that of harveſt.

He ſees, however, his crops of maize diminiſh annually; yet his negroes muſt be provided with food; and if he feels the neceſſity of improving his land by a proper cultivation, and particularly by manuring it abundantly, he is prevented ſo doing by the preponderating neceſſity of providing food, and by the want of the money neceſſary for theſe improvements. On the other hand, the inhabitant whoſe exiſtence depends on his labour, bluſhes to *work as a negro*. If he has a ſmall property, which he might by induſtry improve, he haſtens, as I have before obſerved, to diſpoſe of it, that he may purchaſe a ſettlement in ſome part of the country where he may obtain it at a low price, and where, by labouring himſelf, he will not be liable to be conſidered as an inferior being. This property is then bought by ſome rich planter, who ſuffers it to lie uncultivated, having already more land than he can cultivate. The white who has no property labours until he has ſaved ſufficient to enable him to ſettle elſewhere, which he may ſoon accompliſh, as he can eaſily earn from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars a year, beſides his food. Some quit the country even before they have ſaved any property, and if they are good workmen, find an opportunity of eſtabliſhing themſelves with credit in a country where their feelings are not conſtantly wounded by lowering themſelves to an equality with ſlaves. This is preciſely the ſtate of things in the eaſtern part of Maryland, and even in ſome of the weſtern parts.

There are a few places in the weſt of this ſtate where it is otherwiſe; ſuch as in the counties of Frederick, Waſhington, and the *Alleganys*, where the proportion of ſlaves is very ſmall. The land there is fertile, and has not yet been drained; as they are new ſettlements, and as the temperature of the air will not permit the cultivation of tobacco. Theſe three counties, where alſo the climate is healthful, are peopled with emigrants from other ſtates as well as from Maryland. Some planters on both ſides of this ſtate have lately begun to improve their meadows, and alſo to cultivate large quantities of land. They manure the ground: and this firſt ſtep towards improvement is doubtleſs uſeful,

ful, and well deſigned, as preparatory to a more complete ſyſtem; but their beaſts are always, winter and ſummer, in the woods, and are leaner than any I have ſeen; but the means of fattening them does not appear to occupy their attention, nor do they take any pains to aboliſh, even at a future period, that ſcourge—ſlavery—which, humanity and morality out of the queſtion, is an inſurmountable obſtacle to the improvement of their lands, and conſequently their fortunes; and which is a ſource of imminent danger to themſelves and to the general tranquillity of their country.

I have ſaid that in Maryland and Virginia, and even in Carolina, many planters are convinced of thoſe dangers, and are deſirous of having their fields cultivated and their domeſtic ſervices performed by freemen rather than by ſlaves; but this conviction is not ſufficiently ſtrong to lead them to the reſolution, which ſhould operate as a preliminary to the deſtruction of the evil.

There are publications even in Virginia in favour of the emancipation of the negroes; they have, however, produced no more effect there than in thoſe ſtates of the ſouth, where the great number of ſlaves and ſmall proportion of whites render every meaſure againſt ſlavery extremely difficult.

They talk here of tranſporting all the negroes out of the country at once, either to Africa or to the ſouthern parts of America, in order to found a colony. This meaſure would be ſo full of difficulties in its execution, and would be attended with ſo many unpleaſant conſequences, that it cannot poſſibly be carried into effect. The plan is ſupported by the fear which manifeſts itſelf in thoſe who eſpouſe it, that a mixture in the blood would take place if the negroes were emancipated, or ſuffered to remain in the country: "in future generations," ſay they, "there would not be a countenance to be ſeen without more or leſs of the black colour." This inconvenience would doubtleſs be great if it were certain; but it by no means appears ſo to me: wiſe laws might prevent this mixture, or render it very rare, without any further abridgment of the rights of individuals than is already

already made by many other laws, which, for the good of ſociety, reſtrain the exerciſe of individual rights; nor would ſuch a law be any evil to the negro race. Choice alone would for a length of time give a decided ſuperiority to the white colour, even in the eyes of the blacks; and the preference would of itſelf prevent mixed marriages; the law, therefore, which ſhould enforce this preference, would be eaſily carried into execution.

But it appears to me to be an error, to propoſe the emancipating all the ſlaves at one time. The reſpect due to the property of the maſters of theſe ſlaves, hitherto acknowledged by the law, and to the maintenance of order in ſociety, demands that this great work ſhould be progreſſive. The objects of a law to free the ſlaves, are the well being of ſociety, and the happineſs of the ſlaves themſelves; and if theſe are not attained, the abolition of the ſlave trade is the dream of a miſtaken philanthropy. The great danger a ſlave has to encounter after his emancipation is, that of not being able to provide for his wants; and it is the natural conſequence of the averſion to labour contracted by every ſlave, and the habit he has of ſeeing himſelf fed and clothed, without directly occupying himſelf with that care. But would not both the danger to the ſlave, and the injury to the maſter, be avoided by a law with the following proviſions: 1ſt, To fix a price, that ſhould be moderate and equitable, on the liberty to be given to a ſlave: 2d, To enjoin the proprietors of ſlaves to permit them to work two days in each week for their own emolument; and to furniſh them with land, to raiſe crops that ſhould be their own property; or where the maſter ſhould have occaſion for their labour on the days ſet aſide for their own uſe, to pay them at the ſame rate as other workmen: 3d, To declare every ſlave, on paying the price at which he is valued by the law, inſtantly free: 4th, to declare all children of ſlaves, born after the date of the law, free; and all children exiſting at the time of the law, free at the age of twenty-one; with a clauſe, to compel the maſters to provide for the education of the latter?

The emancipation of ſlaves being thus the reſult of their own labour, they

they will in ſome degree have acquired the habit of labour; and will no longer be ſtrangers, as they now are, to the prudence and foreſight neceſſary to their exiſtence; nor will ſociety have any thing to fear on that ſide from their emancipation. Being treated as other labourers, having the privileges of white men, what particular inducement can they have to injure ſociety? I am not aware that I deceive myſelf; yet I believe that a law of this nature would render the emancipation of ſlaves a benefit to every claſs of ſociety, eſpecially in a country where the population of white men exceeds that of ſlaves; and I do not think the proprietors of ſlaves would have any reaſon to complain of ſuch a law.

The population of the ſtate of Maryland, according to a return made in 1790, amounted to 319,728 inhabitants; of which 103,036 were ſlaves. People here, who are the beſt informed, aſſert that the population of white men is not increaſed; but that the population of ſlaves is, on the contrary, greatly increaſed.

It is impoſſible to ſee, without aſtoniſhment, and indeed ſome degree of indignation, the ruinous ſtate of the roads and bridges in Maryland. In the moſt remote parts of America, roads and bridges are not worſe; and indeed in many of thoſe parts of the country are even better. The negligence of the government of Maryland in this reſpect is an unpardonable injury, not only to the convenience, but to the ſecurity of the public. The canals ſeem to be a little more attended to; at leaſt, companies and individuals engaged in carrying them on are more favoured by the legiſlature. Beſide which, the number of navigable rivers with which Maryland is interſected, renders the carriage from one to another extremely ſhort, and affords means of ſale for the produce of this ſtate that are at once eaſy and cheap; and an improvement in the general ſyſtem of culture would increaſe the produce of this ſtate to an immenſe extent.

Maryland boaſts of having a particular ſpecies of white corn; and a particular kind of tobacco, known by the name of *kite-foot*; both of which

which are originally natives of America, and even of that part of this continent which at preſent forms the ſtate of Maryland. The white corn grows in the more ſouthern part of the eaſtern ſide of the ſtate, where, however, it degenerates. The *kite-foot* is cultivated not far from the Potapſko; and is in great requeſt, it is ſaid, in Europe.

The religious ſects of Maryland are as numerous as in the other ſtates of the union. There are more Roman Catholics in Maryland than in any other part of America, the firſt ſettlers of this ſtate being of that perſuaſion; but the Preſbyterians, and ſtill more the Methodiſts, are in greater numbers. A Roman Catholic biſhop reſides at Baltimore; in which city and its neighbourhood, and in Prince George's-Country, Queen's-County, and Charles's-County, it is that the Roman Catholics abound moſt. The Catholic Religion is rigidly obſerved by its profeſſors here; and makes very few proſelytes. In general, the ſpirit of religion is not more prevalent in Maryland than in any of the other ſtates. The inhabitants are mild, obliging, and hoſpitable. Wherever a traveller goes he is well received; and is always preſſed to make a longer ſtay in every houſe he viſits. I have met with many perſons of the upper claſs of excellent diſpoſitions; and alſo many of the inferior claſs, eſpecially in parts remote from towns.

It is aſſerted that the inhabitants of Baltimore are as ſelfiſh and inhoſpitable as thoſe of Philadelphia; and I think that is probably the caſe, as the ſame cauſes every-where produce the ſame effect. I cannot, however, ſpeak of the truth of this aſſertion from my own experience; and indeed I have reaſon to ſpeak with reſpect of all thoſe whom I had occaſion to viſit.

The political ſentiments that prevail in the upper claſſes of Maryland are in favour of what is called federaliſm; but they are by no means violent. The former preſident of the united ſtates is in high eſtimation here; notwithſtanding which, the acts of his adminiſtration are not indiſcriminately approved. There are ſome zealous partiſans of the anti-federaliſts in Maryland; and they are to be met with even among the merchants

merchants of Baltimore. But politics do not ſeem much to occupy the country people of this ſtate. Newſpapers are neither ſo many in number, nor circulated to the ſame extent, as in Pennſylvania or New-York.

RETURN FROM ELK-TOWN TO PHILADELPHIA.

A ſtorm of rain and ſnow, with violent guſts of wind, once more detained me a whole day at an inn in Elk-Town. I had the pleaſure, however, of paſſing a part of the time with Mr. Philip Thomas, whom I had not found at home when I went to pay him a viſit on the preceding evening, and who was then returning from Philadelphia. Mr. Thomas is one of thoſe plain and kind people that a traveller is glad to meet with. I took my leave of him, with a promiſe that I would paſs ſome time at his houſe as ſoon as it ſhould be in my power; and perfectly convinced that he was deſirous of my viſit.

The country that lies between Elk-Town and Chriſtiana is nearly the ſame as that through which I paſſed on my route from Havre-de-Grace to Elk-Town. Chriſtiana-bridge is the only conſiderable place on this road. It is at this place that the corn that comes by land-carriage is put on board veſſels for Philadelphia. At the diſtance of ſix or ſeven miles is a ſmall town called Newport, ſituated alſo on the Chriſtiana; which enjoys a commerce of the ſame kind, but leſs conſiderable, and merely to ſupply that part of the ſtate of Delaware which lies nearer to Newport than Chriſtiana bridge. At five miles further lies Wilmington. There are ſome parts of this road running along the Delaware and Chriſtiana (that falls into it after running through a ſmall plain tolerably well cultivated), which preſent a very fine proſpect.

Having in the beginning of my account of this part of my journey ſpoken at length of Wilmington, and the road between that town and Philadelphia, I have not any thing to add on that ſubject, except that the heavy rains which had fallen for ſeveral days had rendered theſe roads, that are always bad enough, almoſt impaſſable.

During this little excurſion, I obſerved tranſitions from exceſſive heat to cold, ſometimes with the interval of a day, but very often in the courſe of the ſame day.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE MINERALOGY OF THE COUNTRY.

In purſuance of the plan I laid down for myſelf, of concluding the account of each of my journeys with a general outline of the mineralogy of the countries through which I paſſed, as far as the little knowledge I have of that ſubject extends; I have a few words to add on that topic.

The neighbourhood of Philadelphia to the ſouth and weſt preſents the ſame ſand and earth as on the eaſt and north. Near the town, however, and on the ſpot which ſeparates it from the Shuylkill, where that river falls into the Delaware, is found black earth of a great depth, and covered with vegetation; and which, it is evident, has been recently left by the water. It has all the character of land perfectly new, and as yet ſcarcely raiſed from the bed of the river. It is conſtantly moiſt; and is frequently overflowed by the river. This land is uſed for meadows, and is in great eſtimation. It is acknowledged, however, to be extremely unhealthy. Between that and Wilmington the quality of the ſtone is quartzoſe; ochre is alſo to be found in an imperfect ſtate; and iron-ore is perceptible in moſt of the ſtones that are found on the road.

Every appearance of the peninſula, that partly belongs to the ſtate of Delaware, and partly to the eaſtern ſide of Maryland, alſo proves that it is land left by the water; and that at a period not long paſt: among theſe are the quality of the ſoil, its level, and its conſtant and extreme humidity.

In this part of Maryland there are few ſtones found on the ſandy ſoil of the country. The trenching of the ground, or ſome natural accident, has in places, however thrown up a ſpecies of ſtrong gravel; in others

others a ſoft argillaceous ſchiſtus, and in others a ſtone mixed with iron-ore.

One of the moſt remarkable features of this peninſula is, that the rivers are divided by a ſucceſſion of ſwamps, from which the water runs toward the Delaware or the Cheſapeak, although the ground does not appear to the eye to be more elevated than the reſt of the country. There is another fact ſtill more extraordinary—the buſhes and plants which grow in theſe moraſſes are of the ſame kind as thoſe which are found on the higheſt mountains.

In the weſtern part of Maryland, ſmall round iron-ſtones are found in conſiderable quantities. The ſoil is for the moſt part ſand, which covers a compact clay. As one approaches Federal-City the country is not ſo flat, the hills are more diverſified, and are generally higher. On the ſite of Federal-City the banks and beds of the ſtream are covered with granite, like the borders of the Potowmack. The rocks that occaſion the falls of the Potowmack are free-ſtone.

The banks of the Potowmack, below the falls, and eſpecially from George-Town to a ſpot near Alexandria, exhibit the ſame appearance of ſucceſſive terraces as thoſe in Connecticut, of which I have already ſpoken; but not altogether ſo remarkable. The environs of Alexandria are filled with beds of large oyſter-ſhells, like thoſe that are ſo frequently found in Lower Virginia. Between Federal-City and Baltimore the ground is frequently full of iron-ore. Near the *Snowden-works* are rocks among which are ſometimes found pieces of granite and feld-ſpath. In the neighbourhood of Baltimore the ground is ſand with clay; and gravel is found conſiderably ſtrong.

Between Baltimore and Havre-de-Grace is found argillaceous ſchiſtus, and the ſoil is of clay and of a red colour. On the banks of rivers and creeks and on the ſides of mountains are maſſes of ſtone.

NATURE

NATURE OF THE WOODS.

The woods in the ſtates of Delaware and Maryland produce no other trees than thoſe that are found in Pennſylvania and Virginia. Oaks of every ſpecies abound in them, many of which are large and compact in the grain. They are uſed in carpenters' work, and furniſh a great article of exportation. The black walnut-tree, which alſo abounds in theſe woods, is much uſed by cabinet-makers; and makes beautiful furniture. Every other kind of walnut-tree is found in the country, the fruit of which, as well as the acorn, feeds an immenſe quantity of hogs that run in the woods, the fleſh of which being ſalted forms one of the moſt important articles of the exportation of theſe two ſtates. The cypreſs and cedar cover the marſhy land; where they grow very large. Almoſt all the different kinds of wood that are in great requeſt in Europe are to be found in this latitude; but more eſpecially in the weſtern part of Maryland. I have in particular noticed the tulip-tree, of a great height near Federal-City; and remarably fine *kalmia latiflora*, from twenty to five-and-twenty feet in height, between Federal-City and Baltimore. I alſo ſaw ſome of the latter near the Patapſko, whoſe bloom, of a beautiful pale red, was beginning to appear. The wood of the *kalmia* I have been told is uſed for the axle-trees of carts, for the handles of tools, and all other purpoſes for which wood of the hardeſt kind is preferred.

RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

AS I am now on the eve of my departure from Philadelphia, and as it is not probable that I ſhall be here again before my departure for Europe, I ſhall ſet down whatever information I have been able to collect, reſpecting the city of Philadelphia and the ſtate of Pennſylvania, in the ſeveral viſits I have paid to this part of the United States.

ORIGIN OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This colony was founded 1681, by the celebrated WILLIAM PENN, from whom it derives its name; and to the genius with which that great man conceived the plan of its government, and the wiſdom and juſtice of his adminiſtration, is to be aſcribed the rapid progreſs it made to a happy and flouriſhing condition.

The Engliſh government had given Admiral PENN reaſon to expect the ceſſion of this country to him, in payment of a conſiderable ſum due to him from the public. The Admiral died before any thing was done in the affair; and the petition preſented by William Penn, after his death, to claim the execution of the promiſe, was long oppoſed by the agents of Lord BALTIMORE, proprietor of Maryland. It was not till towards the concluſion of the year 1681, that Charles the Second ſigned William Penn's charter.

At this time ſeveral ſpots on the banks of the Delaware were inhabited. They were at firſt part of the province of New York occupied

by Dutch ſettlers, and afterwards were in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes; till, in 1664, they were finally united to the crown of England.

The motives mentioned in the preamble of the patent granted to William Penn are, the ſervices of Admiral Penn, and the laudable intentions of his ſon to add to the grandeur of the Britiſh empire, by cultivating ſuch branches of commerce in the territories ceded to him as would enrich Great Britain, and by civiliſing the ſavage nations of the country.

The limits of the lands ceded by Charles Second to William Penn, were, on the eaſt, the Delaware, from a ſpot twelve miles to the north of Newcaſtle, to the fortieth degree of latitude, *in caſe*, the words of the patent are, *the river ſhall extend thus far to the north*; from this point a ſtraight line drawn to the weſt, at right angles with the Delaware; and from that point, another line drawn to the ſouth; and finally, a line drawn parallel to that of the north, and making the boundary on the ſouth.

The patent gave William Penn, and his heirs, the entire property of the province, ſubject to the ſupreme authority of the crown of England; it ceded alſo the power of making laws, eſtabliſhing a government, granting lands, and raiſing taxes.

The commerce of the new province was to be ſubject to the regulations of the Britiſh legiſlature, and was to be carried on only with England. William Penn was obliged to appoint an agent in London, to anſwer to the crown for any violations of the laws regulating Britiſh commerce; but it was provided, that in all diſputes between William Penn, or his heirs, or the merchants of the colony, and the crown, the conſtruction of the laws ſhould be favourable to the former, and the King's miniſters were enjoined to give them all poſſible aid and protection.

William Penn arrived at the banks of the Delaware in 1682, having with him a great many families of the people called Quakers. As he did not ſuppoſe, with the greater part of the founders of European colonies, that the place of his birth and the grant of his king were authorities for taking poſſeſſion of the territories of ſavage people, without their conſent, he treated with the natives for the lands with ſuch equity, that he

not

not only concluded his negociations without obſtacles, and acquired the friendſhip and confidence of the Indians, but alſo conciliated the minds of the Dutch and Swedes already eſtabliſhed in the country. The conduct of the Quakers, who accompanied Penn, was of the ſame equitable character; ſo that the new ſettlers, far from being diſturbed by the Indians, received every aid thoſe poor people could give them. And ſo deeply rooted was the veneration of the Indian tribes for William Penn, that to this day, when thoſe unhappy victims of European policy are daily driven from their habitations farther back into the wilds of the country, and have too often to complain of other acts of injuſtice, they are accuſtomed to quote the tradition handed down to them of William Penn's humane and equitable conduct. Nor do they ever place an entire confidence in any treaties with Pennſylvania, or any other ſtate, or even the Union, unleſs ſome Quakers are preſent at the conference;—"the deſcendants of William Penn," they ſay, "will never permit us to be deceived."

In 1683, William Penn began to lay the foundations of Philadelphia, at which time he formed a plan for the building of that city, which has ſince been followed with great exactneſs.

The country lying along the Delaware to the ſouth of Newcaſtle, was a little time afterwards granted by the crown to Willian Penn; and the county of Newcaſtle was ceded to him by the Duke of York.

The inhabitants of this new colony amounted, in 1684, to no more than four thouſand. In 1685, ninety veſſels arriving from Europe, with emigrants from France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, Scotland, Ireland, and England, the population was encreaſed to ſixty-ſix thouſand, of which nearly the half were Engliſh.

The wiſdom of the adminiſtration, but ſtill more entire liberty in civil and religious matters, brought a great influx of inhabitants, even from other parts of America, to Philadelphia; and the city was ſtill farther increaſed in growth, by conditional grants of ground, and other political aids given to adventurers.

In 1682, William Penn aſſembled the inhabitants of this new colony at Cheſter; with the concurrence of whom he framed a conſtitution, that veſted the legiſlation of the ſtate in the governor, aſſiſted with a provincial council and a general aſſembly. The council was compoſed of ſeventy members, choſen by the people. The governor or his deputy preſided in the council, and had three voices. A third of the council was re-elected annually. The general aſſembly was at firſt compoſed of all the inhabitants, but was ſoon reduced to two hundred, and it was provided that it ſhould never exceed five hundred.

In the diſcourſe pronounced by William Penn on this occaſion, he laid down a maxim, whoſe truth ought to be inceſſantly in the contemplation of every free people;—"Whatever," he ſaid, "be the form of a government, the people always are free when they ſhare in the legiſlative power, and are governed only by the laws. In theſe two circumſtances is the ſecurity of all freedom; without them, there can be nothing but deſpotiſm or anarchy. The legitimate objects of government are, the people's reſpect for the laws, and their ſecurity againſt the abuſe of power. On theſe principles it is, that the people are free, even in obedience, and the magiſtrates honoured and reſpectable, for the impartiality of their adminiſtration and their own ſubmiſſion to the laws."

In 1683, William Penn offered a new conſtitution to the inhabitants of Pennſylvania, of which they accepted. The number of repreſentatives was now diminiſhed; and the prerogative of putting a negative upon laws paſſed by the aſſembly, given to the governor.

Some diſputes between Lord Baltimore and William Penn, concerning their reſpective property, obliged the latter to go to England. In his abſence, the adminiſtration of the government was committed to a council, who abuſed their power, and excited diſcontents, that Penn, while he remained in Europe, could neither prevent nor allay. The crown therefore reſumed the government of the province, which was committed to the care of the governor of New York.

About this period a new conſtitution was eſtabliſhed in Pennſylvania, differing

differing from the former chiefly in this—that the general aſſembly were now annually elected.

In 1699, William Penn arrived from England, and again took the reins of government; and it was in 1701, when he was about to embark once more for England, that the conſtitution of this province was eſtabliſhed on the footing on which it reſted till the revolution of America.

The three counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, (which at that time were known by the name of the *three lower counties*), refuſing to accept this new conſtitution, William Penn granted his right in them to EDMUND SHIPPEN, and five others, and theſe counties were erected into a ſeparate government. They had an aſſembly diſtinct from that of Pennſylvania, in which, however, the governor of Pennſylvania preſided: and theſe three counties at preſent form the State of Delaware.

William Penn purchaſed from the Indians, by ſucceſſive treaties, the country as far as the Suſquehanna, and even beyond, and all that tract of land extending from Duck Creek to the mountains. He died in 1718, eſteemed, beloved, and regretted, by every one who had occaſion at any time to have dealings with him. After his death his heirs, the proprietors and governors of the province, endeavoured to extend their power, and ſoon began to claim exemptions from taxes for the lands the family of Penn had reſerved for itſelf. The houſe of repreſentatives oppoſed theſe pretentions with unremitting ſteadineſs; and the hiſtory of Pennſylvania, from that period to the late revolution in America, is nothing more than a record of diſputes between the governors and the houſe of repreſentatives. Every queſtion that came before the aſſembly was the occaſion of a diſpute; and the mutual jealouſy of theſe authorities prevented the eſtabliſhment of neceſſary regulations, which the repreſentatives of the people had not leiſure to propoſe, or were unwilling to ſubject to the governor's negative.

CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

At the time of the revolution in America, the conſtitution of Pennſylvania was changed. The proprietors were then abſent; and the people, by their repreſentatives, eſtabliſhed a conſtitution, in the following manner.

The legiſlative authority was delegated to a houſe of repreſentatives, choſen annually by the ſeveral counties. To become an elector, it was neceſſary to be an inhabitant, a deſcendant of Europeans, and free—to have arrived at the age of twenty-one, and to have reſided a year in Pennſylvania.

The number of the repreſentatives was to be proportioned to the population of each county; the only qualification to be a candidate for repreſentative was, a reſidence for the two laſt years in the ſame county, but no repreſentative was eligible to be re-elected till after an interval of four years. Every repreſentative, before he took his ſeat, was obliged to read and ſign the following declaration—*That he believed in one God, who created the univerſe, and governs it by his providence, and who rewards the good and puniſhes the wicked; and that he acknowledged the Old and New Teſtaments to have been written by divine inſpiration.*

The houſe of repreſentatives had the power of making laws conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the conſtitution. All acts were to be paſſed by a majority of at leaſt two-thirds of the members preſent; and laws were not to be in force till the expiration of one year from the time of their paſſing. During that interval they were to be publiſhed in the gazettes, that the people might have opportunity to know their nature, and that the public opinion might be made known reſpecting neceſſary amendments.

The number of repreſentatives in 1789 were ſeventy-two.

The executive power was placed in the ſupreme council of Pennſylvania, compoſed of a preſident, vice-preſident, and fifteen members choſen by the people, one in each county. This council was choſen for three years, and a third was renewed annually by an election. The preſident

ſident and vice-preſident were annually choſen, by an aſſembly compoſed of the houſe of repreſentatives, and the ſupreme council; but they were choſen among the members of the ſupreme council.

Another council compleated the political body of this ſtate; it was called the *council of cenſors*, and was compoſed of two members from each county, choſen annually by the people. The members could not be re-elected till after an interval of ſeven years. Their functions were, to guard the rights of the conſtitution; to enquire into uſurpations of the legiſlature, or the ſupreme council; to enquire whether the taxes were equitably impoſed, faithfully levied, and expended with economy; in a word, to ſee the laws juſtly adminiſtered. They had the power to ſummon any individual before them; to ſuſpend the deliberations of the legiſlature; to examine its acts, and to recommend the annulling of ſuch as appeared to them inconſiſtent with the conſtitution. They had, beſide, the power of calling a convention to change the conſtitution, to which they had authority to propoſe ſuch reforms as they ſhould deem neceſſary. In the caſe of their calling a convention, they were enjoined to give notice of it in the gazettes, during ſix months previous to its meeting.

As democratic as this conſtitution was, there were many who ſtill wiſhed for further innovation; and while it was in exiſtence, the State of Pennſylvania was divided by two factions, one of which was called the *conſtitutionaliſts*, and the other *republicans*. The latter demanded two houſes, on the plan of the majority of the United States. The conteſt for power was eager; and the public intereſt, as is too often the caſe, was ſacrificed to the intereſts of parties. Finally the republicans prevailed; and in 1790, the conſtitution at preſent in force was framed by a convention.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The conſtitution of Pennſylvania, like thoſe of all the other United States, ſeparates the executive from the legiſlative power.

The legiſlature is compoſed of a houſe of repreſentatives and a ſenate.

The

The members of the houſe of repreſentatives are choſen in each county by the electors, with the exception of thoſe who are returned by the citizens of Philadelphia.

The number of repreſentatives for a county is in proportion to the population, but each county returns at leaſt one. To keep the number in each county correſpondent with the population, an account of the inhabitants is taken every ſeven years, according to which the legiſlature declares the number that each county ſhall return.

The number of repreſentatives is never to exceed a hundred. The houſe of repreſentatives is elected annually. The qualifications for members are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenſhip, acquired three years previous to the election; and a previous reſidence of three years in the county.

The ſenate is elected for four years; but a fourth of the ſenators is renovated annually.

The ſenators are elected by diſtricts, formed by ſeveral counties, according to their population; but no diſtrict is permitted to return more than four ſenators.

The number of the ſenators is never to be leſs than the fourth part of the houſe of repreſentatives, nor ever exceed the third.

The qualifications for a ſenator are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenſhip; reſidence for four years in the ſtate; and a reſidence of the year preceding the election in the diſtrict.

The governor is elected for three years, and is not eligible to continue in office more than nine years in twelve. The qualifications for the candidate for the office of governor, are—the arrival at the age of thirty; and the right of citizenſhip of ſeven years ſtanding, and ſeven years reſidence in the ſtate.

The qualification of reſidence in the ſtate is not neceſſary to a candidate for the office of governor, or member of either of the houſes of legiſlature, when he has been abſent on the ſervice of the Union or the State.

The ſame electors chuſe the governor and the two houſes of the legiſlature.

lature. The qualifications of an elector are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; two years reſidence in the ſtate previous to the election; and the payment of taxes for the laſt ſix months. The ſons of inhabitants paying taxes are exempt from the laſt qualification.

Laws for the impoſition of taxes muſt originate in the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate may make amendments in them.

The treaſurer of the ſtate is annually appointed by the legiſlature.

All other places under the government, civil and military, are filled by the governor; who appoints alſo the ſheriffs and coroner in each county, from two candidates preſented to him by the electors.

The governor has the prerogative of granting pardon to convicts, or of mitigating their ſentence.

The acts of the legiſlature muſt receive his ſignature, to have the force of a law, which ſignature is to be affixed to the act within ten days of its being preſented to him; except in the caſe of his refuſing his aſſent, when his refuſal is to be accompanied with a declaration of his motives. The motives of refuſal are to be taken into conſideration by the two houſes; and if two-thirds of each perſiſt in paſſing the act, the governor is to place his ſignature to it, notwithſtanding his objections. It thenceforth becomes law, and he is to provide for its execution.

The judicature is divided into five tribunals; 1. the Supreme Court, compoſed of a chief-juſtice and four other judges. This court holds its ſittings at Philadelphia, in January, April, and September; in the firſt of which months, the ſittings laſt for three weeks, and in the two others for fifteen days.

2. The Courts of Oyer and Terminer, compoſed of one of the judges of the ſupreme court, and judges of the diſtrict, the county being divided into five diſtricts for the purpoſes of this juriſdiction. The judges make the circuit of the diſtrict, and take cognizance of both civil and criminal cauſes.

3. The Court of Common Pleas, compoſed of a preſident who is one of the judges of the diſtrict, and juſtices of the peace in the county.

This court is held in the county, and takes cognizance only of civil cauſes.

4. The Court of Quarter Seſſions, compoſed only of juſtices of the peace, and held every three months in the county.

5. The Court of Errors and Appeal, compoſed of a preſident who has no other function, and the judges, who are preſidents of the ſeveral courts of common pleas. This court is held every year at Philadelphia, beginning its ſittings on the firſt of July.

The Supreme Court, and the Courts of Circuit, have the powers of the Court of Chancery veſted in them.

The reſpective judges are appointed by the governor, and cannot be diſplaced but by a ſentence of the ſenate, upon an accuſation from the houſe of repreſentatives; or, where the accuſation is not of a criminal nature, by the governor, on the requiſition of two-thirds of each of the two houſes of the legiſlature.

The concluding chapter of the conſtitution of Pennſylvania contains a declaration of rights, eſtabliſhed on the pureſt principles of civil and religious liberty.

No teſt is required from perſons holding public offices, except a declaration to uphold and defend the conſtitution. No profeſſion relative to religion is demanded of them. The declaration is made upon oath, or ſimple affirmation, according to the pleaſure of the perſon making it; and this ſeems a neceſſary proviſion in a ſtate in which Quakers are as numerous as in that of Pennſylvania.

Votes at an election are given in writing; and the judges who preſide, before they receive a vote, are to make an entry of the name and qualification of the voter, that the ſame perſon may not vote twice, or vote without the right of ſuffrage.

The tranquillity of Pennſylvania has been undiſturbed ſince the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution, except in the inſtance of a partial inſurrection in 1794, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

This ſtate is bleſſed with a high degree of proſperity. Population increaſes

creaſes in an aſtoniſhing progreſſion. Commerce is more flouriſhing than in any of the other ſtates; and every corner of it is peopling with emigrations from Europe, or from the other ſtates of the Union.

THE LAWS IN GENERAL.

By the grant of Charles Second to William Penn, it was provided, that the laws of England relative to property, and alſo the laws relative to crimes, ſhould be in force in Pennſylvania, till others ſhould be formally ſubſtituted by himſelf, and the freemen of the new province, or their deputies.

In the eſtabliſhment of this colony, the common law of England, and ſeveral of its ſtatute laws, were naturally adopted; but many of theſe not being found in any written code of Pennſylvania, they are to be regarded indiſcriminately as the common law of Pennſylvania.

When the revolution took place, theſe laws ceaſed to be obligatory, by the connection with England being deſtroyed. But they were confirmed in the firſt independent legiſlature by an expreſs law, till they ſhould be repealed by ſucceeding acts of the legiſlature. This wiſe meaſure was neceſſary in the agitation of a revolution, that ſcarcely affords the coolneſs and leiſure required for the formation of a new code of laws, or even the careful reviſion of an ancient ſyſtem. Many of the laws ſince that period have been repealed, or amended; thoſe which are at preſent in force have been lately collected and publiſhed by Mr. DALLAS, ſecretary of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, a lawyer of great eminence, and who is allowed, even by men of oppoſite ſentiments in politics, to poſſeſs a clear judgment, and a profound knowledge in the laws.

THE CODE OF CIVIL LAWS, IN PARTICULAR.

I ſhall ſpeak only of the moſt intereſting of the code of civil laws; and in the firſt place, of that which regulates the property of perſons dying inteſtate. This law, which was paſſed in 1794, revokes all preceding laws on the ſame ſubject, the laſt of which was paſſed in 1764.

By the exiſting law, the widow of a perſon dying inteſtate takes a third of all his perſonal property and an intereſt for life in the real eſtate. The other two-thirds are divided equally among the legitimate children, already born or poſthumous; and after the death of the widow, the third of the real eſtate in which ſhe had a life-intereſt, is equally divided among the children.

When the perſon dying inteſtate leaves no widow, the whole of the property is equally divided among the children.

When a perſon dying inteſtate leaves a widow without children, the widow takes half the perſonal property, and a life-intereſt in half the real eſtate; the remainder is divided among the neareſt relations of the deceaſed; to whom alſo deſcends, at the death of the widow, the half of the real eſtate enjoyed by her during her life.

This law determines the preference to be given to the degrees of relationſhip; and regulates the manner of valuing, ſelling, and dividing the property among the co-heirs.

The aboliſhed law of 1764, had given to the eldeſt of the ſons of the perſon dying inteſtate, a ſhare of the property equal to two of the other children.

The common-law of England is followed in Pennſylvania, in the diſpoſition of the property of a woman dying inteſtate; the whole of the perſonal property belongs to the huſband, and alſo the enjoyment of the real eſtate during his life.

If there are children of the marriage, or their repreſentatives, they divide the property of the mother after the death of the father.

The liberty of diſpoſing of property by will, without leaving any part to children, is entire in Pennſylvania, and is conſidered as a ſecurity for the good behaviour of children. It is very uncommon to find a parent making a bad uſe of this liberty; which appears, however, to be greater than a juſt man would deſire. It is not unuſual for a parent to leave his eldeſt ſon a double portion of his property, but public opinion condemns every diſpoſition in which the eldeſt ſon is favoured beyond that proportion.

By

By a law paſſed in 1786, no divorce can be adjudged but in the following caſes;—1. For inability in the huſband, or incapacity of the wife to bear children.

2. For a preceding marriage of one of the parties, the former wife or huſband being ſtill alive, when the ſecond marriage took place.

3. For adultery, proved by one of the parties.

4. For the voluntary abſence of either of the parties, without reaſonable cauſe, from the houſe of the married parties, during four ſucceeding years.

In each of theſe caſes the ſupreme court has the power of pronouncing a ſentence of divorce. The forms of proceeding are preſcribed by the law; and it is provided, that they cannot be reſorted to, by any huſband or wife, except where the parties have reſided one year at leaſt in the ſtate.

When a married perſon, on the report of the death of the huſband or wife, after an abſence of two years, marries again, ſuch perſon is not to be judged guilty of adultery; but the huſband or wife who has been thus reported dead, may, on his or her return, claim the diſſolution of the marriage made during his or her abſence, and the reſtitution of the wife or huſband, provided the claim is made within a year after the return of ſuch perſon.

A huſband who conſents to his wife's adultery is not intitled to a divorce; and where a divorce is obtained for adultery, the party convicted of the crime is not at liberty to marry with the perſon who was his or her partner in the guilt.

The law grants a ſeparation, when the wife proves that ſhe has been ill-treated by her huſband; and compels the huſband to afford a maintenance to the wife after the ſeparation, not exceeding the third of his revenue; but every ſentence of ſeparation is to be reviſed by the high court of errors and appeals, if either of the parties chuſes to appeal.

By a law paſſed in 1780, the children of ſlaves born after that period are declared free; but they are liable to ſerve the maſters of their parents till the age of twenty-eight. The ſame law ordained the regiſtering, in the

the public books of certain officers, the names of the ſlaves then reſiding in the ſtate; and ſuch ſlaves as were not ſo regiſtered were declared to be free. It provided that all ſlaves ſhould be tried by the ſame tribunals, and with the ſame forms, as other citizens of the ſtate; but it prohibited the teſtimony of a ſlave againſt a freeman. The proprietors of ſlaves were compelled by this law to provide for their ſubſiſtence, even in the caſe of their not being regiſtered; and the manner was preſcribed for the recovery of a ſlave who had eſcaped from his maſter. It was forbidden to engage any negro or mulatto above the age of twenty-one to be bound for any longer term than ſeven years.

A law that was paſſed in May 1788 explained and amended the law of 1780. Every ſlave brought into the State of Pennſylvania, either by an inhabitant of the ſtate or any perſon coming to reſide there, was declared free as ſoon as he entered on the territories of the ſtate. No perſon could take with him, or ſend away to another ſtate, a ſlave engaged only for a term, without the conſent of the ſlave officially declared before a juſtice of the peace. A fine of one hundred and ſixty dollars is to be paid for every offence againſt this proviſion of the law. The children of ſlaves born after the firſt of March 1780, who were ſubject to ſervitude till the age of twenty-eight, were to be enregiſtered in the books of the proper officers, in default of which they were declared free.

The trading in negroes was prohibited, under the penalty of the confiſcation of the veſſel employed in or deſtined to that traffic, and a fine of two thouſand two hundred and fifty dollars. Every maſter of a ſlave, whether during his life or for a term of years, was prohibited, under the penalty of one hundred and twelve dollars, to remove huſband and wife, or parents and their children, to the diſtance of more than twelve miles from each other, without their previous conſent. Where violence is uſed by the maſter, or perſecution or falſe pretences to effect the ſeparation contrary to this law, the fine is doubled, and the offender to be impriſoned for ſix or twelve months. The granting liberty to a ſlave, whether he is ſo for life or a term of years, requires no other formality than the ſignature of the maſter declaring him to be free.

The

The common law of England is ſtill in force in Pennſylvania, relative to the hiring of domeſtics, and the taking of apprentices. Parents may therefore engage their children as apprentices and domeſtics up to the age of twenty-one; and after that age young people may make agreements for themſelves till they are twenty-eight. Proviſions are made by the law merely to prevent abuſes in theſe engagements. Among the reſt are—the declaration before juſtices of the peace of the perſon engaged to be a ſervant or apprentice, that he engages himſelf voluntarily; a prohibition to every maſter to ſend ſervants or apprentices out of the ſtate; and a fine impoſed upon all perſons offending againſt that clauſe, or retaining the perſons ſo engaged beyond the term of the contract.

The law alſo authoriſes the engagement, for a limited period, of perſons arriving from Europe, who cannot otherwiſe diſcharge the debts they have contracted with the maſters of veſſels for their paſſage.

The overſeers of the poor may make engagements for the children of the poor as apprentices, but not for any term exceeding their arrival at the age of twenty-one; and proviſions are made for the proper treatment of ſuch apprentices and domeſtics by their maſters.

It is under the ſanction of the forms of this law that emigrants, arriving here from the French colonies ſince the French Revolution, have been able to retain their ſlaves. Having conducted them before magiſtrates, they engage them till the time when they ſhall attain the age of twenty-one, or twenty-eight; but the conſent of the negro to this effect is neceſſary, without which they are declared free.

There is no law in Pennſylvania, directly enacted by the legiſlature of the ſtate, relative to bankruptcies; on this ſubject the law of England is followed. That which relates to the inſolvent debtors is encumbered with the inconveniences which ſuch laws ſeldom avoid. It provides that inſolvent perſons, impriſoned for debt, ſhall be diſcharged and freed from further purſuit, on a declaration made by them of the amount of their property and the relinquiſhment of it to their creditors. But if the debtor afterwards acquires other property, he may be again ſued. It will be felt, that the debtor, being once enlarged, may ſecrete his new acquiſitions

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from his creditor, or that he may be diſhoneſt in his declaration concerning his property; but it will alſo be felt, that it is leſs difficult to raiſe objections to this mild proviſion of the law, than to ſubſtitute one that would protect the honeſt and unfortunate debtor, while it ſecured the creditor from frauds. The decay of morals in Pennſylvania renders a proviſion for this laſt-mentioned object neceſſary; and the legiſlature is engaged in framing a law for that purpoſe.

It was propoſed in the laſt ſeſſion to aboliſh arreſts for debt, and to leave to the money-lender and the merchant the taſk of enquiring into the ſolidity of the funds for their repayment. The propoſition was ſupported by a great number of the members; but was oppoſed by a majority, and thrown out.

Chicane will find means to prolong the term of nine months, which is the term conſumed by the regular forms in the recovery of a debt; and it is not unuſual to ſee it thus employed in Pennſylvania.

By a law of Pennſylvania, cognizance is given to juſtices of the peace of all actions for debt not exceeding fifty-three dollars. The object of the legiſlature in this law was, to ſave expence in the moſt frequent actions for debt, and in which the parties were the leaſt capable of defraying it; but an appeal to the ſuperior tribunals is given to the defendant. This law met with much oppoſition before it paſſed, and chiefly from lawyers who imagined it would effect their practice; but experience has ſhewn the wiſdom of the proviſion. There is ſcarcely an inſtance of an appeal from the deciſions of the juſtices of the peace; and the expences of recovering debts before them are twenty times leſs than before the ſuperior tribunals with the aid of advocates.

THE CRIMINAL LAWS.—PRISONS.

It is on the ſubject of criminal laws that philoſophy has had the moſt noble and uſeful influence in Pennſylvania; and in this reſpect the government may juſtly ſerve for a model to the reſt of the world.

I cannot proceed with this ſubject without repeating part of what I have ſaid in another work, publiſhed with this title—*On the Priſons of Philadelphia*;

Philadelphia; to which I will refer ſuch of my readers as require a more particular detail on this intereſting ſubject.

Since the year 1793, no crime, but wilful murder is puniſhed with death. Other crimes are puniſhed with impriſonment, for more or leſs time, and with circumſtances of greater or leſs ſeverity, according to the nature of the offence; the Governor in all caſes having the prerogative to mitigate the puniſhment; for although it has appeared to the wiſe legiſlators of this ſtate, that the certainty with which puniſhment follows crimes will greatly diminiſh them, the hope of obtaining pardon by ſubſequent good conduct has no leſs appeared to them a motive of ſubſtantial reform in criminals. They very properly thought that all puniſhment ſhould have the amendment of the offender for its object, and ought even to furniſh him with the means of reform; and this valuable maxim is the baſis of the policy of the priſons in Philadelphia.

The adminiſtrators of the priſons have added this truly wiſe principle; that the impriſonment of a criminal being a reparation to ſociety, it ought as little as poſſible to be a burden on its finances.

They have propoſed, therefore, the following objects in their regulations:

1ſt. That the economy of the priſons ſhould, as much as poſſible, tend to detach the priſoners from their former habits, and lead them to reflections on their condition, and conſequently to amendment.

2d. That all arbitrary proceedings, and cruelty, and injuſtice in the jailors, ſhould be carefully excluded, ſince they diſpoſe the mind of the priſoner to malice and revenge, inſtead of begetting ſentiments of contrition.

3d. That the priſoner ſhould be conſtantly employed in ſome profitable labour, to wean him from habits of idleneſs, to defray the expences of the priſon, and to provide ſome reſource for the time when he returns again to ſociety.

The convicts in the priſons are divided into two claſſes; the firſt are ſuch as are convicted of crimes formerly puniſhed with death, and their ſentence always includes *ſolitary confinement* for part of the time of their

impriſonment. The quantity of ſolitary confinement is at the diſcretion of the judge, within theſe bounds—that it ſhall not exceed half of the time of the impriſonment, nor be leſs than the twelfth part. The other claſs of convicts are ſuch as are ſentenced for inferior offences; and who are not conſequently condemned to *ſolitary confinement*.

The cells for ſolitary confinement are eight feet by ſix, and nine in height. They are always on the firſt or ſecond floor of the priſon, are vaulted, and detached from the reſt of the building. They are warmed by a ſtove which ſtands in the corridor facing the cells. The convict, ſhut in by two doors of iron and grated, receives the benefit of the fire without being able to convert it to miſchevious purpoſes. The cell is lighted by the doors leading to the corridor, and more immediately by a window. It has a water-cloſet, through which freſh water can be always turned at the pleaſure of the priſoner. No precaution for cleanlineſs or health is forgotten. The cells, as well as every part of the priſon, is white-waſhed twice a year. The priſoner ſleeps on a mattraſs, and is well furniſhed with covering.

Thus delivered over to ſolitude, and the bitteneſs of reflection and remorſe, the convict has no communication with human beings; except that once a day the turnkey brings him a coarſe pudding made of Indian wheat.

It is not till after the convict has paſſed ſome time in this ſecluſion from ſociety that he obtains permiſſion to read, or to be furniſhed with ſuch employment as his ſtrict confinement will admit of.

The convict never quits his cell during the term for which he is condemned to ſolitary confinement, not even to walk in the corridor, except in the caſe of ſickneſs.

It is left to the inſpectors of the priſons to ſay in what part of the whole term of the impriſonment the time of the ſolitary confinement ſhall take place; provided the priſoner actually ſuffers the quantity of ſolitary confinement named in the ſentence. It is uſually inflicted when the convict enters the priſon; becauſe the ſevereſt part of the ſentence ought in juſtice, as quickly as poſſible, to follow the crime; becauſe the

rigour

rigour of this ſeclusion would be unjuſtly increaſed if the priſoner had already enjoyed the common liberty of the priſon; becauſe the ſeclusion from ſociety is deſigned to lead the priſoner to reflection on the crimes whoſe puniſhment falls ſo heavily on him; and, becauſe the ſudden and abſolute change of food affects the temperament of the priſoner and inclines him to the diſpoſition that precedes repentance.

The inſpectors of the priſons place great confidence in the abſtinence they impoſe on the convict condemned to ſolitary confinement; regarding it as the ſureſt means of his amendment, by the change it effects in his ideas and temper. This notion ſeems to have influenced the founders of ſuch religions as enjoin faſts and abſtinence; and he who reflects on the power of our organs over the qualities of our mind will not fail to applaud the inſpectors of the priſons in Philadelphia for the ſagacity of their ſyſtem.

A convict who is not ſentenced to ſolitary confinement is, on his entrance into the priſon, put into a common room with others. His clothes are taken off, and in ſome caſes burnt; and a dreſs common to all the priſoners given to him. He is inſtructed in the regulations of the priſon, and examined reſpecting the ſpecies of labour he is capable of purſuing.

The civil officer who conducts the convict to priſon, delivers to the inſpectors a paper containing an account of his offence; the circumſtances by which it is heightened or extenuated; the facts that appeared on his trial; the crimes of which he has in any former time been accuſed; in a word, the entire character and hiſtory of the man as far as it can be gathered. The document is tranſmitted by the court that pronounced the ſentence; and enables the inſpectors to form an opinion of the priſoner, and to conduct themſelves toward him as the caſe requires.

The labour allotted to priſoners is proportioned to their ſtrength, and proficiency in the employment. In the priſons there are looms, carpenters' benches, and ſhops fitted up for ſhoe-makers and taylors. Convicts that cannot avail themſelves of any of theſe, are employed in ſawing, or poliſhing marble; preparing the cedar for pencils; grinding plaiſter

of Paris; combing wool; or beating hemp. The inſpectors have lately added a manufacture of nails, which employs a great many hands, and produces a large profit to the priſon. Convicts that are unable to endure hard labour, and are little expert at any thing, are employed in ſorting wool, horſe-hair, and flax.

The bargain for the labour of the priſoners is made between the jailor and the tradeſmen of the city, in the preſence of the convict. Out of his earnings, the convict pays for his board, his portion of the common expences of the houſe, and the uſe and wear of his tools; the rate of payment for theſe things, being neceſſarily governed by circumſtances, is fixed by the inſpectors four times in every year; it is at preſent fifteen pence per day, and an old man, who can do nothing but pick hemp, is able to gain one and twenty or two and twenty pence per day. There are convicts who earn more than a dollar per day.

Beſides the money which the convict pays to the priſon from his earnings, the law compells him to reimburſe the ſtate the expences of his trial, and to pay a fine which is always part of the ſentence. The fine includes a ſum to be paid into the treaſury of the ſtate; and in caſe of theft, a ſum ſufficient to pay for the ſtolen property. The money to be paid into the treaſury is frequenly remitted, but never the expences of the trial, nor the reſtitution of the ſtolen property. The county advances the money for the expences of the trial; and is repaid from the labour of the convict, if his family or friends do not pay it for him.

The women are employed in ſpinning, ſewing, combing wool, and waſhing for the priſon. They pay ſeven-pence per day for their board; and they can earn more than that if they are induſtrious. As their labour is not ſo hard as that of the men their food is leſs expenſive.

The jailor does not here, as is too frequently the practice in other places, levy contributions on misfortune and miſery. Nothing is demanded on the priſoner's entrance into priſon, or on his quitting it; nothing for particular indulgences to the individual.

The ſmallneſs of the ſalary of certain ſituations in Europe ſeems to authoriſe thoſe who fill them in the exactions by which they increaſe their revenue;

revenue; and it is difficult for perſons of higher rank, whoſe office it is to ſuperintend their conduct, to make rigid enquiries where they know the ſubaltern has not the ſalary to provide the neceſſaries of life.

The rapacious exactions to which I allude, are exerciſed by perſons of the vileſt condition in ſociety; and they are often levied as an indemnity for the contempt and hatred which thoſe perſons encounter.

But here, where no priſoner is ever put in irons; where blows and and even ill language is ſtrictly forbidden to all perſons who approach them; where the whole economy of the priſon tends to make it a ſcene of reform; the office of jailor never wounds the delicay of the moſt honourable characters. The ſalaries are very ſufficient, even of the under jailors; the daily viſits of the inſpectors are a complete check upon the jailors, and not only excludes all exaction, but produces conſtant evidence that none can exiſt in the priſons.

Every priſoner has a ſmall book in which are entered the bargains made in his preſence for his labour, and the amount of the produce; and againſt this, his debts for the expences of his trial, the fine to which he is condemned, the ſum to be paid for the uſe and deſtruction of his tools, his clothes, and his board; and the account is audited and paſſed every three months in the preſence of the inſpectors. A copy of the account is entered in a general regiſter; and is alſo paſſed every three months.

The produce of the labour is paid into the treaſury of the county, which thus becomes the banker of the priſoner, to prevent the ſuſpicions that would ariſe if the jailor held the money in his hands. The jailor, in fact, is no more than the agent between the convict and his employer; and the price of labour in the priſon is the ſame as out of doors; and the inſpectors take care that no fraud is practiſed upon the convicts.

The jailor purchaſes the proviſions in the preſence of the inſpectors. A certain quantity is allowed to each priſoner, and is weighed out before the cook, who is himſelf a convict, and is paid by his fellow priſoners for his labour.

To theſe precautions of inceſſant inſpection, and of the ample ſalary of the jailors, which removes the temptation to fraud on their part, is joined

joined the powerful controul of public opinion. The humanity and inflexible probity of the inſpectors is ſo manifeſt, their deſire of the welfare of the convicts is ſo unequivocal, and their care that no injuſtice be done them ſo conſtant, that to rob them would appear in the public eye a more deteſtable crime than any other ſpecies of robbery.

The rooms in which the priſoners ſleep are on the firſt floor; each room contains ten or twelve bedſteads, furniſhed with mattraſſes, ſheets, and a ſufficiency of covering; and every priſoner has a bed to himſelf. Each room is well aired and well lighted. The priſoners quit their chambers at day-break, and do not return till the hour of going to bed. They are then ſhut up without light. When the weather is ſevere, a little fire is allowed them; the whole of the building being vaulted, there is no danger of their burning it down; and if they ſhould be tempted to ſet fire to their beds, they would do no more than ſubject themſelves to periſh, and if they eſcaped would be obliged to pay for the miſchief done.

Every morning, before the convicts go to work, they are obliged to waſh their hands and face. In ſummer they bathe twice a month, in a bath made for that uſe in the middle of the court. They are regularly ſhaved twice a week; and the barber, who is alſo a convict, is paid out of the fifteen pence per day deducted out of each priſoner's labour. Their linen is changed twice a week.

All heavy work is done in the courts; and light trades are followed in rooms on the ſame floor with their chambers, but in a ſeperate part of the building. They are not ſhut in while they work; but each is under the ſuperintendance of the reſt. There are ſeldom more than five or ſix in one of theſe ſhops.

The under jailors, of whom there are four to each priſon, are obliged to be continually in the courts, chambers, or corridors; in fine, among the priſoners.

All converſation is prohited the priſoners, beyond what neceſſarily ariſes in the purſuit of their occupations. They are forbidden to reproach each other with their crimes, or even to ſpeak of the cauſe of their imprisonment. The ſame ſilence is impoſed upon them at table. Their breakfaſt

breakfaſt and ſupper is a pudding of flour made from Indian corn, with which they eat treacle. At dinner, each is ſerved with half a pound of meat, half a pound of bread, and vegetables. Their drink is always water. Never, on any pretence, are they permitted to taſte fermented liquors, not even ſmall beer. All ſuch liquors are prohibited; and the prohibition is religiouſly obſerved. The excitement produced by fermented liquors is momentary, and deceitful; and as it would heat the juices of the convict, would conſequently interfere with the ſyſtem of temperance through which it is intended to effect a change in his diſpoſition. The healthy vigour which is neceſſary for him, will be derived from the ſubſtantial but moderate food that is given him. Peals of laughter, ſongs, and ſhouts, are prohibited; not only as they would be inconvenient and diſagreeable in the priſon, but becauſe they diſturb the tranquillity which is to be cultivated and encreaſed in the priſoner's temper.

When a convict violates a regulation of the priſon, he is admoniſhed for the firſt offence by the inſpector, the jailor, or the under jailor. If he repeats his offence, he is ſent into ſolitary confinement. This is a puniſhment which the jailor may himſelf inflict; but in every ſuch caſe he is obliged inſtantly to ſend an account of it to the inſpector.

When a convict is idle, and will not work, he is ſent into ſolitary confinement; and this puniſhment is the greater, becauſe he muſt redeem the time he has loſt when he returns to labour, as the expences of the houſe are charged againſt him even for the time of his ſolitary confinement.

The four under jailors are all the night on duty; two of whom are in the room ſet apart for the inſpectors, and the other two walk continually in the corridors. When there is any extraordinary noiſe, they waken the jailor, with whom they proceed to the chamber whence the noiſe comes, and conduct the offenders to the ſolitary cells. Such caſes are very rare. It perhaps does not happen four times a year that a priſoner is puniſhed; and no other puniſhment is inflicted in the priſon but ſolitary confinement.

The

The jailors and under-jailors are not permitted to have either arms or dogs. They are even forbidden to carry a ſmall ſtick, leaſt in a moment of anger they ſhould ſtrike a priſoner, and the tranquillity ſo much cultivated, and from which ſo much is expected, be diſturbed. An under jailor who is found drunk, or who treats a priſoner a ſecond time with unprovoked rigour, is immediately diſcharged.

The inſpectors take occaſion to converſe with the priſoners; they endeavour to become acquainted with them; they give them advice and conſolation, and labour to reconcile them to their own conſciences. Theſe converſations are not too frequent, leſt they ſhould produce the leſs effect. The appearance of the priſoners is generally calm and ſerious; it has nothing of that hard inſolence, or the malignant ſcowl, or the mean ſervility, that we find in the priſoners of Europe. A priſoner here is at once reſerved and reſpectful.

The female convicts are in a wing ſeparated from the dwelling of the men. They are ſuffered to mingle with women that are priſoners for debt—an indulgence that is never granted the men. It is ſuppoſed that the example of women of a better order will tend to correct the manners of the depraved; and this is true; for in that ſex modeſty and an honeſt ſhame have always an influence which men, when they are once perverted, do not feel.

Waſhing is the only labour carried on in the court belonging to the women, of which they otherwiſe make uſe at their pleaſure. The number of female convicts ſeldom exceeds five or ſix. Silence is leſs rigidly exacted from them; and they are not ſo ſtrictly guarded as the men. One of them cooks for the reſt; and they wait on each other in ſickneſs; but ſickneſs is rare among them.

The new economy introduced into the priſons has made a material change relative to diſeaſes. Formerly there were from two hundred and ſixty to three hundred and twenty patients, afflicted with the itch, in one quarter; and in the ſame interval, under the new ſyſtem, they do not amount to forty. This aſtoniſhing difference is ſolely to be attributed to the change of economy. Formerly the licence that reigned in the priſons

priſons was the conſtant occaſion of filthineſs, drunkenneſs, quarrels, and diſguſting diſeaſes. At preſent there are no patients in the priſons, but ſome afflicted with the rheumatiſm, or the effect of accidents. In the four laſt years, only two priſoners have died, and they died of the ſmall-pox.

If the diſorder is not contagious, the patient is attended in his chamber; but if contagion is apprehended, he is put in a room by himſelf.

Every Sunday morning the priſoners attend a ſermon, preached by a miniſter, whoſe zeal leads him to the priſon; nor is it inquired to what ſect he belongs. Liberty of conſcience is as unreſtricted in the priſons as it is throughout Pennſylvania. Yet as the inhabitants of the ſtate are almoſt all of them Chriſtians, a chapter is read to the priſoners from the Bible. The ſermons in general turn more on morality than doctrinal points, and are applicable to the ſituation of the convicts. All the priſoners, of every kind and both ſexes, attend the ſervice, excepting thoſe who are condemned to ſolitary confinement. In the evening there is another ſermon, and pious books are given to thoſe who requeſt it.

The ſuperintendance of the adminiſtration of the priſon is committed to twelve inſpectors. Six of theſe are replaced by a new election every ſix months, and the election is made by the inſpectors themſelves. The elections are thus frequent, that the duty, which is very painful in its nature, may not fall too heavily on individuals. But an inſpector may be continued in office beyond his term, with his own conſent.

The inſpectors meet every week; and two of them, who have the additional title of *viſitors*, are obliged at leaſt to make two viſits in eight days to the priſons. There is ſcarcely a day paſſes in which they do not make their viſit; and frequently ſome who are not on that duty do the ſame. The inſpectors are for the moſt part Quakers; and it is not to be forgotten, that it is to the ſociety of Quakers that the public is indebted for the eſtabliſhment, protection, and ſucceſs of the new ſyſtem.

To one of theſe people, whoſe name is CALEB LOWNES, is to be given the largeſt ſhare of the honour of this great reform. The opinions of Beccaria and Howard eaſily took root in his humane heart. It

was he who animated his brethren with zeal for the enlightened ſyſtem of theſe great men; it was he who exhorted a change in the priſons—who propoſed to ſubſtitute humanity, joined to firmneſs, for fetters and ſtripes—who ſuffered himſelf to be treated as a wild viſionary, without being turned aſide from his purſuit, perfectly confiding in the ſucceſs of his labour. It was he whoſe unwearied zeal gained over to his cauſe whoever was neceſſary to its protection; who obtained from the legiſlature thoſe laws, I will not only ſay that humanity claimed, but that juſtice and an enlarged policy demanded. In a word, it is he who conſents at every election to be an inſpector, and is indeed the principal agent of that great work of reaſon and humanity. May God ſhower his bleſſings on the head of this benefactor of the human race!

The judges at firſt oppoſed this reform; except one among them, who, younger than the reſt, and deſpairing leſs of the human character, embraced the reform with ardour. He aſſociated himſelf to the labours of Caleb Lownes, aiding him with the advice of a man verſed in juriſprudence; and, having ſhared the difficulties, he deſerved to ſhare in the glories of the undertaking. The name of this judge was WILLIAM BRADFORD. He was at that time the attorney-general of Pennſylvania, and was afterwards the attorney-general of the United States. He died lately, honoured with the univerſal eſteem and love of his fellow-citizens.

This is an homage which I render the more readily to his memory, as it includes no cenſure on the other judges. While they withheld their ſanction from the reform, they were influenced by doubts of its efficacy; and they were prompt in aiding the plan when they were convinced of their miſtake; nor were they to be deterred by the opinion they had previouſly given;—a conduct that will not be thought little of, by thoſe who have had occaſion to contemplate the operations of ſelf-love.

The priſons, under the new regulations, are ſubject to the ſuperintendance of the mayor of Philadelphia, and judges appointed for that purpoſe. They form a committee, whoſe duty it is to viſit the priſons once in every quarter. The ſame duty is impoſed upon the governor of the

ſtate

ſtate of Pennſylvania, the judges of the ſeveral ſuperior courts, and the grand juries.

Theſe numerous viſits are ordained by the legiſlature, to enſure the ſucceſs of this humane plan, by watching over the interior economy of the priſons, if it were even poſſible for the zeal of the inſpectors to relax. They have proved, however, a recompence for the trouble they have occaſioned; they demonſtrated the value of the new ſyſtem; and induced the friends of humanity to overcome the obſtacles, that in every country are thrown in the way of men who devote themſelves to the overthrowing of abuſes.

The inſpectors have the right to preſent petitions to the governor, for the pardon of criminals; which they never fail to uſe, when they are convinced of the amendment of the convict, and of his having acquired a capital by his labour, or of having means of ſubſiſtence among his friends.

The governor of Pennſylvania never refuſes a pardon, on the petition of the inſpectors; even a murderer may hope to obtain it, although, in that caſe, it is never granted, unleſs the petition is ſigned by the relations and friends of the perſon murdered. The inſpectors ſeldom preſent petitions in behalf of convicts of that claſs; they even uſe their prerogative with moderation for all others; but every priſoner knows that it may be employed for him, and his heart, warmed by hope, feels an intereſt in his becoming a better man. Who that is without hope, and without fear, was ever happily influenced in his conduct?

When priſoners are diſcharged, they receive the amount of the ſavings of their labour in money, if the inſpectors are perſuaded that they will make a good uſe of it, or in clothes, when the inſpectors have not that confidence. Sometimes convicts diſpoſe of the ſavings of their labour, while they are ſtill in priſon, in the maintaining their families. Such is the admirable effects of the new ſyſtem, that of a hundred convicts diſcharged, either in conſequence of pardons, or at the expiration of the term of their ſentence, there are not two committed for new crimes; under the ancient ſyſtem, the priſons were filled with old and known of-

fenders, who, like the criminals in Europe, left their prisons every time with newly acquired vices, and availed themselves of their liberty only to commit new depredations, and were again led back to prison, till they terminated their wretched lives on the scaffold.

I will here give a table of the number and classes of convicts for the four last years of the ancient system, and the four first of the new.

It would be a very desireable thing to add a table of the crimes committed, and the sentences passed, in the four years immediately preceding the amelioration of the penal code; but the registers of the prisons were carried off by the person who at that time had the custody of them.

It was not till the year 1790, that the law was passed that gave the new system to the prisons; and it was not till 1791, that it was put in execution.

TABLE

TABLE *of the Number and Classes of Convicts during the four last Years of the Ancient System and the four first Years of the New.*

Periods.	Numb. of Convicts. From the City and County of Philadelphia. Men.	Women.	From other Parts of the State.	Crimes of which they were convicted. Murder	Man-Slaughter	Highway Robbery	Burglary	Theft	Forgery	Coining	Petty Larcenies. 1st Degree.	2d Degree.	Receiving stolen Goods. 1st Degree.	2d Degree.	Horse Stealing	Fradulent Practices	Bigamy	Assault	Concealing Prisoners	Disorderly Houses	What became of the Convicts in that Period. Hanged	Died of Sickness	Killed in a Quarrel	Broken Prison	Escaped	Pardoned	The whole Term of Imprisonment was completed	Sent to the House of Industry	Discharged on Condition of being Executioner	Sent to Hospitals during the Yellow Fever. Sick	Nurses	Remaining in Prison	Places of Birth. Foreigners	Americans. Of Pennsylvania.	Of the other States	Negroes. Americans	Foreigners	Country unknown	TOTAL OF CONVICTS
ANCIENT SYSTEM.																																							
From January 1787 to May 1788	163	23				20	20	122	5		2	6	7					1		3	3	3	1	30	26	57	37	2					94	20	10	5	21	36	186
From May 1788 to May 1789	95	10	8			5	24	57				4	9	2	4			5	2	2	2	1		22	5	25	29		2				53	21	21	3	9	6	113
From May 1789 to May 1790	108	20	6	6		10	13	82		3	2	3	3	3	1	3			3	2	3	1		14	6	33	56		1				84	15	8		13	14	134
From May 1790 to June 1791	114	39	8	3		4	20	133		3			7	1	5		1			4		2		5	7	67	45	1					90	15	19	2	22	13	161
Total	480	92	22	9		39	77	374	5	6	4	13	26	6	10	3	1	6	5	10	8	7	1	71	44	182	167	3	3				321	71	58	10	65	69	594
NEW SYSTEM.																																							
From June 1791 to June 1792	44	12	9		1	2	1	42	7		1			1	7	2									4	42	15						37	9	7	4	8		65
From June 1792 to June 1793	25	17	9		2	1	11	40		1		1	1	2	1	1						2			1	21	28					4	27	5	4	6	9	10	61
From June 1793 to June 1794	40	10	11		1		2	34	3	1	2			1	15					2					3	22	1			6	5	37	32		7	10	2	10	61
From June 1794 to March 1795	35	14	7		1		1	47		2				1	4										1	3	1					55	39	3	1	7	3	3	56
Total	144	53	46		5	3	16	163	10	4	3	1	1	5	27	3				2		2			9	88	45			6	5	90	135	17	19	27	22	23	243

SUMMARY OF THE TABLE.

Crimes and Offences.	Under the Ancient System.	Under the New System.	Crimes and Offences.	Under the Ancient System.	Under the New System.
			Brought forward	527	205
Murder	9		Receiving stolen Goods. 1st Degree.	26	1
Man Slaughter		5	Receiving stolen Goods. 2d Degree.	6	5
Highway Robbery	39	3	Horse Stealing	10	27
Burglary	77	16	Fradulent Practices	3	3
Theft	374	163	Bigamy	1	
Forgery	5	10	Assault	6	
Coining	6	4	Concealing Prisoners	5	
Petty Larceny. 1st Degree.	4	3	Disorderly Houses	10	2
Petty Larceny. 2d Degree.	13	1			
	527	205	*Total*	564	243

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

1. In the four firſt of the eight years named in the table, criminals were committed to the priſons of Philadelphia, only from the county and city of Philadelphia; in the four laſt years, criminals were ſent from every part of Pennſylvania to the priſons of Philadelphia.

2. Of the three hundred and twenty-one convicts that were foreigners and white men in the firſt period of four years, one hundred and thirty-one were Iriſh, and eighty-four Engliſh or Scotch. In the laſt period of four years, of one hundred and thirty-five convicts that were white men, ninety-two were Iriſh, and nineteen Engliſh or Scotch. The Iriſh, therefore, in both periods, were more than two-thirds of the foreigners, and nearly the half of the whole number of priſoners; and part of the priſoners concealing the name of their country, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe there were more Iriſh than were entered as ſuch in the regiſter.

3. In the firſt period of four years, ſeventy-three criminals were convicted of new crimes, after having been diſcharged, and ſome of theſe even for the fifth and ſixth time; while five only, belonging to the laſt period of four years, were convicted of new crimes after being diſcharged.

4. Under both the old and the new ſyſtem, crimes have been multiplied in Philadelphia and its environs, in a proportion greatly exceeding that of all the reſt of the ſtate of Pennſylvania.

In the four years, therefore, of the new ſyſtem, more than two hundred have been reſtored as uſeful perſons to ſociety, who, under the old ſyſtem, and under a penal code of laws reſembling that of almoſt every ſtate of Europe, were deſtined either to be the ſcourge of their fellow creatures, or to be kept ſecluded from them, or to be delivered over to violent deaths.

Criminals were not only rendered more uſeful, but were in reality more ſeverely puniſhed. The greater part of them would have readily, in the firſt inſtance, preferred death to ſolitary confinement; and all were infinitely more ſatisfied with the diſorder and vice of the old priſons, than

with

with the humane and juſt, but uniform and ſteady adminiſtration of the new. It is in deſpite of themſelves that they are reſtored to ſociety; but how much reaſon have they and their families to be grateful to the legiſlature that has ſnatched them from their miſeries? I refer ſuch of my readers as would know more of this intereſting ſubject to my former work, from which I have been able at preſent to give a very incompetent extract.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE POLICE.

The laſt law relative to the regulation of the poor was paſſed in the year 1771. It appoints overſeers of the poor, both in Philadelphia and other cities of the ſtate. It ordains the levying of taxes for their proviſion; recommends the eſtabliſhment of houſes of induſtry; and regulates the manner of removing poor families who become burthenſome, and have not acquired the right of being relieved in the city where they reſide.

The right of being relieved is acquired by a year's reſidence; and payment, during that time, of the poor rates. Domeſtics and apprentices acquire the right ſimply by a year's reſidence. All perſons who have not acquired the right, and are declared by the overſeers of the poor to be in danger of becoming chargeable to the city, are conveyed to the place of their birth; the overſeers of the poor of which place are to reimburſe the city that has thus conveyed them the expences of the journey. Every father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or child, of poor perſons not able to gain their livelihood, is obliged to provide for them, if they have the means, on the penalty of five dollars and a half for every month that they neglect this ſacred duty. An appeal is allowed to the court of juſtices of the peace, from the ſentence of the overſeer of the poor, who, in the firſt inſtance, decides in ſuch caſes.

A law of Pennſylvania, paſſed in 1789, gave every foreigner, although not a reſident in America, the right of acquiring and poſſeſſing every ſpecies of property, as if he were a member of the ſtate. This law, which was to be in force only for two years, was renewed at the end of that period, and no doubt will continue to be renewed till it is declared permanent.

nent. This law deſerves to be placed among the moſt enlightened and politic of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and will, no doubt, induce foreigners to ſettle in that fine country, in preference to every other.

The laws relative to the Indian natives, that were paſſed by the aſſemblies of Pennſylvania, were characteriſed by the foreſight and equity which governed William Penn in all his tranſactions with thoſe people; but by the federal conſtitution, the congreſs only can paſs laws relative to the commerce of the ſeveral ſtates with foreign nations, in which deſcription the Indians are compriſed. Pennſylvania, therefore, ſince it was independent, has no particular law on that ſubject.

Liberty of conſcience is more compleat in Pennſylvania than in any of the other ſtates. It was ſo in the birth of the colony; yet, by a law of 1705, the inhabitants were compelled to profeſs a belief in Jeſus Chriſt, in the Holy Ghoſt, and the Scriptures. This profeſſion was neceſſary to place an inhabitant of the ſtate out of the reach of perſecution. The conſtitution adopted at the beginning of the revolution gave wider limits to liberty of conſcience; and finally, the conſtitution made in 1790 declares, "that every man has a natural right, of which he cannot be juſtly deprived, to worſhip God according to the dictates of his own conſcience; that no man can juſtly be compelled to obſerve any form of worſhip, or to incur any expence for public worſhip; that no human authority can, on any pretence, force the conſciences of men; and that no preference can be given by law to any particular form of worſhip." It adds, "that every man, acknowledging the exiſtence of God, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, may hold any office in the republic of Pennſylvania."

In fact, there is no ſtate in the Union in which religion and its miniſters have leſs influence than in this ſtate; its miniſters here, as every where elſe, are willing enough to erect themſelves into a body, and to influence the public opinion, but the number that favour their pretenſions is ſo ſmall, that it can ſcarcely be ſaid to exiſt.

The laws that enjoin the obſervation of Sunday, are more regarded in Pennſylvania than in any of the northern ſtates, becauſe they are more reaſonable

reaſonable and moderate. They prohibit merely the ſelling of goods in an open ſhop, or in the markets; following the chace; or attending any public diverſion. The law which prohibits games of hazard, and the fighting of game-cocks, are punctually obeyed, becauſe it is agreeable to the manners and taſte of the people; but that which impoſes a penalty of three quarters of a dollar for drunkenneſs is far from being ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE MILITARY.

The law regulating the militia was paſſed in 1793. Every male, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, is in fact a ſoldier of the ſtate. The captain of the company in the diſtrict enrolls every young man who attains the age of eighteen: a notice, which is ſerved upon him by a ſubaltern of the company, is the only form required to enter him in the militia, in which he remains till he is five and forty. The profeſſions which exempt males from this ſervice are nearly the ſame as thoſe that give the ſame exemption in the other ſtates. White men who are domeſtics hired for a term, and apprentices, are exempt during the term of their engagement, except in the caſe of an actual invaſion. The militia is compoſed of diviſions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies. The brigades are formed of regiments, and never exceed eight, nor are leſs than two; regiments are compoſed of two battalions; and each battalion of four companies, which, according to the population of the canton, may be compoſed of any number, from forty to eighty men. Every battalion has a company of grenadiers, and another of rifle-men. A company of artillery, and a body of cavalry are attached to every diviſion. A diviſion compriſes the militia of two or three counties, according to their population; and each county forms one brigade or more, as it is more or leſs populous. A diviſion is commanded by a major-general; a brigade, by a brigadier-general; a regiment, by a lieutenant-colonel; a battalion, by a major; and a company, by a captain, lieutenant, and enſign. Beſide the ſtaff-officers of the regiments, a brigadier-general inſpects the diviſions. The general officers are appointed by the

governor; the lieutenant-colonels appoint their own majors; they are themſelves, as well as the captains, lieutenants, and enſigns, choſen by the ſoldiers, and non-commiſſioned officers of the regiment, battalion, or company, in which the vacancy happens. The commiſſion of the officers is only for ſeven years. Every man enrolled in the militia, officer or private, trooper or foot-ſoldier, muſt provide himſelf with arms and equipage, under the penalty of a fine. When the commanding officer of a regiment declares a man not to be in a condition to comply with this requiſition, he is ſupplied with arms by the ſtate. The militia aſſembles twice in the year, either by companies or regiments.

The other articles of this voluminous law regulate the manner in which the ſervice of the militia is to be performed; its pay, when employed by the ſtate or the union, which pay is ſix dollars per month for each ſoldier. They determine the fines for every ſpecies of offence; the manner in which courts martial are to be compoſed and ſummoned. They apportion relief to every officer and ſoldier wounded in the ſervice, and to the widows and children of the ſlain. When the militia is employed in the ſervice of the union, it is ſubject to the laws of the Congreſs; but offences committed by individuals are taken cogniſance of by courts martial compoſed of its own body.

The ſtate of Pennſylvania includes twenty-three counties, and the militia is computed at a hundred or a hundred and ten thouſand men.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE ADMINISTRATION.

Although the interior navigation of the State of Pennſylvania has not made ſuch progreſs as that of New York, it is not for want of wiſdom and foreſight in the government. A law of 1778 declares the rivers Suſquehannah and Delaware, and all the rivers and creeks falling into them, to be public and free navigations, and places them under the guardianſhip and protection of the government. It prohibits the creating any new obſtacle to navigation, and enjoins the removal of all old ones. The ſame regulations were made ſucceſſively for the rivers Monongahela and Youghiogany, and all others in the State of Pennſylvania. Commiſſioners

were

were appointed to enquire and make reports concerning the means of removing all obſtructions to the interior navigation, and to make communication by canals between the great rivers or lakes. The ſeveral companies who undertook to facilitate the navigation on the rivers, or to cut canals, were raiſed into corporations, and aided either by premiums from the ſtate, or by an authority to eſtabliſh tolls on the navigations or canals they formed; ſometimes the ſtate even gave them permiſſion to raiſe money by lottery. In many of theſe undertakings the ſums granted by the legiſlature were expended with utility to the ſtate, by compleating the work. In others, they were miſemployed; ſchemes being adopted without a ſufficient examination of their obſtacles. But the legiſlature cauſes an annual return to be made to them of the condition and progreſs of theſe works; and it is not to be doubted that in a few years the interior navigation of Pennſylvania will be carried to the higheſt degree of perfection. We may reaſonably expect to ſee Lake Erie and the River Ohio communicate with the Suſquehannah and the Delaware. The number of land-carriages that would ſtill, from invincible obſtacles to navigation, in ſome parts be neceſſary would in fact be few, and their length greatly diminiſhed. The numberleſs creeks of Pennſylvania, cleared of the obſtacles to navigation, would afford for all the productions of the interior part of the country a ſure, ſpeedy, and cheap conveyance to the great rivers and lakes of the ſtate.

The roads are made and kept in repair by a levy on the townſhips. A ſurveyor of the roads is choſen by the townſhip. When a new road is to be made, the ſurveyors of the ſeveral townſhips, through which it is to be carried, ſuperintend its completion, and they have authority to levy a tax for this purpoſe on the lands. The tax muſt not exceed ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence in the pound of the annual income of the land, according to the valuation made for the levying of other taxes. Before the taxes for the roads can be raiſed, they are to receive the ſanction of two juſtices of the peace of the county; and the general court of juſtices of the peace take cognizance of all diſputes that ariſe on the ſubject of this tax.

The ſurveyors are choſen annually; and receive five per cent on the

tax, and are paid beſides eighteen dollars per day when they are actually employed in the duties of their office. They hire labourers for the roads; for the law which regulates this matter diſpenſed with all perſonal ſervice on the high roads. They buy all the materials for making and repairing the roads; and their accounts are audited and ſigned every year by four commiſſioners choſen by the electors of the townſhip.

This law, the principal proviſions of which took place in 1772, was made only for ſeven years, but has ſince been conſtantly renewed at its expiration. Some of the clauſes have from time to time been altered; the modifications however are included in the above ſtatement.

The roads of Pennſylvania are in general better than thoſe of the other ſtates; eſpecially the roads between the moſt populous towns. The bridges are alſo conſtructed in a more ſolid manner. The road from Philadelphia to Lancaſter, made by an incorporated company, is not indeed ſo good as the turnpike roads of England, but it is in very good condition; and, although the tolls are ſo high that a broad-wheeled waggon pays nearly two dollars and a half between theſe two cities, which is a diſtance of ſixty-ſix miles, no complaint is made, becauſe the waggons require only half the horſes they did before the road was made a turnpike, and perform the journey in half the time. The company that conſtructed this road is very flouriſhing; the ſhares, which at the firſt ſubſcription coſt three hundred dollars each, produce between eight and nine per cent, and bear a premium in their price.

LAWS RELATIVE TO FINANCE.

The law which regulates taxes was paſſed in 1795. Since the year 1789 no new taxes have been raiſed in Pennſylvania for the ſtate, there being no other than taxes levied for the interior uſes of the counties and cities; but the principles on which the county rates are determined and levied, would in all probability be followed in any tax that it might be neceſſary to levy for the ſtate.

The inhabitants of every county elect three commiſſioners, who remain three years in office, except that one goes out every year by rotation, and

and a new commiſſioner ſucceeds him. The inhabitants of every townſhip elect, every three years, an aſſeſſor and two aſſiſtants, to apportion the rates impoſed on the townſhip. The aſſeſſors make a return every three years to the commiſſioners of the county, of the names and dwellings (where it is poſſible) of the proprietors of lands, occupied or not occupied, and of the lands not yet cleared, and of the houſes and ſpots of ground belonging to the town; of all the inhabitants of the townſhip, marking their ſeveral employments, profeſſions, or conditions; and alſo a liſt of all horſes and horned cattle above four years old, with a valuation of them; and finally, an eſtimate of the proportion of the tax that may be laid reſpectively on all owners of perſonal and real property. The commiſſioners of the county examine and compare all the liſts; and have authority to make alterations in the taxes, provided they do not alter the relative valuations of the ſeveral properties in the ſame townſhip. The aſſeſſment made in conſequence of theſe returns by the commiſſioners, forms the rule for the levying the taxes for the three ſucceeding years. The commiſſioners are never to lay more on the land than one per cent of their computed value. When they are obliged to carry the tax on land to the full extent of one per cent, they are to levy the following taxes:—on every freeman, without apparent employment, from half a dollar to ten dollars; on every labourer, a ſum not exceeding two dollars; on every vintner, ſhopkeeper, or retailer of goods, from half a dollar to five dollars; on every broker, banker, merchant, lawyer, and phyſician, from one dollar to ten; on all other profeſſions, from one quarter of a dollar to eight dollars; on every proprietor of ſlaves, a dollar for each ſlave. All the taxes that are not laid on land are regulated by that tax, and conſequently diminiſh in proportion as the tax on land falls ſhort of one per cent, which is its *maximum*.

The quantity of taxes being determined, the commiſſioners iſſue an order to the aſſeſſors to apportion and levy them on the individuals; but an appeal lies to the commiſſioners from their aſſeſſment. The tenants of the land are reſponſible for the tax on land, but are authoriſed to deduct it from the rent. Lands not cleared are ſubject to the tax; and if

the

the proprietor is not to be found, or does not pay the tax during three ſucceſſive years, the commiſſioners may order as much of the land to be ſold as is neceſſary for the payment of the arrears.

The commiſſioners of the county appoint the receivers of the county, and the collectors of the townſhips. Each commiſſioner is paid one dollar and a third for every day that he is actually employed in his office; the aſſeſſors one dollar.

The expence of the aſſeſſment and collection for the whole ſtate is eſtimated at ten thouſand dollars. The collectors are generally paid five per cent on the collection. The treaſurer of the committee is paid a dollar for every hundred pounds which he receives and pays.

The law has proviſions for the exact levying of the taxes; and impoſes reſponſibility on the collectors and other officers; and impoſes fines for neglect or fraud in the diſcharge of their duty.

The ſtate, as I have obſerved, levies no new taxes. Its old duties are—on marriages, taverns, and public ſales by authority, amounting annually from twelve to thirteen thouſand dollars. The legiſlature ſuppreſſed, in 1795, the tax on carriages, and ſome other taxes, which were formerly impoſed for the ſervice of the ſtate.

The annual expenditure of the ſtate amounts to about an hundred and thirty thouſand dollars; it conſiſts of the ſalary of the governor, the ſecretary and other officers of ſtate, and of the judges; the expence of the courts of circuit; the ſalary of the treaſurer and his clerks; the expence of the office for the ſale of lands; the appointments of the members of the ſenate, and the houſe of repreſentatives; the ſalaries of ſome other civil officers; and the pay of ſome militia officers.

The revenues which, with the old duties, enable the ſtate to provide for its expenditure without additional taxes, conſiſt in the intereſt of a capital accruing from the ſale of lands, for the moſt part placed in the banks. This capital amounts at preſent to one million five hundred thouſand dollars; a million of which is in the bank of Pennſylvania, and five hundred thouſand in that of the United States. Theſe ſums bear an intereſt according to the dividends of the reſpective banks;

banks; but it may be ſtated to be from nine to ten per cent. Arrears of duties, and arrears of purchaſe-money for the public lands, form another branch of the revenue of the ſtate. The arrears of every kind come in very ſlowly. Several contradictory laws ſerve as an excuſe to the creditors of the ſtate for default of payment. Theſe are alſo protected by members of the legiſlature, who have a perſonal intereſt in the delay. The government of Pennſylvania is indeed unwilling to employ its force, eſpecially for the recovery of arrears. There are two inſtances which will ſufficiently ſhow the backwardneſs of the government to compel the payment of the impoſts. There are ten auctioneers eſtabliſhed at Philadelphia for public ſales. Six of theſe have punctually paid the duties impoſed upon ſuch ſales; the other four have not even condeſcended to give an account of their ſales. The law enjoins every man of eighteen years of age to ſerve as a militia-man; and impoſes a fine of a dollar every time that he is abſent from the meeting of his regiment, and a fine of twelve dollars per month for all the time that he is abſent when his regiment is on ſervice. The defaulters are ſo numerous, that no other fund but the fines due for offences are ſet aſide for the expence of the militia; and the fines are ſo ill paid, that at preſent there is a deficiency of more than one hundred thouſand dollars. It is to be expected, however, that the ſtate will in future be more rigorous in the collection of its revenues; the neceſſity of this rigour begins to be felt, and circumſtances are more favourable than heretofore for its exerciſe.

The debts due to the ſtate, from individuals, for arrears, and from the Union for certain ſums advanced, and for which the Union is reſponſible, amounted, in the beginning of 1797, by the ſtatement of the treaſury, to nine hundred and twenty-four thouſand five hundred and forty-four dollars ſeven-tenths. Pennſylvania has alſo ſeveral other claims on the treaſury of the United States, for expences incurred on behalf of the Union.

By the balance ſtruck by the commiſſioners of the congreſs, the ſtate of Pennſylvania is debtor for the ſum of ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and nine dollars.

Certain

Certain duties, that were formerly the perquiſite of the ſecretary of ſtate and other public officers, have been purchaſed by the legiſlature, and are become part of the public revenue. There are other duties attached as perquiſites to other officers, which the legiſlature will gradually, and by the ſame means, reſtore to the public treaſury.

LAWS RESPECTING THE SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The laws that regulate the ſale of public lands are deemed better in Pennſylvania than in any other of the ſtates.

Before the revolution, the property of the lands belonged to the governor; that is to ſay, to the family of William Penn. The congreſs of Pennſylvania paſſed a law in 1779, which transferred the property to the ſtate, giving the family of Penn, for indemnity, the ſum of a hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, and leaving them in poſſeſſion of the lands they poſſeſſed as their own proper eſtates. The lands which became the property of the ſtate were immenſe. They were various enormous tracts that William Penn and his heirs had purchaſed of the Indians; parcels of which they ſold for their own profit. A law in 1781, which eſtabliſhed an office called the *land-office*, enjoined the poſſeſſors of warrants (which were orders from the ſurveyor-general of the ſtate to his deputy, to meaſure out a certain tract of land, and were a kind of evidence of the purchaſe of the eſtate), obtained under the old government, to bring them to the land-office, where they were annulled, if the purchaſe-money had not been paid. In 1783, the aſſembly ſet aſide a large tract of land in the weſt of its territory, and to the north of the Ohio, to be diſpoſed of, for certain billets which the troops of Pennſylvania had received during the war for their pay, and whoſe current value was greatly below the ſums for which they were iſſued. The billets were to be taken in payment for the lands at their nominal value; and theſe lands were called, and indeed continue to be known by the name of, *depreciation lands*. The aſſembly alſo ſet aſide another tract of land, to the north of thoſe I have juſt named, called *donation lands*, becauſe they

were

were to be given as a reward to the officers and ſoldiers of the militia of Pennſylvania, in certain portions, according to their rank. It was not, however, till 1785, that theſe lands were actually put up to ſale; and then they were put up ſucceſſively, in various parcels, at different prices, and on different conditions. The acquiſitions made from the Indians in 1788 were, by the nature of the lands, divided into two claſſes—thoſe to the weſt of the Allegany mountains were offered to ſale for ten pounds for a hundred acres; thoſe to the eaſt of the mountains, being inferior in quality, for three pounds ten ſhillings.

The quantity of lands offered to ſale, and the ſcarcity or plenty of money, taken relatively, cauſed the price the aſſembly of Pennſylvania put upon the land and even the conditions of ſale to fluctuate, independently of the quality of the land. Lots at one time amounted only to two hundred acres, while a prohibition exiſted to demand a warrant for more than two ſuch lots; afterwards lots were extended to a thouſand acres, without any reſtriction on the number that an individual might acquire. The price has varied, from fourteen dollars for an hundred acres to twenty-ſix and fifty-three. In certain purchaſes, the billets of the ſtate were received in payment; in others, and particularly ſince the year 1793, they were not ſo. The laſt ſales to the north of the Ohio, and to the Weſt of the Allegany Mountains, were clogged with a condition, that the purchaſer ſhould clear the land, and encloſe and cultivate it, in the proportion of one acre for a hundred; erect a dwelling-houſe, and eſtabliſh a family, who ſhould reſide five ſucceeding years there; and the quantity to be purchaſed by an individual was reſtricted to four hundred acres.

If, on ſpots of the vaſt tracts of lands bought of the Indians, there happened to be inhabitants, the law gave them the option of purchaſing the lots on which they dwelt.

It was not till 1792, that the ſtate concluded the purchaſe of all the lands within its boundaries. In 1786, the ſtate purchaſed the country extending from the Mountains of Allegany to the Ohio, reaching as far as the forty-firſt degree. It ſtill remained to acquire the lands on its northern boundary; and that purchaſe was concluded in 1792.

In 1794, the legiſlature finding that immenſe portions of the public lands had been ſold without their preciſe boundaries being deſcribed, and that the lands which remained in the hands of the ſtate were not accurately known, ſuſpended the ſales. And this law reflects great honour on the aſſembly of Pennſylvania; becauſe it guarantees individuals from the injury which the avidity for the acquiſition of land made too common; becauſe the uncertainty of the bounds of the lands that remained undiſpoſed of, often gave an opportunity of ſelling the lands of the ſtate twice, and thereby increaſed its revenue; and it is known, that the legiſlatures of the other ſtates have not acted with the ſame delicacy in the ſame circumſtances.

Although the laws of Pennſylvania reſpecting the ſale of lands have been in general framed with equity and wiſdom, abuſes relative to that ſubject have nevertheleſs been great and numerous, perhaps indeed more ſo than in any of the other ſtates, on account of the immenſe quantity of lands on ſale. Speculations on the ſales of land bought from the public afford a ſubject of gaming, common in almoſt all the ſtates. The wealth and rapacity of many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia inflamed this diſorder in a particular manner in this ſtate. Men of fortune and influence, acquainted with the proceedings of Congreſs for the payment of the paper currency, conſpired to diminiſh the value of that paper, and afterwards bought it up and gave it in payment for public lands, at a profit of ten hundred and ſometimes thirty hundred per cent. The *depreciation* and the *donation lands* were fertile ſubjects of their ſpeculation.

The titles of individuals to lands bought from the public, are more ſecure in Pennſylvania than in any other of the ſtates, both becauſe the firſt purchaſes have been carefully recogniſed, and becauſe the *land-office* has developed all that relates to the titles to the public lands, with a degree of care, and a ſpirit of equity, no where elſe to be found.

Complaints have been made within theſe laſt two or three years, that the affairs of the land-office are not conducted with ſo much attention and regularity as formerly; but the members of the legiſlature have never been

been reproached, as ſome other of the ſtates have been, for laws relative to the ſale of lands and their conſequent miſchiefs.

In the courſe of my journal, I have ſpoken of diſputes that long exiſted between the ſtates of Pennſylvania and Connecticut, concerning the property of conſiderable tracts of land on the Suſquehannah, between Wilkſbarre and Tioga. Theſe lands were finally adjudged to the ſtate of Pennſylvania; and all appeal prohibited the ſtate of Connecticut. But theſe lands are filled with inhabitants who hold them by titles from Connecticut, either by purchaſe, or ſimply by poſſeſſion; notwithſtanding which they are ſold like the other public lands by the ſtate of Pennſylvania. Among the perſons who hold theſe lands from Connecticut, many acquired them regularly, have been long in poſſeſſion, and, by the ſums given for them, and the labour expended on them, have made good their title, at leaſt in equity; but a much greater number hold theſe lands by leſs favourable titles. For three years paſt, the legiſlature of Pennſylvania has been backward to execute the judgments of the courts, ejecting the poſſeſſors of theſe lands; and every day the number of uſurpations augments; ancient claims are multiplied, till the judgments of the courts can no longer be enforced without military aid. In the laſt ſeſſion, the houſe of repreſentatives paſſed a vote, authoriſing the governor to employ the militia in that ſervice; but the ſenate negatived the propoſition. The motives of their negative are not very apparent, ſince, in the end, this meaſure muſt be adopted; and although, no doubt, it will create many diſcontents, yet, carried into execution with the juſtice and moderation from which the legiſlature will not depart, it will remove a leaven that continually affects the ſtate.

The diſputes in that quarter are not the only diſputes of the kind that have diſturbed Pennſylvania. There are others on the borders of the Ohio, which may occaſion conſiderable diſorders, without the prudent and timely interference of the legiſlature. In 1792, the ſtate of Pennſylvania paſſed a law, to put up to ſale the lands to the north-weſt of the Ohio, in conſequence of which they were divided into lots of four hundred acres. Patents neceſſary to give a title to theſe lots, were to be

obtained in two different ways;—firſt, by an engagement to ſettle immediately on the lot—and in this manner many poor families acquired lots; and ſecondly, by an obligation to clear eight acres of the lot in two years; and many lots were bought by ſpeculators on theſe laſt terms. The price of the lot was eighty dollars in both caſes. In the firſt, it was to be paid in ten years, with intereſt, at the rate of ſix per cent, after the firſt year; in the ſecond, it was to be paid within two years. In default of clearing eight acres within two years, the purchaſers on thoſe terms forfeited their title, and their lots were declared vacant, except in the caſe where the Indians, who were not in amity with the United States, prevented the clearing of the lands. The majority of ſpeculators who bought lots on theſe terms did not clear the lands; and three thouſand poor families eſtabliſhed themſelves at different periods upon theſe lands which the law had declared vacant. The ſpeculators, availing themſelves of the war which took place with the Indians, although no incurſions were made on the lands in queſtion, at preſent aſſert their right to them, and ſue for the ejectment of the poor families who took poſſeſſion on the faith of the law. Theſe poor people have come to a reſolution to maintain the poſſeſſion by force. This is in itſelf an important circumſtance; and I ſpeak of it beſide, as a proof of the opinion I have frequently given in this journal, that the increaſe of the population in the United States renders it every day more difficult to the ſpeculators in land to preſerve their titles to the immenſe tracts they poſſeſs, without clearing and cultivating them.

THE GENERAL COMMERCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND THAT OF PHILADELPHIA IN PARTICULAR.

There is no ſtate in the union that has ſo extenſive a commerce as that of Pennſylvania. This ſtate furniſhes productions for exportation in greater abundance than any other; and its exports, moreover, part of the productions of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Jerſey, and New York. There are, however, ſome of the productions of Pennſylvania which

which are exported through Baltimore, by the Suſquehannah; but the canal that will unite the Cheſapeak and the Delaware, and which cannot fail to be compleated, will reſtore that commerce to Philadelphia, and with it a great portion of the produce of the eaſt part of Maryland.

The exportation of Philadelphia, which is the only port of this ſtate, derived from Pennſylvania and the adjoining ſtates, are—charcoal, potaſh, beer, cyder, ſalt-meat and fiſh, butter, cheeſe, Indian corn, flour made from Indian corn, wheat flour, biſcuits, tallow, candles, linſeed, linſeed oil, ſoap, potatoes, timber for building, ſtaves, hides, the ſkins of deers and beavers, bark, and pigs of iron.

Moſt of theſe articles are brought to Philadelphia, down the Delaware, or by land-carriage. There are very few brought down the Suſquehannah; for the ſettlements on its banks are very recent, and conſume nearly the whole of their produce; but when that country, and the lands lying behind it, are more generally inhabited and cultivated, that large river, freed from obſtacles which at preſent injure its navigation, will greatly increaſe the commerce of Philadelphia; and there is no doubt this important change will ſpeedily be effected.

The produce of the country, however, forms a very ſmall part of the exportation of Philadelphia; which, trading with the whole world, re-exports, in immenſe quantities, the produce and merchandize of foreign countries.

The following is a table of the amount of the exports from Philadelphia, for the years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

	Dollars.
1791,—	3,436,092.
1792,—	3,820,652.
1793,—	6,958,336.
1794,—	6,643,890.
1795,—	11,518,260.
1796,—	17,549,141.

I ſcarcely think it neceſſary to repeat, that the immenſe increaſe in the value of the exportation is principally owing to the increaſed value of

of the articles; and to the war in Europe, which has cauſed a much greater portion of the productions of the colonies to be paſs through America, than formerly.

The difference in the value of the barrels of flour, one of the principal articles of the exportation of Philadelphia during the laſt ſix years, will ſhew how fallacious it is to judge of the quantity of the article exported by the amount of its value. The price of the barrel of ſuperfine flour in 1790, was ſix dollars twelve-thirteenths; in 1791, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1792, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1793, ſix dollars two-thirteenths; in 1794, ſix dollars ten thirteenths; in 1795, twelve dollars; and in 1796, ten dollars. The price of the ſecond flour is two ſhillings or half a crown leſs per barrel.

It is to be obſerved, that the price of the ſuperfine flour varied in the ſame year as much as two and three dollars. I have given the medium price of the year.

Philadelphia, which in 1796 exported one hundred and ninety-five thouſand, one hundred and fifty-ſeven barrels of flour, (that is to ſay, nearly the fourth part of the exportation of the whole union); exported two hundred and ninety-four thouſand and eleven barrels, in 1795; two hundred and ninety-nine thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſeven barrels, in 1794; four hundred and ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-one barrels, in 1793; four hundred and thirty-three thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-eight barrels, in 1792; three hundred and fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five barrels, in 1791. Theſe were barrels of ſuperfine flour; the exportation of the ſecond flour never exceeded five thouſand barrels; in 1796, the exportation of ſecond flour amounted only to one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-eight barrels. I have taken theſe details from the books of the ſurveyor.

In 1765, the exportation of ſuperfine flour was one hundred and forty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-ſeven barrels; two hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourty-four barrels, in 1771; two hundred and eighty-four thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-two barrels, in 1772; two hundred and ſixty-five thouſand nine hundred and ſixty-ſeven barrels, in 1773; two hundred and one thouſand three hundred

hundred and five barrels, in 1784; one hundred and ninety-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty barrels, in 1787;—from which ſtatement it will be ſeen, that the exportation of flour was not greatly increaſed during twenty-two years. The exportation of wheat has even greatly diminiſhed, owing to the number of mills erected in Pennſylvania and the neighbouring ſtates, and there has been no material increaſe of the exportation of Indian-corn or biſcuits, bringing it down even to the two laſt years.

To give a more compleat idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, I will here ſubjoin a table of the principal articles, both foreign and the produce of the country, of its exportation in 1796, and the different ports to which they were conſigned. This ſtatement is taken from the cuſtom-houſe books. I would gladly have given the computed value of every article; but that would have required the examination of a multitude of entries, and more time than could be ſpared by the perſon to whom I am indebted for theſe details.

Table of the principal Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796.

Articles of Merchandize.		Quantities.
Charcoal	tons	10
Beer, cyder, and porter, in barrels	gallons	14,010
Ditto, in bottles	dozens	14,545
Beef	barrels	6,860
Biſcuit	ditto	19,568
	ſmall ditto	6,010
Butter	pounds	157,470
Bricks	number	109,400
Indian-corn	buſhels	179,094
Cheeſe	pounds	243,332
Candles	ditto	338,374
Flour	barrels	195,157
Hams	pounds	1,082,690

Pork

Articles of Merchandize.	Quantities.	
Pork	barrels	12,029
Rye flour	ditto	50,614
Flour of Indian-corn	ditto	223,064
Potatoes	bushels	9,004
Rice	tierces	6,265
Linseed oil	gallons	762
Train oil	ditto	37,726
Spermaceti oil	ditto	7,782
Furs	value in dollars	47,713
Tallow	pounds	383,850
Snuff	ditto	251,134
Tobacco	hogsheads	3,437
Timber		2,459,616
Staves, heads of barrels, &c.		1,262,150
Planks		1,628,516
Bark	value in dollars	106,969
Coffee	pounds	21,002,300
Cocoa	ditto	161,120
Cotton	ditto	911,325
Indigo	ditto	99,200
Wrought iron and steel	value in dollars	36,240
Sundry merchandize	ditto	2,822,800
Pepper	pounds	244,552
Spice	value in dollars	116,086
Spirituous liquors	gallons	170,889
Sugar	pounds	12,969,916
Salt	bushels	4,496
Bohea tea	pounds	2,260
Fine green tea	ditto	3,130
Common ditto ditto	ditto	16,210
Wine	gallons	612,883
Ditto in bottles	dozens	29,225

Names of the Places to which the Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796 were conſigned, together with the Value in Dollars of the whole Exportation for the Year to each Place.

	Dollars.
Sweden and St. Barthelemy	411,408
Denmark, and the Daniſh Antilles	737,287
United Provinces	1,824,275
Dutch Antilles	184,825
England	4,109,011
Ireland	236,644
Engliſh Antilles	760,274
Engliſh Colonies in North America	49,380
Gibraltar	33,365
Newfoundland	21,505
Hamburg, Bremen, and the Hanſeatic Cities,	2,981,232
France	913,880
French Antilles	3,250,584
Iſlands of France and of Bourbon	20,967
Spain	66,974
Spaniſh Antilles	916,985
Florida and Louiſiana	280,051
Portugal	12,892
Fayal	14,070
Madeira	111,528
Teneriffe	861
Ports of Italy	521,964
Eaſt Indies	42,932
China	40,747
	17,549,141

The following is a ſtatement of the duties paid at the cuſtom-houſe of Philadelphia, during five years preceding the date of the table.

1791,—780,141 dollars.
1792,—1,139,613 ditto.
1793,—1,928,052 ditto.
1794,—2,001,226 ditto.
1795,—2,961,204 ditto.
And for the two firſt quarters of 1796,—1,886,691 ditto.

This ſtatement will not give a perfect idea of the value of the importations, becauſe the duties vary in every ſpecies of merchandize; but when we find in the report of the ſecretary of the treaſury of the United States, that the total receipt of the duties on tonnage, and the taxes on importation and exportation, for the year 1795, amounted to five million ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand four hundred and eighteen dollars; and ſee that thoſe of the port of Philadelphia alone, for the ſame year, amounted to two million nine hundred and ſixty-one thouſand two hundred and four dollars, an idea may be formed of the immenſe ſhare Philadelphia has in the commerce of the United States.

The following is a ſtatement of the veſſels that arrived at, and ſailed from the port of Philadelphia, for the laſt year—1796.

	Arrived at Philadelphia.		Sailed from Philadelphia.
Veſſels of three maſts	199	-	184
Brigs - -	436	-	484
Shalops	594	-	633
Sloops - -	396	-	382
Total	1625		1683

The number of veſſels that arrived at Philadelphia in 1795, was leſs by fifty than in 1796; but the number that ſailed from that port in 1795, was more by ſixty-ſix. This difference was owing to the capture of American veſſels by privateers from the Weſt India Iſlands.

In

In 1788, the veſſels that arrived at Philadelphia were no more than ſix hundred and fifty-three, of which only ninety-three were veſſels of three maſts.

The articles of importation at Philadelphia are ſpread, not only through Pennſylvania, and the ſtates which furniſh the articles of its exportation, but alſo through Kentucky, the back ſettlements of Virginia, and North Carolina, although theſe countries do not ſend any of their produce to Philadelphia. I refer my reader to what I have ſaid on this ſubject in the account of my journey through the Southern States.

Freights at Philadelphia are from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton, for moſt of the articles ſent to Europe. They are from one to two dollars higher for coffee, ſugar, and cotton. Freights to India are from twenty-two to forty-four dollars, becauſe the cargo is chiefly ſpecie; from India, they are from eighty-ſix to eighty-eight dollars. Freights to and from the Iſle of France are forty dollars. Theſe are the prices of the current year; and vary as freights are more or leſs plentiful. At preſent they are from two to three per cent higher than they were three years ſince, becauſe there has been a decreaſe in the ſhipping. I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay relative to the commerce of Philadelphia, by the following table of the rate of inſurance at that port for the years 1795, 1796, and 1797.

Rate of Insurance, in the Port of Philadelphia, for the Years 1795, 1796,

	Present Rate from the 20th of July to the 1st of August 1797.	To the same Period, 1796.	To the same Period, in 1795.	Risk of the Sea, to continue after the Capture of the Vessel.
To Hamburg, Bremen, and other neutral Ports, not being in the Baltic, or the Mediterranean; also to Holland	7½	4 to 5	4½ to 6	3½
English Ports in the Channel	10 to 12½	4 to 5	3½ to 4½	3
Ditto Western Ports, on the Route to the North of Ireland	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3
Ports in the South-East of Ireland	10	3½ to 4	3½ to 4	3
Ditto West and North, on the Route to the North.	7½ to 8	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3
French Ports in the Atlantic	6 to 7½	3½ to 4½	5 to 6	3½
Ditto in the Mediterranean	7½ to 10	4 to 5	6 to 7½	4
Portuguese and Spanish Ports, in the Atlantic	7½ to 10	3½ to 5	3½ to 5	3 to 3½
Isles of France and Bourbon	7½ to 10	5	5 to 6	4
Cape of Good Hope	10	4 to 5	4	4
Batavia	7½ to 10	5	4½ to 5	4 to 4½
Canton, in China	10	5	5	5
Calcutta	10 to 15	5	5	5
Jamaica	15 to 20	3½ to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½
Other English Ports in the West India Isles	10 to 15	3 to 4½	3 to 4	3
French Ports in the West-Indies	7½	4 to 5	5 to 6	3½
Neutral Ports in the West Indies	5 to 6	3 to 4½	3 to 4½	3 to 3½
Havannah	6	4	3 to 4	3½
New Orleans	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½
Nova Scotia	6	4	4	2½
Ports of the United States; according to their distance, and the difficulties of the passage	1½ to 2½	1½ to 2	1½ to 2	1½ to 2

Theſe rates of inſurance are for neutral veſſels, bound from Philadelphia, and conſigned only to one port. They are calculated for the voyage out merely, and are generally the ſame for the voyage home; except when the veſſel is inſured at the ſame time both going and returning, when ſome abatement is made. The rate is higher, of courſe, when the veſſel has to touch at ſeveral ports, becauſe of the additional riſk. It is higher alſo in voyages to the Baltic, and ports of the north, during winter; and, for the ſame reaſon, in voyages to the Weſt India Iſlands, from the firſt of Auguſt to the firſt of November. It is higher alſo for veſſels which would not, on a ſcrutiny, by their papers, and the nature of their cargoes, prove to be neutral.

Towards the end of 1793, and in 1794, the rate of inſurance was higher than in 1795 and 1796, becauſe American veſſels were at that time captured by the Engliſh. It was lowered by the ſubſequent treaty with England; and has again riſen, ſince the French in their turn captured American veſſels; and particularly in voyages to the Weſt Indies, becauſe captures there are frequent, and are authoriſed by the governments of the ſeveral iſlands, while it is believed that the few American veſſels captured by the French in European ſeas, are taken without the authority of the French Government.

The rate of inſurance is nearly the ſame in the different ports of the United States.

The building of a veſſel at Philadelphia coſts, according to its tonnage, from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton at the time ſhe is launched. The price is increaſed in proportion as there is more holm-oak or cedar put into the veſſel. The ſails and rigging of a veſſel of three hundred tons will coſt about forty dollars per ton. Theſe prices, however, have riſen thirty per cent within the laſt three years. It is univerſally acknowledged, that veſſels built at Philadelphia are better than thoſe of any other port of the United States. They are more ſound, better finiſhed, and the ornaments are handſomer; and they will laſt, upon an average, from four to five years longer than the veſſels of the north. Moſt of

the large veſſels built at Philadelphia have their principal timber of holm-oak.

The quality of flour, pot-aſh, and in fact of all articles deſigned for exportation, is here more carefully attended to than at any other port. In a word, although Philadelphia is at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty miles from the ſea, and the navigation of the Delaware interrupted for one month or two months, and ſometimes more, in every year, it may be reckoned as the moſt conſiderable port of the United States. It contains the greateſt number of wealthy merchants, and affords the moſt ready market for the ſale of productions.

As to the manner in which commerce is conducted by the merchants of Philadelphia, what I have to ſay of the general commerce of the United States will be applicable to it, and perhaps in a particular manner, becauſe the commerce of Philadelphia is on a larger ſcale, ſpeculations are more extenſive, the mode of living more extravagant, and the paſſion for acquiring ſudden wealth greater there than in any other of the American markets.

BANKS AT PHILADELPHIA.

There are three banks at Philadelphia; the firſt is the bank of the United States, which, by its conſtitution, is obliged to follow the ſeat of government. I ſhall enter into ſome detail on this bank when I come to ſpeak generally of the United States. The other two are—the bank of Pennſylvania, and that of North America.

The bank of Pennſylvania was incorporated in 1793, by a law of the ſtate. Its capital is three millions of dollars, divided into ſeven thouſand five hundred ſhares of four hundred dollars each. The ſhares were bought by individuals, or companies, the ſtate not reſerving any ſhare, or the power of acquiring any, except by ſubſcription in the manner of individuals. This bank receives depoſits; and diſcounts at one-half per cent per month. It cannot ſell any thing but the public funds, or effects that have fallen into its hands for advances. It cannot buy any thing but gold

or

or ſilver in bullion; or the ſhares of its own corporation, which it muſt never buy below par, nor in a greater quantity than fifty at a time. It cannot lend to the government of the United States more than fifty thouſand dollars. No greater loan can be made but in conſequence of an expreſs law. It cannot circulate, either by its own notes, or by diſcount, or otherwiſe, more than three millions of dollars.

The law incorporating this bank, enjoins all the receipts of the ſtate to be depoſited in it. Of twenty-five directors that form its adminiſtration, ſix are nominated by the legiſlature, and the other nineteen by the proprietors of its ſtock. Eleven go out annually by rotation. A return of the general ſituation of the bank is to be made annually to the legiſlature, to be ſubmitted to its examination; but the legiſlature cannot demand an inſpection of the accounts of individuals; and the little dependence this bank has on the government, and the fidelity of its tranſactions, have placed it high in the public confidence. Its dividends are from eight to nine per cent, although a conſiderable ſurplus is prudently accumulated. Shares in this bank bear at preſent a premium of twenty-five and thirty per cent.

The bank of North America is of an older date, the act under which it was incorporated having paſſed in 1787. It was at firſt eſtabliſhed in 1782, but was diſſolved in 1784. This bank may extend its capital to two millions of dollars; and has the privilege of making laws, by a court of its own proprietors and its twelve directors, for its adminiſtration. But it is bound by the ſame rules in its ſales and purchaſes as the bank of Pennſylvania. As the legiſlature, however, has placed no other reſtriction on this bank, and it is ſtill more independent of the government than the Bank of Pennſylvania, its character is very great. It is called *The Quakers Bank*, becauſe the greater part of its original ſubſcribers were Quakers; its directors are in general of the ſame body; and it is the bank at which thoſe people generally keep their caſh. Its dividends are from ſeven to eight per cent. The price of original ſhares, which was a hundred dollars for each, bears a premium of forty-five per cent; and it is very ſeldom that a ſhare is to be ſold. In 1791, this bank lent one

hundred

hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars to the ſtate of Pennſylvania, on the ſecurity of its public funds, and for one year only; the ſum was punctually repaid.

THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA—ITS HOSPITALS, MARKETS, &c.

Philadelphia is not only the fineſt city of the United States, but may indeed be deemed one of the moſt beautiful cities in the world. It certainly is not ornamented with noble and antique edifices, like many of the cities of Europe; nor are the public buildings, with the exception of the ſtate-houſe, remarkable either for the beauty of their architecture or their magnitude; but the houſes are all built of fine brick, and have a pleaſing appearance of ſimplicity and neatneſs. Many of them are decorated at their baſe, and round their windows, with a white marble lightly veined, which is found a few miles from the city, near the Schuylkill, and have flights of ſteps of the ſame marble. The ſtreets are wide, and are generally planted with trees, and have very commodious pavements. The fountains that ſupply the city with water are in great numbers, and indeed exceed any think of that nature in Europe. We have nothing to regret here but the want of noble ſquares; nor any conſiderable nuiſance to complain of but the burial places, which are often in the moſt crowded parts of the city.

This nuiſance is indeed a very ſerious evil; and it cannot be doubted, is the cauſe of much ſickneſs in a city, where the heat of the ſummer is ſo great for three months as at Philadelphia. It has been in agitation to prohibit burial places in the city; but the matter has never been treated with the deciſion that the importance of the ſubject requires.

The narrowneſs of the quays is another cauſe of the unhealthineſs of this city, and is one which it will be more difficult to remove than the former. This defect cannot be remedied, but at the expence of an entire ſtreet extending along the river, and crowded with the counting-houſes and warehouſes of the merchants. This ſtreet is not to be found in the plan traced by Penn, which was exactly followed as far as it extended. But the city is increaſed on the borders of the Delaware, both to the right and left.

left. The buildings at firſt extended beyond the ground which he marked out between the Delaware and the Schuylkill; but the increaſe of commerce gave a new direction to buildings of late years; ſo that the city, although large, does not occupy half the ground between the two rivers, and it is not probable that it will extend farther towards the Schuylkill. The preſent population of Philadelphia amounts to ſeventy thouſand inhabitants.

I ſhall endeavour to avoid the repeating of circumſtances relative to this city that are known to every one. Its priſons are the only public eſtabliſhments which are ſuperior to the ſame kind in France and England; its hoſpitals, libraries, colleges, literary and philoſophical ſocieties, are inferior to thoſe of the old world, and indeed muſt long continue to be ſo; but if we conſider how few years have paſſed ſince this city was founded, and how ſtill ſhorter the ſpace of time is ſince Pennſylvania, with the other ſtates, became free, and was therefore able to employ all its reſources, we ſhall be ſurpriſed at the degree of improvement we find in Philadelphia; and it ought not to be concealed, that the diſpoſition of the inhabitants tends to facilitate the progreſs of the arts and ſciences; which, however, with every advantage, demand time to bring them to perfection. Neither ought it to be overlooked, that the Quakers are, in every part of the ſtate, the moſt ſteady and zealous promoters of every plan for the public happineſs. Their influence at Philadelphia is greater than in other parts, becauſe of their numbers. They are calculated to amount from one thouſand ſix hundred to one thouſand ſeven hundred families in that city.

The majority of the governors of the hoſpital of Pennſylvania are Quakers. The economy of this hoſpital is not, however, ſo perfect as we ſhould expect. The patients are too much mingled together. There are ſix of the phyſicians of Philadelphia who attend the hoſpital gratuitouſly. Two of theſe attend together, and make but two viſits in the week. They take this office by turns, two being changed every two months. There are two pupils reſiding in the houſe, who ſee the pre-

ſcriptions adminiſtered; and it is very ſeldom that any of the ſick have the aid of the phyſicians, except on the viſiting days. I ſpeak of poor patients, who are admitted gratis; for the funds of this hoſpital are ſo ſmall, that many of the patients are obliged to pay the phyſician, and theſe the phyſicians viſit when ſent for.

In 1775, the hoſpital received ſeventy patients gratis; but, although its revenues are not diminiſhed ſince that period, the increaſe of the price of proviſions, and of the wages of the perſons employed in the hoſpital, is ſo great, that at preſent it can take no more than thirty patients gratis. The reſt, to the number of ſixty-one, pay to be admitted in the following proportions—from three to four dollars per week for a place in the common room; ſix dollars for a room with more than one bed; and eight dollars for a room apart from others; the two laſt claſſes moreover pay the phyſician.

Inſane perſons are taken into this hoſpital. They were formerly kept in apartments under ground; but at preſent they are in a new building, which is ſpacious and airy. The degree of liberty they are allowed, and the cleanlineſs of their apartments, daily increaſes the number of thoſe who leave the hoſpital cured. The economy of this part of the hoſpital is indeed admirable; two years ſince it was a ſubject of diſguſt.

Dr. RUSH, one of the phyſicians of whom I made inquiries concerning the cauſes which brought patients of this kind to the hoſpital, attributed one half to the exceſſive drinking of ſpiritous liquors; a fourth to devotion; and a ſmaller portion to love. It is to be ſuppoſed that theſe obſervations were accurate, as they were made from an examination of the books of the hoſpital. That part which concerns the exceſſive drinking of ſpiritous liquors is confirmed by daily experience. It is a common caſe, for a man, after ſuch an exceſs, to be ſeveral days ſucceſſively in a ſtate of inſanity; which very rarely happens from exceſſive drinking of wine. The madneſs occaſioned by religion is moſt frequent amongſt ſects whoſe dogmas are extravagant, and who affect their diſciples more with terror than with hope. The derangement proceeding from love is

more

more frequent with the women than the men; and the patients of that claſs are chiefly girls betrayed or deſerted by their lovers. The number of inſane patients, the laſt time I viſited the hoſpital, was forty-five.

Dr. Rüſh is one of the moſt celebrated phyſicians in Philadelphia. He is reproached with an extreme partiality for bleeding; and it is certain that he is by no means ſparing of the practice. He is alſo accuſed of being wedded to ſyſtem; but this reproach is more likely to proceed from the envy common in Philadelphia, as in other places, than any other cauſe. Dr. Ruſh has certainly more practice than any other phyſician in Philadelphia; he is a man of talent, and one of the beſt informed men in America. Both his writings and actions prove that he has the welfare of the human race at heart. His zeal and courage during the prevalence of the yellow fever, were not to be ſubdued by danger or difficulty. In 1792, he nearly fell a victim to that terrible ſcourge. A work which he wrote on that diſeaſe met with many opponents, eſpecially among perſons of his own profeſſion. Dr. Ruſh publiſhed a letter in 1790, recommending the ſuppreſſing of the puniſhment of death; and the happy reſult of the change in that reſpect in the criminal code of Pennſylvania, is ſufficient proof of the wiſdom of his ſpeculation. There are other political papers of Dr. Ruſh, abounding with beneficent and valuable ſentiments.

The alms-houſe is as little to be commended for the nature of its management as the hoſpital. Its economy is not influenced by thoſe extenſive views, which in a great ſtate ought to have a principal ſhare in the aid given to the poor.

The principal market of Philadelphia excites the attention of every foreigner. It is a long building, conſtructed of brick, and ſupported by pillars of brick. The alleys are paved. It ſtands in the large ſtreet which ſeparates the north and ſouth quarter of the city. Here are to be found all ſorts of proviſions; butcher-meat, poultry, vegetables, &c.—flowers, roots, and trees are alſo ſold in this market. As proviſions are ſold no where but in this, and three or four markets in other parts of the city, this market is greatly crowded for three or four hours in the morning; but

although the paſſages ſometimes are almoſt choked up with people, the noiſe is very inconſiderable. Every one makes his market with little or no diſpute; proviſions are ſo abundant, and the venders ſo numerous, that the purchaſer who is diſſatisfied has but a ſtep or two to make to conſult his caprice, or to endeavour to make a better bargain. The prodigious quantity of proviſions of all ſorts in this market begets no offenſive ſmell; the tables are ſcraped and waſhed every day, and the paſſages are kept thoroughly clean. One is at firſt aſtoniſhed to ſee ſuch perfect cleanlineſs, where there are ſo many almoſt unavoidable cauſes of filth.

A great quantity of the proviſions ſold at Philadelphia is brought ſixty miles; it is conveyed in covered waggons that arrive in the night. The horſes are unharneſſed, and ſtand round the carts, with hay before them, which the farmer always brings with him, to ſave expences at the inns. Sometimes there are more than a hundred of theſe waggons ſtanding at the upper part of the ſtreet in which the great market is ſituated. Sometimes the farmers retail their proviſions themſelves, from their carts, which bring veal, pork, poultry, game, butter, and cheeſe, as well as articles of agriculture, and even the products of induſtry.

Jerſey furniſhes the markets of Philadelphia with many articles, particularly hams, poultry, butter, and vegetables. It is a pleaſing object, to ſee the perfect order that prevails in the markets; and it is worthy of regard, that the whole proceeds from the diſpoſition of the people, for the public police never has occaſion to interfere in theſe places. I am compelled to own, however, that having paſſed three winters in Philadelphia, I have perceived a gradual change taking place in this reſpect, and alſo in the tranquillity that formerly reigned at night in the ſtreets. In 1794, it was uncommon to encounter any body at night, and ſtill more to hear any noiſe after eleven o'clock. The noiſe in the ſtreets continues now till a much later hour. Philadelphia is, indeed, departing very widely from ſimplicity of manners.

This city, being at a great diſtance from the ſea, is ill provided with fiſh. *Rock fiſh*, which is a long fiſh with very white fleſh, and does not reſemble any fiſh of Europe that I know, is the only one that is to be found

found throughout the year at Philadelphia. The epicures, however, cauſe a variety of fiſh to be brought from New York.

The rent of the ſhops in the market-place is one of the revenues of the city, and produces about eight thouſand dollars. The other revenues of the city are—a tax upon taverns, a tax upon quays, and a tax on property of the ſame kind as that laid in the counties.

The amount of theſe taxes varies with circumſtances; the principal ſource of their increaſe is the conſtruction of public buildings. The taxes of the city of Philadelphia in 1790, amounted to ſixteen thouſand eight hundred dollars; in 1793, to twenty thouſand three hundred and thirty-two dollars; in 1794, to twenty-nine thouſand five hundred dollars; in 1795, to twenty-eight thouſand ſix hundred dollars. They were leſs in 1796 and in 1797; but I do not know the exact amount of theſe years.

Some judgment may be formed of the immenſe increaſe of wealth in Philadelphia by the rapid increaſe of the computed value of articles ſubject to taxation. In 1790, it amounted to ninety-eight million ſix hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand and ſixty dollars; and in 1795, to one hundred million five hundred and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen dollars. In 1797, it exceeded that computation by more than two millions of dollars;—the computation being throughout made upon the ſame principles. The quantity of articles ſubject to taxation increaſing rapidly in this city, as it alſo does throughout the whole ſtate, and the expences of the city continually decreaſing, becauſe they have been heretofore greatly augmented by the conſtruction of public edifices, bridges, &c. the impoſts, already low, muſt neceſſarily decreaſe.

There is no city of the United States where articles of conſumption are to be found in ſuch great abundance as at Philadelphia, even to almoſt all articles of luxury. Many ſhops are as well furniſhed as thoſe of Paris or London. The tradeſmen are polite and obliging; and not at all preſſing for their money, when they are aſſured of the ſolvency of their cuſtomers, at leaſt I have found it ſo. The workmen are expert; but, as they can earn a great deal, they do not labour with the ſame conſtancy as workmen in Europe, and frequently make a purchaſer wait long

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for the execution of an order. Every thing in America, more particularly at Philadelphia, is much dearer than in Europe. A workman, hired by the day, receives a dollar per day, beſides his board; the wages of ordinary domeſtics, who are for the moſt part negroes, are from ten to twelve dollars per month, beſides board and waſhing. A female ſervant, of the moſt ordinary kind, has a dollar per week. Board is from eight to twelve dollars per week, without wine, fire, or candles. The rent of the ſmalleſt houſe, in a remote part of the city, is three hundred dollars per annum; the rent of large houſes, in good ſituations, is from two thouſand five hundred to three thouſand dollars. Beef coſts from ten to thirteen pence per pound; and a couple of fowls often more than a dollar. Other things are in the ſame proportion. The value of the ground in Philadelphia differs according to its ſituation; it is ſold by the feet in front, according to its depth. A piece of ground of one hundred and fifty feet depth, in the moſt frequented part of the city, brings from one hundred and eighty dollars to two hundred and ſixty per foot. At the end of ſtreets not compleated, they aſk only from twenty-four to thirty dollars per foot; and betwen theſe extreme ſituations the medium price is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty dollars.

Of the lands in the vicinity of Philadelphia, thoſe in the plain are ſandy and ſteril, the hills near the Schuylkill are ſandy and full of ſtones, although a little ſtronger. But the badneſs of the lands does not prevent their ſelling for a high price, as they are almoſt entirely engroſſed for country houſes by the wealthy inhabitants of the city. Their price is from one hundred and fifty to one thouſand two hundred dollars per acre, including the buildings, according to their ſituation and other circumſtances. To the ſouth of the city the land, lying between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, having been formerly covered with water, is a fine ſoil from twenty to twenty-five feet in depth, but always very wet. It produces a natural graſs of the beſt quality in great abundance, being enriched by the mud left from the overflowing

overflowing of the rivers; and might be greatly improved by being drained, but this is not done for the want of hands. It is ſeldom that eſtates are to be ſold in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the proprietors being tempted to keep them in their hands by their conſtant increaſe in value; and they are very rarely let to tenants for more than a year or two years. The graſs-lands are generally uſed to fatten oxen; their rent is from twenty-four to twenty-eight dollars per acre. Lands that bear Indian corn, grain, and potatoes, are let at the ſame price.

MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is univerſally accuſed of poſſeſſing leſs hoſpitality than any other city in the United States; and it may be allowed to deſerve this reproach. The excuſe of the inhabitants is, the great concourſe there is always here of ſtrangers, who would too greatly occupy the time of their hoſts if too much encouragement were given to viſits. The true reaſon is, the inceſſant attention that is paid in Philadelphia, more than in any other part of the world, to the accumulation of wealth; which paſſion is not diminiſhed even by the poſſeſſion of the greateſt fortune. To mend his circumſtances is the predominant idea of every man in this country. This mercantile notion, of neceſſity, confines within himſelf the man whom it influences; and gives him no time nor taſte for the pleaſures of ſociety. What is juſtly called *ſociety* does not exiſt in this city. The vanity of wealth is common enough. The rich man loves to ſhew the ſtranger his ſplendid furniture, his fine Engliſh glaſs, and exquiſite china. But when the ſtranger has once viewed the parade in a ceremonious dinner, he is diſmiſſed for ſome other newcomer, who has not yet ſeen the magnificence of the houſe nor taſted the old madeira that has been twice or thrice to the Eaſt Indies. And then, a new face is always more welcome than an old one to him who has little to ſay to either.

The real ſtate of ſociety at Philadelphia is included in invitations to great

great dinners, and tea, to all who arrive from Europe—Engliſh, French, inhabitants of every country, men of every claſs and of every kind of character, philoſophers, prieſts, literati, princes, dentiſts, wits, and idiots. And the next day the idolized ſtranger is not known in the ſtreet, except he be wealthy, eſpecially in money; when, indeed, the politeneſs of the citizens of Philadelphia continues to exiſt as long as the ſtranger can purchaſe eſtates, and even beyond that term, for the homage paid to wealth is a worſhip in which all ſects unite.

To the ordinary defects of ſociety in Philadelphia, is to be added the intemperance of politics. The Engliſh influence prevails in the firſt circles; and prevails with great intolerance.

Perſons of wealth here, who careſſed the agents of Robeſpierre, when that monſter extirpated all the worth his power could reach, are the avowed enemies of France, now that her government inclines to mildneſs and humanity. It is not to be denied that the American commerce has ſuffered greatly from French privateers; and we cannot therefore be ſurprized, either at the ill humour of the merchants of Philadelphia, or their mode of expreſſing it.

Having given this ſketch of the temper of the people of Philadelphia, I am compelled to ſay, however correct it may be, that many families are to be found who form exceptions, and are neither tainted with the general vices of this place nor inflamed with the preſent ſpirit of party. What I have ſaid is without ill will. I have no perſonal complaint to make. But I ſpeak without reſerve: for why ſhould I write, if it were not to communicate truth?

Before all thoſe to whom I feel myſelf indebted for their kindneſs, I have to place the family of CHEW. BENJAMIN CHEW, the head of this reſpectable family, who is a man in years, unites to an underſtanding, naturally penetrating and lively, great information, an amiable temper, a noble generoſity, and the ſimpleſt of manners. His large family is univerſally eſteemed; and in no quarter of the world is there any one more eſtimable. I was received by him as a brother; and my heart is filled with ſentiments of eſteem, gratitude, and love for him, that will go with

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me to the grave; and I hope he will pardon my expreſſion of thoſe ſentiments in this place.

To name every one from whom I have received offices of kindneſs would be to treſpaſs too much on my reader; and I muſt be ſatisfied with indulging myſelf with a remembrance of their friendſhip.

Notwithſtanding the defective ſtate of ſociety in Philadelphia, this city is perhaps the moſt agreeable of the United States for a foreigner. The reſidence of the members of Congreſs will enable him to gather information on the different parts of this intereſting country; and, in fact, to travel through its different ſtates with great advantage to his enquiries. Although in Philadelphia, as throughout America, no one is ſufficiently free from employment to give himſelf wholly to letters or the ſciences, this city contains, more than any other, perſons who cultivate them, and whoſe ſociety is extremely intereſting when thoſe ſubjects are diſcuſſed. There is a philoſophical ſociety here, and a large and valuable library. There is alſo a muſeum which has an almoſt complete collection of the minerals and animals of North America. This fine collection is the property of Mr. PEALE. His intelligence, and indefatigable induſtry for twenty years in the forming this collection, have ſupplied the want of means that a more ample fortune would have readily furniſhed, and entitle him to aid in his undertaking from the government.

The profuſion and luxury of Philadelphia, on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages, and the dreſſes of their wives and daughters, are, as I have obſerved, extreme. I have ſeen balls on the Preſident's birth-day where the ſplendor of the rooms, and the variety and richneſs of the dreſſes did not ſuffer in compariſon with Europe; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in the compariſon. The young women of Philadelphia are accompliſhed in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the eaſe and faſhion of French women; but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely ſuperior. Even when they grow old they are ſtill handſome; and it would be no exaggeration to ſay, in the nu-

merous aſſemblies of Philadelphia it is impoſſible to meet with what is called a plain woman. As to the young men, they for the moſt part ſeem to belong to another ſpecies.

Wealth makes all the diſtinction of claſſes in Philadelphia. The great merchants, and the lawyers who are at the head of their profeſſion, hold the firſt rank. Different claſſes very rarely mingle together. The Quakers live among themſelves, and in a retired manner. But gay colours pleaſe the young Quaker-ladies; and are indeed great enemies of the ſect. The toilette is the ſubject of much uneaſineſs to the old people, whether prohibited or tolerated by them. But whether prohibited or not, the young and handſome Quaker-girls will ſacrifice to the toilette, and call themſelves *Half-quakers*; and, it muſt be confeſſed, they are the greateſt favourites with our ſex. The young men among the Quakers, who would make themſelves agreeable to the *female deſerters*, powder and ſhape their dreſs accordingly; and the ſect is continually loſing ſome of thoſe that ſhould be its pillars by the effect of a ribband or gown.

Profuſion is not confined to the higher ranks. It ſpreads among the ſervants; and even reaches the negroes. Both one and the other give their balls, which are deſtitute of the charming ſimplicity of the fetes of our peaſants. Variety of refreſhments, good ſuppers, and fine dreſſes, diſtinguiſh them. A female negro ſervant, whoſe wages are one dollar per week, will, at theſe balls, have a dreſs that coſts ſixty dollars. They never go but in coaches to theſe balls, which are very frequent. On Sundays the public-houſes in the environs of the city are crouded with labourers and little ſhopkeepers, who frequently come in a chair, with their whole family, and will expend from three to four dollars for the day's entertainment. It is not to hoard that the Americans are rapacious; their improvidence has ſtill all the character of coloniſts.

There is a theatre at Philadelphia, in deſpight of the many and vehement petitions preſented againſt it by the Quakers and diſſenting miniſters. It is generally crouded; not that the actors are good, but it is a place where people can aſſemble and exhibit themſelves. There are

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from twenty to twenty-five ſtage-coaches, that either go from or arrive at Philadelphia every day. They are mean and incommodious carriages; but are light, and travel very quickly. The horſes are good in Pennſylvania; and there are ſets belonging to ſome of the ſtage-coaches that are not ſurpaſſed by any in Europe.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, like thoſe of the whole State of Pennſylvania, are a mixture of all the nations of Europe. The Engliſh are in the greateſt number. The counties of Pennſylvania, beyond the Suſquehannah, and at a greater diſtance from Philadelphia than the reſt, are little influenced by the political opinions of the capital, which, as I have ſaid, are in favor of England.

There are a great many newſpapers publiſhed in Philadelphia; whence they are ſpread through all the ſtate.

Twenty-eight places of worſhip hold the different ſects of Philadelphia. The Quakers have ſix. One of theſe belongs to the *Free-quakers*; a body expelled from the reſt, for having carried arms, and accepted offices under the government of the State, or that of the Union, during the ſtruggle for Independence. This body does not differ from the ſect, except in a relaxation of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. There is a place of worſhip called the African Church, ſet apart for the negroes; who go, notwithſtanding, to the other churches at their pleaſure. The clergyman of the African church is himſelf a negroe. He is joined to the clergy on all occaſions where they aſſemble in a body.

The Quakers have eſtabliſhed here two charity ſchools for the negroes, where they are taught to read, write, and caſt accounts. But among the wiſe and beneficent laws of the State of Pennſylvania, one ſees with pain that no proviſion is yet made for the erecting of ſchools for the education of children at the public expence, like thoſe of New England. The legiſlature, indeed, is engaged on a plan of this nature. The Quakers, it is ſaid, oppoſe theſe foundations, becauſe they have ſchools of their own, being unwilling to mingle their children with the children of other perſuaſions; and becauſe they would either be compelled to abandon this

policy or maintain their own ſchools at an excluſive expence, while they would pay a general tax to thoſe of the public. I cannot ſuppoſe this oppoſition to be real; or, if ſo, that it can continue long. The ſtate that feels the importance of public ſchools will, in the end, gain the victory; and, no doubt, the Quakers themſelves will not be backward in acknowledging the injuſtice and miſchievous effects of their pretenſions.

I cannot conclude what I have to ſay of Philadelphia without obſerving, that here, and almoſt in every other part of America through which I have paſſed, I have frequently heard the name of M. de la ROCHEFOUCAULT pronounced, with a profound veneration for his memory, and ſincere ſorrow for his fate. Although he never viſited the United States, he was known as a Frenchman who ſhewed the ſtrongeſt attachment to their independence. They named him their *friend*; and my connection with him by blood procured me in more than one family the kindeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed reception.

Having no other paſſion than that of doing good, and poſſeſſing at once the private virtues, as well as thoſe that fit us to ſerve the public, he had a modeſty, approaching to a diffidence of himſelf, that increaſed the luſtre of all his great qualities. His mind was noble, and independent; and he worſhipped liberty long before her name was openly pronounced in France. Without mixture in his views, as without ſtain in his conduct, he is perhaps the only example of an eminent man in the French Revolution whoſe character calumny did not impeach. Yet was this man murdered!—murdered in the preſence of the tendereſt of mothers, and the moſt amiable of wives; by wretches calling themſelves patriots, hired by monſters more deteſtable than thoſe, and who alſo called themſelves patriots! France ſhuddered at this crime, when it was committed; and, even in thoſe fatal times, when terror compelled men to belie their conſciences, no one was found to ſay, that his death was not a public misfortune. I have no doubt, when the repreſentatives of the French nation ſhall be at liberty to decree the homage

homage of public regret to the memory of juſt citizens that intrigue and cruelty ſnatched from their country, the name of M. de la Rochefoucault will be among the firſt that will be heard. Such a decree will do honour to the French nation; and I ſhall be pardoned, I hope, for pouring forth my ſoul on this ſubject. To be proud of my near connection, by blood, and by the ties of an intimate friendſhip, with one of the moſt virtuous men of the age, will not give offence to thoſe who know what it is to love virtue.

JOURNEY

JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM, AND IN THE JERSEYS, IN JUNE 1797.

THE ROAD TO GERMANTOWN.

I once more quitted Philadelphia with pleaſure, the oppreſſive and burning heat rendering that city diſagreeable at this ſeaſon; and as the ſittings of Congreſs, which had induced me to remain there till now, preſented nothing to ſatisfy curioſity, I proceeded towards Bethlehem.

On leaving the city, I went a little out of the way to take leave of my friend Mr. NICKLEN, a good and worthy Engliſhman, from whom I had, during my ſtay in America, received many teſtimonies of attention, and who had married one of the daughters of the reſpectable family of CHEW. He occupies, during the ſummer, one of the handſomeſt country-ſeats in the environs of Philadelphia, built on one of the hills of Schuylkill. This villa, which is called Hill, enjoys one of the moſt delightful proſpects in the world. Mr. Nicklin purchaſed this houſe, and nineteen acres of ground attached to it, at the price of twenty-two thouſand dollars, which price may give an idea of the value of ſuch ſeats in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The road to Germantown is upon the aſcent, the ſummit of the hill on which that little town is built being two hundred feet higher than the bed of the Delaware, although the diſtance is only ſeven miles. The lands, though not of the firſt quality, are ſufficiently productive; the vicinity to Philadelphia making it eaſy to get manure, while the high price of proviſions in that city encourages the farmer to lay out ſuch expences as may inſure the beſt and moſt abundant returns.

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All the way to Germantown the houſes are very cloſe together, the properties being ſo valuable as to prevent them from being very extenſive: there are few of the farms which exceed two hundred acres. Stone abounds in this diſtrict, and is found at a very ſmall depth; it is uniformly micacious free ſtone. Of this all the houſes are built. Theſe buildings would not be reckoned handſome in Europe. They are good ſmall houſes, without elegance and without ornament; but in point of ſize, as well as diſtribution of the apartments, they afford their proprietors every thing that comes under the denomination of convenience and comfort. Moſt of them are country houſes for the relaxation of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.

GERMANTOWN.

Germantown is a long village, near two miles and an half in extent. The houſes, to the number of about three hundred, are all built on the ſide of the highway, and are erected pretty cloſe to each other. The lands in all this diſtrict coſt from an hundred and ſixty to two hundred dollars the acre in whole farms; ſome particular acres, ſituated on the road ſide, ſell for from four to five hundred dollars. I was even told that it is not eaſy to procure it at that price; and I was ſhewn a field of a dozen of acres, the proprietor of which eſtimates it at eight hundred dollars the acre. The culture of this part of the country is better attended to, than in thoſe parts which are at a diſtance from large towns; but it is far from being in that ſtate of cultivation which it would be in Europe, near ſo good a market as that of Philadelphia. They raiſe a good deal of wheat, and ſtill more Indian-corn, but very little rye or oats. All the produce which is not conſumed in the farmer's family, is carried to the market at Philadelphia, in conſequence of which proviſions are as dear at Germantown as in the city, to thoſe who are obliged to purchaſe them. Nay, they are often even dearer; as the farmers who go to Philadelphia, where they are ſure of getting quit of all their commodities, frequently refuſe to ſell any part of them on the road. Beef, for example, which is ſeldom higher at Philadelphia than eleven pence, coſts fifteen pence at

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Germantown. All this country, and for a conſiderable way farther, is inhabited principally by Germans, and deſcendants of Germans. The inhabitants are by no means intelligent, and they are particularly averſe to leave their old cuſtoms for a new method which might be better; but they are induſtrious, and their aſſiduity to labour counteracts, in ſome meaſure, their repugnance to all improvement.

They manufacture in their families at Germantown a great quantity of woollen, cotton, and thread ſtockings, which the farmers carry to market at Philadelphia with their proviſions, and which are reckoned very durable. There are alſo ſome tan-works at Germantown. We find here a Lutheran and a Preſbyterian church, beſides a third for the Quakers; an academy, and two other ſchools of conſiderable repute.

I ſtopped at the houſe of my excellent and reſpected friend Mr. Chew. This houſe is celebrated as an important ſcene of action in the battle of Germantown in 1777. Two hundred Engliſh of the advance-guard of the army, repulſed by the Americans, were incloſed in this place; and reſiſted the efforts of General Waſhington, who endeavoured to get the better of them with the aſſiſtence of his artillery, and who, after the loſs of four or five hundred men killed or wounded, was obliged to retreat, not being able to follow up the advantage which his right had obtained, in penetrating to the middle of this village. General Waſhington was blamed at the time for perſiſting ſo much in carrying this houſe, which did not contain ſuch a number of Engliſh as could at all have diſconcerted him had he left it behind, and which would have fallen into his hands without a blow, had he joined the troops with which he made this unſucceſsful attack to thoſe who were before him, and ſucceeded in driving the enemy out of the village. This houſe, entirely built of the country ſtone, bears on its walls marks of the American cannon balls and muſket bullets, a great number of which had penetrated into the chambers by the windows. Theſe bullets and balls are ſtill ſticking in the partitions, the holes which contain them being only covered with plaſter. Mr. Chew was at that time proprietor of this houſe, which was built by him. He ſold it in 1779, with forty acres of land belonging to it, for about

about nine thouſand dollars, and laſt ſpring he repurchaſed it, at the price of twenty-five thouſand dollars, without any improvement having been made on it. Labourers receive, in the environs of Germantown, a dollar a day of wages, during hay-making and harveſt. The women employed to turn the hay are paid half a dollar a day, all beſides their diet, which is equal to half a dollar more. This diet conſiſts of coffee or chocolate, with ham to breakfaſt; freſh meat and vegetables to dinner; tea and ham for ſupper, and a pint of rum during the day. This is the manner in which labourers are fed in America; and if this diet appear expenſive to thoſe who employ them, if this expence prevent them from being able to employ a great number, it is gratifying to ſee how well a claſs of men, reckoned the loweſt in Europe, is treated in this country, the only one where a man, whatever be his profeſſion, is treated with reſpect; where all ranks are conſidered as men. We may be told, that were our European labourers fed with coffee and freſh meat, they would not work better, or be better content. It is, in the firſt place, not true, that they would not work better and be more happy, if they were better fed; and it is ſtill more certain, that were they treated with more reſpect, and more attention, they would conſider themſelves leſs debaſed, they would become better, they would feel with pride that they were a more noble branch of ſociety, and conſequently would be more intereſted in its preſervation. Let us hope that the French revolution may, in this reſpect, operate a happy change in the lot of the laborious claſs of mankind. Without this, liberty would be only a word without meaning, a pretext for diſorder.

A cord of oak wood coſts ſix, and a cord of hickory from eight to ten dollars, at Germantown. Thus the lands covered with wood, which in the more diſtant parts are of much leſs value than other grounds, are here the moſt valuable. The wood from hence is carried to Philadelphia principally in the winter time, the river not being navigable, it could not be conveyed by it.

THE ROAD TO CLEMENT'S TAVERN.—SPRINGHOUSE.

Germantown is in the county of Philadelphia, which the Bethlehem road does not get out of till five or ſix miles farther on, at Cheſnut-hill, a pretty village, where there are eſtabliſhed a number of butchers, who carry to the market at Philadelphia the beef which they kill, and alſo ſupply the neighbourhood. A little beyond Cheſnut-hill we enter Montgomery county. The road, all the way to Clement's Tavern, is a ſucceſſion of little hills and valleys, more or leſs extenſive, all in a good ſtate of cultivation. The lands at Springhouſe are worth from forty to forty-five dollars the acre; the labourers receive here one or two ſhillings leſs than at Germantown. The country abounds in oak; and the great conſumption of wood in lime-kilns keeps always up the price of a cord of oak to three dollars, and of hickory to five, although the lands under culture are here leſs in proportion to the wood-lands than near Philadelphia. Springhouſe is diſtant from thence eighteen miles.

Stone becoming leſs abundant, and every where deeper in the earth, after leaving Springhouſe houſes of ſtone are leſs numerous, and thoſe of wood conſequently more common. The country to Clement's Tavern continues to be of the ſame deſcription. This tavern, ſeven miles from Springhouſe, is ſituated exactly on the boundaries of Montgomery and Buck's counties. The lands here ſell for from thirty-two to ſixty dollars the acre. Labourers' wages are the ſame as at Springhouſe. Farm horſes coſt from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars; cattle eighty dollars the pair; cows thirty dollars. As there is no oak in this neighbourhood, although the woods are ſtill more numerous than at Springhouſe, the cord of hickory coſts here only four dollars. The country is all along peopled in a great meaſure with German and Dutch families. CLEMENTS is of Dutch deſcent. His grandfather, who was a rich merchant, engaged in the Eaſt India trade, came to America in 1707. The loſs of ſeveral veſſels having ruined his fortune, he collected the wreck of it to carry to Pennſylvania. His grandſon, the tavern-

keeper,

keeper, is one of the beſt men I have met with. He ſhews, with a kind of ſatisfaction, an old andiron, which his grandfather brought from Holland, and which, a hundred years before that time, had made part of the furniture of his father's houſe. Clements ſees in this old piece of furniture, which is diſplayed in his kitchen, a family monument, which makes him trace two hundred years of his genealogy, and in dilating upon that he exhibits a conſiderable fire, quite the reverſe of his amiable ſimplicity.

QUAKERSTOWN, AND THE ROAD TO BETHLEHEM.

The country becomes more mountainous as we proceed on from Clement's houſe; the valleys conſequently are extenſive, and we find no longer granite but free-ſtone, at leaſt in the courſe of twenty miles. The country is moſtly covered with wood, although in ſeveral places the houſes are pretty cloſe, and the lands well cultivated.

Quakerſtown is a ſmall village, the chief place of a ſettlement of Quakers ſpread through the townſhips of Upper and Lower Milford. Theſe townſhips were given to the Quakers about eighty years ago by William Penn. All the inhabitants, however, are not Quakers; ſeveral of the families which were firſt ſettled having quitted it, and been ſucceeded by others. The number of theſe at preſent is about three hundred; and a number of other families alſo people the two townſhips, which are inhabited and well cultivated.

If one may judge by the converſation of the Quaker who keeps the tavern where I ſtopped, the religion of that ſect is the article which leaſt occupies the Quakers eſtabliſhed in this townſhip. Their farm is the conſtant object of their thought.

They are ſaid to be very good farmers. They lay out the greateſt part of their grounds in meadow, and they carry their butter, cheeſe, calves, poultry, and the articles manufactured in their families, ſuch as ſtockings, linen, &c. to Philadelphia, near forty miles diſtant. The frequency of their journies to Philadelphia is regulated by the extent of their farms, and the conſequent quantity of their proviſions.

Some of them go only once a fortnight, others every ten days; others, again, once a week; and there is one individual who goes every market-day, that is twice a week. The quantity of proviſions they carry alſo determines the manner of carriage, namely, whether on horſeback, in a cart with two horſes, or in a waggon with four horſes. They ſet out on the evening, to reach Philadelphia by break of day, and return when they have ſold all their goods; which they never fail to do, even if they are obliged to lower their price as the day advances. Their horſes ſtand unyoked near the carts all the market time, the oats with which they feed them being brought from the farm with the proviſions. This is the practice of all the farmers from Germantown to Quakerſtown, and conſiderably farther. They reckon that one cow yields five pounds of butter a week, that is to ſay, to carry to market; for they only ſell what is over the conſumption of their own families, and none of them deny themſelves either butter, milk, cream, or fowls. I met on the road ſome girls of eighteen on horſeback, travelling to Philadelphia, and carrying forty pounds weight of butter, with ſome cheeſe and poultry. Some of them travel alone; and their youth and beauty, for the greater part of them are very pretty, gives them no diſturbance in a journey ſo long, ſo often repeated, and the greateſt part of which is made in the night time: no perſon thinks of injuring them. This particular of American morals is truly admirable.

The lands about Quakerſtown are worth from thirty-two to ſixty dollars; the wages of the labourers the ſame as at Clement's Tavern. The culture of grain is here the ſame as elſewhere in America, a good deal of maize, corn, and rye; but the lands are either not at all or very badly manured: the dung is laid upon the graſs grounds. From Quakerſtown to Bethlehem the country is ſtill more mountainous; we meet however frequently with extremely fertile valleys. Moſt of the houſes are built of ſtone; a good many of them, however, are conſtructed of ſquare beams of wood, and the interſtices filled up with ſtone. The barns are large, and moſtly of wood.

All this country, from Philadelphia to within a mile of Wilkſbarre, formed

formed part of the firſt purchaſe made from the Indians by William Penn, and has been long cultivated and inhabited. We ſee here few of thoſe trunks of trees which remain often under foot ſo long after the commencement of the operation of grubbing, and the country is almoſt throughout as much cleared of wood as the generality of Europe.

The mountains known under the name of the *Lehigh Mountains*, are, properly ſpeaking, the firſt chain which we meet from Philadelphia, the preceding ones being rather detached hills than mountains. This chain, which croſſes the Suſquehannah near Harriſburg, loſes its name at the Delaware near Eaſton, and continues through Jerſey under another name. On the other ſide of that mountain ſtands Bethlehem, built on the conflux of the river Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware near Eaſton, and of the creek Manokiſy, which falls immediately at Bethlehem into the river Lehigh.

BETHLEHEM.—DETAILS RESPECTING THE MORAVIANS.

Bethlehem is inhabited by the Moravian brethren. It is the firſt and moſt conſiderable of their ſettlements in America, and has thence acquired much celebrity. I have read in books of travels ſo many different recitals reſpecting the internal government of their ſociety, their community of goods, their children being even taken away from the authority and ſuperintendance of their parents, as belonging to the ſociety at large, and reſpecting ſeveral other points of their government, that I was deſirous to judge myſelf of the truth of theſe aſſertions; and I have found at Bethlehem freſh reaſon not to credit, without proof, the recitals of travellers. This indiſputable truth is, however, rather delicate, to be avowed by one who is writing travels.

I ſhall not go back to the origin of the Moravians, which their hiſtorians fix at the year 1424; to their perſecution in Europe; to the almoſt total diſſolution of their ſociety at the commencement of the ſeventeenth century; nor to their reunion in 1722, under the auſpices of Count ZINZENDORFF. I ſhall ſay nothing of their doctrines; all theſe facts are unconnected with their temporal government at Bethlehem, which is the only

only point I wiſhed to know, and which I think is at this time intereſting.

In 1740, the Count Zinzendorff purchaſed from Mr. ALLAN, who held it of Willam Penn; the diſtrict now called Bethlehem, with the view of there forming an eſtabliſhment for the ſociety of the Moravians. Although ſome trees were cut down in 1741, it was not till 1742 that the ſettlement was begun. One hundred and forty Moravian brethren and ſiſters arrived from Germany, and ſettled there. Theſe families were poor, had no other dependence than their labour, and every thing was to be done to form a ſettlement in this deſert. They lived then in one general community, contrary to the rules and uſage of their ſociety, but only from the neceſſity of circumſtances, which would have rendered the general progreſs of their ſociety more ſlow, and the ſituation of the individual families more inconvenient, if their labours and productions had been divided. This deviation from the conſtitution of the *Unity* (for thus they call their whole ſociety) was preſcribed by the ſynod, which makes and alters the laws of all the Moravian people. Thus, under the order of the chiefs of the congregation eſtabliſhed at Bethlehem, they cleared the woods, made roads, and cultivated the lands; the women ſpan, wove, made their cloaths, and prepared their victuals. One ſingle will animated the whole, and the product of each individuals' labour ſerved indiſcriminately to the ſupport of the whole brother and ſiſterhood. The fathers and mothers being conſtantly employed in labour, could not, without inconvenience to the community, give their attentions to their children. The ſociety therefore appointed ſome of the ſiſters to take care of the whole; the authority, however, and the ſuperintendence of the parents, was neither taken away nor diminiſhed. At that time even, notwithſtanding their community of goods, the brethren who received any money from their families or friends had the free diſpoſal of it. If any of them veſted their property in the common ſtock it was voluntarily, and the effect of a zeal and diſintereſtedneſs of which there were but few examples. The brethren poſſeſſed of any private property, had frequently their children with them; they clothed them better;

better; and the care which they took of them in infancy, a charge conſidered a relief to the ſociety, was a proof that at Bethlehem the children were not, as has been alleged, the property of the community, and that it was no part of the inſtitution to make the members renounce all private property. In proportion as the ſettlement advanced, and their labour became leſs urgent, the ſociety of Bethlehem ſaw the inconveniences attending a community of labour, produce, and enjoyment. The paſſions, the vices, and the virtues of man, have every where nearly the ſame character. The active brethren killed themſelves with work, while the idle took little trouble. Thoſe who reflected diſcovered, that whatever fatigue they endured, their ſituation was no wiſe ameliorated; and that induſtry, the indiſputable property of every man, afforded them not a ſingle advantage. Reflection then had the ſame effect on the induſtrious, as their natural diſpoſition had on the idle; the ardour for labour no longer continued; the ſociety did not proſper, and the moſt of its members were diſcontented.

Theſe joint conſiderations induced them, in 1762, to change the ſyſtem of the community. The ſociety of Bethlehem was now eſtabliſhed on the rules of the ſocieties in Europe, and recalled to the true conſtitution of the ſociety at large; it is under this ſyſtem that it has been regulated ſince that epoch, as well as all the other Moravian congregations eſtabliſhed elſewhere in America.

By the preſent ordonnances, the communion of property is done away in favour of the individuals; it only continues as to the government of the ſociety, and it exiſts partially. The territorial property, as well as the profits of the tavern, the ſtore, the farm, the ſaw-mills, oil-mills, corn-mills, and fulling-mills, the tannery, and the dyeing manufactory, belong to the ſociety, which from theſe funds is enabled to provide for the poor, for the payment of debts, and of the public taxes. In all other reſpects every brother enjoys the abſolute property of whatever he can earn by his labour, be it what it may, and of the gifts which he may receive.

The government of the ſociety is veſted in the biſhop, the miniſter, the

the intendant, and the inſpectors, male and female, of the different diviſions of the ſociety, which are five in number;—the young men unmarried; the unmarried ſiſters; the widows; the married brethren and ſiſters, and the ſchools. The intendant has the excluſive adminiſtration of the property of the ſociety; but he muſt adviſe with a committee, compoſed of from eight to ten members, and choſen by the brethren at large. In the name of the intendant they carry on all their tranſactions, grant leaſes of houſes and lands, ſecurities for borrowed money, diſcharges, &c. All the houſes, however, erected in the town of Bethlehem, and the four thouſand acres belonging to it, are not the property of the ſociety, nor even the greater part of them; they belong to brethren, who have built upon land for which they pay rent to the ſociety. The amount of this rent is two-pence the foot in front, by twenty feet in depth. The houſe built by the brother is his abſolute property; he can leave it to his wife or his children, in the ſame way as he can his other effects, or he can ſell it; only he cannot convey it but to a brother, who has obtained from the directory permiſſion to purchaſe it, with the burthen of the rent attached to it, and which perpetually remains.

The directors having the government of the ſociety, muſt admit into their territory thoſe only who they think will not diſturb the ſociety. In the contracts of leaſe made by the intendant, with the advice of the committee, to thoſe intending to build a houſe, or to thoſe who purchaſe a houſe, it is always ſtipulated, that if the proprietor ſhall be deſirous of quitting it, and cannot find a purchaſer who may be agreeable to the ſociety, the ſociety is to purchaſe it at a price declared by a law, which alſo fixes the terms of payment. Garden ground, or land in the country, is let at ſix ſhillings the acre. Beſides the government farm appropriated to the benefit of the ſociety, there are ſix or ſeven ſmaller farms belonging to it. Theſe are let to tenants who pay a third part of their produce, and who alſo pay ſix ſhillings of rent for their garden grounds. Theſe tenants are all at preſent Moravians; but this condition is nowiſe indiſpenſable. Sometimes the farms are let to other perſons, only the ſociety muſt be ſatisfied as to their character and behaviour;

our; and they will not receive as tenants thoſe of whom they have not received a ſatisfactory account.

The ſociety could eaſily procure a higher price, and might at once clear two thouſand five hundred acres, which ſtill remain in wood, if they would admit ſtrangers, or at leaſt not reſerve to themſelves this choice of thoſe who offer to take their farms; but they are deſirous beyond every thing of preſerving what they call good order, union, and morality; and to this they ſacrifice the augmentation of their revenues.

The town of Bethlehem is inhabited by between five and ſix hundred perſons, all of the brother or ſiſterhood. They have workmen of every kind; but theſe cannot ſettle there without the permiſſion of the directors, who ſuffer no workmen of the ſame buſineſs, but as far as they are neceſſary for the inhabitants. If more were to be permitted, they could not live by their trade. At the ſame time, the price of all kinds of work is fixed, to prevent the want of rivalſhip from putting it in the power of the workmen to make exorbitant demands; but the prices of the country around regulate thoſe of the town. Beyond that the workmen are independent of the ſociety in conducting their buſineſs. They purchaſe with their money what articles they have occaſion for; they ſell them as they think proper; the profits belong to them, without their accounting to the ſociety, or even paying any tax. The only tax indeed which is levied, and which is common to all the inhabitants of the town, is for keeping up the roads, lamps, ſeats in the church, pumps, and reſervoirs. This tax is every four or five years impoſed upon each family by name, according to the opinion of the committee of his means; but it is ſo moderate, that the families conſidered the richeſt in the town do not pay above thirty ſhillings or four dollars a year. This tax is paid every ſix months; and if it happen that, at the end of the year, the committee find that the money raiſed is not ſufficient to cover the expences, they demand double or treble of the laſt payment; and on the other hand, they demand nothing, when the expence is not ſo great as the tax fixed.

As to the public taxes, which in Pennſylvania, as I have already repeatedly obſerved, are only the taxes of the county, the ſociety pays theſe out

of its funds. Theſe funds proceed from the lands, and the profits of the reſerved branches of manufactures or commerce. Each of the brethren put at the head of theſe different eſtabliſhments receives a ſalary from the ſociety, to which he pays in the profits, after the expence of his own and family's living and cloathing. The committee requires no detailed account of his management: he has received ſo much money—there remains ſo much in his hands. Such is the account given in by the tavern-keeper, the farmer, the miller, the ſtore-keeper, &c. When the directors are told of the poſſibility of ſuch perſons cheating the ſociety, they will not admit it; becauſe, ſay they, all their characters are known to us; their actions are ſo public, that if they were diſhoneſt they could not be ſo long without being diſcovered, and they would then be diſmiſſed. They conſider that unlimited confidence as benevolence, brotherly charity, &c. They add to the defence of this motive—that a man narrowly watched is more excuſable in robbing, than one in whom confidence is placed; and they affirm, that they never have had reaſon to repent of this rule of confidence. It appears, however, that their different branches bring them in very little. The ſociety does not draw a dollar an acre free from their farms. The ſtore, extremely well ſupplied, which ſells a great deal in the neighbourhood, does not produce annually above eight hundred dollars. The tavern, although it has a great deal of cuſtom, does not clear more than fourſcore dollars; and the ſame is the caſe with reſpect to all the other branches in their hands. Induſtry is naturally ſlackened, when it is not excited by intereſt. The whole of the revenues of the ſociety of Bethlehem does not amount to eight thouſand dollars a year upon an average, and their expences are nearly equal to that income. In the firſt place, they have to pay to the direction of the Unity reſident in America, one-ſixteenth part of their revenues, to contribute to the expences of the miſſionaries employed by the Unity among the Indians of North America, and a penſion to them when ſuperannuated. Five other ſixteenths pay the intereſt of the ſums borrowed for the purchaſe of lands and improvements; finally, their ſalaries are to be paid. The ſociety accounts to a general college, which tranſ-

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acts the buſineſs of the Unity, the neat ſums remaining, after payment of all expences; and the college have the power of determining what part of it ſhall be ſent to them, in order to contribute to the raiſing of a fund of ſeventy-two thouſand dollars, which the Unity has granted to the three daughters of Count Zinzendorff, and of which they pay the intereſt, until they ſhall be able to diſcharge the principal to them or their deſcendants.

That part of the revenues of the particular ſocieties ſent to the general college, is alſo meant to contribute to the other general expences of the Unity. The college has power to call for what portion of the revenue they think proper, but they never demand above a ſmall part, becauſe the particular ſocieties have each of them debts, which it is neceſſary for them to liquidate; beſides, theſe ſocieties, and particularly that of Bethlehem, ſettle in mortmain ſome part of their revenues every year. It likewiſe ſometimes happens, that the revenues of the year are not equal to the neceſſary expenditure; in which caſe the intendant is authoriſed by the committee to make a loan. A great part of the ſum borrowed is lent by the brethren, who receive intereſt generally at the rate of five per cent, and are repaid their principal at any time upon ſix months previous demand. The ſociety's treaſurer is therefore at the ſame time the bank of the brethren, but who may place their money otherwiſe at their pleaſure. Sometimes the intendant borrows from ſtrangers; in that caſe he is obliged to pay the legal intereſt of the ſtate, which in Pennſylvania is ſix per cent.

Before going farther into this account of the eſtabliſhment of Bethlehem, it may be neceſſary to explain the nature of the general college, the ſynod, and the general directory of the Moravians, of which I have occaſion to ſpeak.

The ſociety of the Moravians is an oligarchical republic. Each of the eſtabliſhments in Europe and America names one or more deputies to the ſynod, ſuch deputy or deputies being elected by the brethren at large. The particular directory of each ſociety is alſo entitled to appoint one deputy. The great expence of travelling, which is defrayed by the ſo-

cieties who ſend the deputies, induces the directories of the American ſocieties to delegate their powers to thoſe named by the brethren. The biſhops are entitled, if they think proper, to attend the ſynod, independent of the other deputies of the ſociety to which they belong. In the ſynod, when aſſembled, is veſted the ſovereignty. They alone have a right to alter the regulations, as well ſpiritual as temporal; they confirm or annul the appointment of the principal officers made during their receſs; and finally, they receive the accounts of all the general concerns, and decide thereon ultimately;—they are convened every ſeven years, and remain aſſembled for two or three months; they name a college, compoſed of thirteen members, who, during their receſs, manage the general affairs of the Unity, appoint the principal officers, direct the miſſions, regulate the affairs, intereſt, diſcipline, &c. The ſittings of the college are held a league from Hernutt in Upper Luſatia; their functions continue during the receſs of the ſynod. On the meeting of the ſynod their powers ceaſe, and they are re-eſtabliſhed by the ſynod at the end of their ſeſſion, either from among the former members, or new ones are appointed, according to the will of the ſynod.

As to the general directory of America, their functions are to watch over the intereſts of the Unity in North America, and particularly to direct the miſſions in that part of the world. It is compoſed of two agents of the general college, ſent to ſuperintend the management of the property belonging to the Unity, ſuch as certain farms or tracts of land in different parts of America, and particularly the fifteen thouſand acres granted by the United States, beyond the Ohio, on the Muſkingum, to the Moravian miſſionaries. The biſhops of America, the preacher of Nazareth, and the miniſter of Bethlehem, are alſo members. The directory names to certain functions in the American congregations, which urgency requires to be filled up before the general college can be conſulted, as the intendant, the biſhop, the miniſters, &c. Except this, the directory has no authority as a body over the affairs of the ſocieties, which, as I have mentioned above, have each its directory and committee. The biſhop ordains the biſhops, preachers, and prieſts; theſe

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laſt may alſo be ordained by each other. The biſhops have very inconſiderable ſalaries, as may be judged from the biſhop of Bethlehem, Mr. ERNHEIM, a man of fourſcore, who has no other domeſtic ſervant than his own daughter, and who I found baking cakes, which he ſells to increaſe his living. His ſalary is two hundred and thirty dollars, beſides being ſupplied with wood and lodging. The higheſt ſalaries paid by the Unity do not exceed three hundred dollars.

I have already mentioned, that the Bethlehem ſociety is divided into five departments, each under the direction of an inſpector or inſpectreſs; and in this office we find the temporal adminiſtration of the ſociety in ſome degree mixed with its diſcipline. The unmarried brethren live together in a ſeparate houſe, that is, they eat and ſleep there, but they do not work there, if they can find work elſewhere. Moſt of them are apprentices or journeymen in the ſhops of the ſociety, or to the artificers in the town. The money which they earn is their own, only they muſt pay for their board, and for keeping up the building where they lodge, as well as their portion of the tax impoſed upon that houſe for the public expences of the town. All theſe expences, including their cloathing, may amount at preſent to forty-five dollars, while their earnings may be from a hundred to a hundred and ten. Thoſe who, for want of work out of doors, are employed in the houſe, are paid for their labour by the inſpector, who employs them, the amount of their board, and their other contributions to the common expences being firſt deducted. Thus the brethren of this houſe coſt the ſociety nothing. The ſame is the caſe with regard to the unmarried ſiſters, ſome of whom are employed in the houſes of the town as ſervants and cook-maids. Theſe have their board and lodging in the families where they are employed, and pay to the houſe four or five dollars a year towards the common expences. This contribution preſerves to them the right of entering into that houſe when they pleaſe The greater part of them, however, are employed in the houſe in ſewing and embroidery; they are paid for their work by the inſpectreſs, who ſells it for the benefit of the houſe. The profit of theſe works contributes to maintain the poor, who are not numerous.

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The girls, from the price they receive for their work from the inſpectreſs, pay their board and their portion of the charges of the houſe, which amounts to the ſame ſum as that paid by the brethren. Thus this department is no longer an expence upon the ſociety; on the contrary, it relieves the ſociety from the maintenance of a great part, and often the whole of the poor. The unmarried ſiſters tie their flat bonnets under their chin with a red ribbon; the married women tie theirs with a blue, and the widows theirs with a white ribbon.

It is not however compulſory, upon either the young men or women, to reſide in theſe common houſes; their relations may take the entire diſpoſal of them—keep them at home, or ſend them to other ſchools, as they think proper. The brethren of eaſy fortunes, for example, ſeldom ſend their daughters to the ſiſters houſe; and there are alſo ſiſters at the houſe of Bethlehem who belong to Moravian families not reſident in the town, and who often come from very diſtant parts.

As to the widows houſe, it is ſupported by the ſociety; and all the work they can do goes to the benefit of the houſe, when it is not ſufficient to defray their expences.

There has, for about fifteen years, been inſtituted among the Moravian brethren a ſort of voluntary ſociety in favour of widows. The members contribute each fifteen or twenty pounds, or from forty to fifty dollars. The intereſt of that ſum is ſettled upon the widows of the contributors, and betters their living if they reſide in the widows houſe, or is paid to them to aſſiſt their own houſe-keeping, if they live by themſelves. This ſociety is not confined to Bethlehem. The brethren of any of the eſtabliſhments in America may become members; and the capital being depoſited at Bethlehem, the intereſt is paid at the reſpective places of reſidence of the widows of the contributors. This ſociety has alſo its particular regulations; one, for example, by which a brother in a dangerous ſtate of health cannot be admitted to ſubſcribe.

The ſchools are under the direction of an inſpector and inſpectreſs. There is an academy for the reception of young ladies from other parts, who receive there the uſual education of females, even muſic. The

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daughters of the brethren are likewiſe received there. This eſtabliſhment ſupports itſelf in reſpect to its private expences, the keeping up the buildings, and the contribution to the public charges. The board is forty-five dollars a year, and ſix dollars more for ſuch of them as are taught muſic. The daughters of the ſociety may be ſent to this ſchool, but their board muſt be paid by their relations. The ſociety pays for the daughters of thoſe who receive a ſalary from them, and alſo for the children of the poor. The daughters of the brethren not being boarders, the expence of their education is leſs. There are at this day ſixty-ſix of the boarders, who are ſtrangers, from different parts of the United States and the Antilles. This academy is in great reputation. The governeſſes appear to me to be attentive, and ſome of the ſcholars have made conſiderable proficiency in drawing, writing, and embroidery, and play tolerably upon the piano. At the ſame time, as the miſtreſſes are never choſen but from among the ſiſterhood, and as few of them have had any education other than at this ſchool, it is not to be expected that all of them can be always of ſufficient ability. A new building, added four or five years ago to the eſtabliſhment, has been erected, by means of a ſum of money borrowed for that purpoſe, the intereſt of which is paid by the ſchool.

There is alſo, at Bethlehem, under the direction of the miniſter, a ſmall ſchool for boys, where they are taught merely to read and write, and the firſt rules of arithmetic.

The laſt department, namely, that of the brethren and ſiſters, is wholly a department of diſcipline. The married people reſide in their own houſes, and the inſpectors and inſpectreſſes have no concern with them, but to give advice when their conduct has been improper, as friends, as neighbours, and as divines. They have no farther influence or ſuperintendance of their actions or their concerns.

The Moravian is a religious ſociety. Religion, the exact maintenance of the creed of their doctrines, their worſhip, and their manners and cuſtoms, which they conſider neceſſary to the exact obſervance of that creed, and which they believe to be alone preſcribed by the goſpel,

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is the ſole end of their regulations, their diſcipline, and even their relations in point of temporal intereſt. With this religious intention is eſtabliſhed the exact ſuperintendance of the directory of the ſociety over the conduct of its members, and the care not to allow ſtrangers to ſettle among them. They are in this reſpect monks, but tolerant and mild monks, although ſeveral articles of their diſcipline would be thought ſevere, and even ridiculous, according to the received ideas in other countries.

For example, there is no communication allowed between the young men and women. When a young man means to marry, he ſignifies his wiſh to the inſpector, and mentions the girl he is deſirous of making his wife, but to whom he has never ſpoken. The inſpector applies to the inſpectreſs of the girls, who, if ſhe judges that the character of the young woman is not incompatible with the character given of the youth by the inſpector, propoſes it to her; the girl may refuſe, but is not allowed to ſay whom ſhe would prefer. The parents are conſulted; and the directory give their ſanction, or reject the propoſal of the marriage thus far advanced, if they think that the youth will not be able, by his labour, to maintain his wife and children, or if they ſee in it any other danger likely to accrue to the good order of the ſociety;—but theſe refuſals are rare. The regulation by which the man is not allowed to converſe with the woman before his having aſked and obtained her in marriage, has, in the opinion of the Moravians, the advantage of preventing all kind of ſeduction, and conſequently, ſay they, all danger of improper conduct. Marriage is, according to them, a ſpiritual union: the brethren and ſiſters being filled with the Holy Spirit, live more cordially together; their union is more durable, than if it were founded on a choice of their hearts, which might deceive them. They even regard the affection which precedes marriage as a diſpoſition contrary to the ſanctity of marriage; and they carry this opinion ſo far, that when it happens, which is not without examples, though they are extremely rare, that a brother and a ſiſter had privately a too intimate connection, theſe cannot afterwards be married together. The crime is kept private with the inſpectors and the directory.

tory. The girl is reprimanded, but with mildneſs; kept with the reſt if ſhe ſeem to repent; and married to another young man, if aſked by any one, but never to her favourite, at leaſt unleſs both of them renounce the ſociety.

Marriage takes place, not only between the youth of the ſame ſociety, but between thoſe of different Moravian ſocieties. When a man or a woman wiſhes to marry a perſon of another religion, they are not prevented, if they perſiſt in their reſolution, in ſpite of the advice of their inſpectors and the directory, it being the principle of the Moravian ſociety, never to compel any perſons to continue in it againſt their inclination; but they are then conſidered to belong no longer to the ſociety, and muſt quit it. Examples of this ſometimes happen, as the girls, whoſe relatives live at a diſtance, have permiſſion to viſit their family, and occaſionally meet young men whom they prefer to the Moravian brethren propoſed to them by their inſpectreſſes.

The girls in the houſe of the ſiſters are not kept ſhut up; they have liberty to go out; but, as the ſociety is ſmall, the practice of watching them is ſo univerſal, that all their actions are known; and the ſpirit of the religion in which they are educated and kept, prevents them from every act, however innocent, which the ſociety conſiders irregular—as, for example, to ſpeak to a young man. This ſpirit of watchfulneſs and of religion is alike extended to thoſe of the ſiſters who are employed as domeſtics in families, and are thus leſs under the immediate and conſtant eye of the inſpectreſs; and this ſyſtem extends towards the young men and women of other religions, employed in the different eſtabliſhments of the ſociety. The ſlighteſt converſation with an unmarried woman is a ground to expel the offender from the precincts of the ſociety; and as this rigid law is known to ſtrangers before they enter into the ſervice, it is very rarely infringed.

The directors informed me, that this law to prevent all commerce between the unmarried of the two ſexes, originated in the fervour of the young females, at the time of the reſtoration of the ſociety in

1722; that they eſtabliſhed it among themſelves, and it thence became an eſſential article of diſcipline of the ſociety.

The ſociety, however, is deſirous of encouraging marriage; and with juſtice, if they wiſh their perpetuity, as they would receive little addition from ſtrangers, were they even willing to admit them. But, as I have already ſaid, their grand object is to preſerve their doctrines, their diſcipline, and their fundamental cuſtoms, which preſent conſiderable obſtacles to marriage. A young man will not marry, who does not ſee how he is to gain his bread, and maintain his family comfortably. He can only be an artizan; and the number of theſe is circumſcribed in Bethlehem, as well as in all the other Moravian ſocieties. The beſt ſhoemaker, ſmith, or other perſon, cannot ſet up in his trade, while the very confined number of artiſans of the ſame buſineſs is full. The ſociety have a ſufficient quantity of land in wood to clear, which a number of young people would be diſpoſed to rent; but ſtill they would not be ſo immediately, as is wiſhed, under the eye of the directory; they might perhaps relax in their religion, in the ſeverity of manners exacted as the means of keeping it up, and on theſe grounds the ſociety have refuſed them; whence it follows, that marriages are by no means frequent, and that there are to be found in the houſe of the ſiſters, unmarried women as far advanced in life as among the widows. Thus, notwithſtanding the American fecundity, of which the married ſiſters have their ſhare, the ſociety diminiſhes rather than increaſes.

The Moravian brethren and ſiſters receive no dowry from the ſociety on their marriage, but they enjoy the ſavings which they may have made in a ſtate of celibacy. Beſides, every brother may poſſeſs property out of the precincts of the ſociety. There is one of them who has ſpeculated largely in land, and is proprietor of ſeveral thouſand acres, not only in different parts of Pennſylvania, but alſo in the other ſtates. However, this occupation of augmenting his fortune is conſidered as a kind of relaxation of principle. It is not contrary to any of the ſtatutes of the ſociety, but it is contrary to their ſpirit; they do not forbid it, but it is

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not approved of by rigid Moravians. A Moravian brother has erected a wooden bridge over the river Lehigh, built by a ſubſcription, to which a number of the other brethren have contributed.

I have already obſerved, that ſtangers may be received into the Moravian ſociety as brethren: the condition of their admiſſion is—that they ſhall live for ſome months under the eye of the ſociety, conformably to its ſpirit, doctrines, and principles; and finally, their conſent to follow the rules of the ſociety is declared by their ſignature. Every Moravian brother alſo, upon his marriage, or ſetting up houſekeeping, muſt ſubſcribe to the ſtatutes. One of their rules is, that they ſhall not apply to courts of law to ſettle any diſputes among them, whether of a civil or criminal nature; the committee, which is the intendant's council, is the tribunal appointed to ſettle their differences, by way of arbitration. Their judgment has no force, except as it is given by the conſent of parties, who ſtill have it in their power to appeal to the courts of juſtice of the country; but their doing ſo excludes them from the ſociety. The diſputes between the brethren and ſtrangers are determined by the ordinary tribunals, without the ſpirit of the ſociety being thereby affected. It is the ſame with any diſputes which the ſociety itſelf, as a proprietor, may have with neighbours, merchants, or others.

As to the practice of worſhip, it conſiſts in prayers and ſermons twice a week, which all the members of the ſociety muſt attend, unleſs they have very good reaſons for abſence; and prayers every morning and evening, at which the young brethren and ſiſters aſſiſt, the two ſexes being ſeated in different ſides of the church.

The Moravian brethren and ſiſters are all Germans, or deſcendants of Germans, and thus German is the common language at Bethlehem, many of the inhabitants not ſpeaking any other. They have all a ſimple, agreeable, and tranquil mein. The directors ſay that they are very happy; but ſo ſay alſo the heads of convents in reſpect of their monks and nuns. It would be neceſſary to remain ſome time with them to diſcover the truth. Nothing ſhews itſelf in their countenances, either of great ſatisfaction or diſcontent; they are cold, ſlow, and want external expreſſion.

The Bethlehem ſociety is independent of the others in reſpect to matters of intereſt and property, as the others are of it; but all are under the ſame ſyſtem, and all depend alike upon the general college and the ſynod. When the college wiſhes to make a new eſtabliſhment in America, they intruſt it to the general directory of the Unity in America, who communicate the matter to the different ſocieties. Theſe lend money for the undertaking, and propoſe to the brethren to go and become members of the new eſtabliſhment. The brethren may refuſe, but they rarely do; and on theſe occaſions it is that marriages are moſt numerous. An eſtabliſhment is at preſent propoſed near the river Muſkingum, beyond the Ohio. In this manner was formed the eſtabliſhment of Salem in North Carolina, in 1754, where the preſent biſhop of Bethlehem, then a ſimple miniſter, told me he cut the firſt tree; another near Lancaſter, in Pennſylvania, and another, twenty years ago, in the county of Suſſex in Jerſey, at Mount Hope.

I here conclude this long detail of the ſociety of Bethlehem. I owe my acknowledgments to the Biſhop, to the Intendant, to Mr. Hosfield the poſtmaſter, a man of ſenſe, and much eſteemed in the ſociety; and to Mr. Cunow, one of the members of the general directory of the Unity in America, ſent about a year ago from Europe to fill this office, after being a member of the ſynod, and for ſeven years ſecretary to the general college. He is an enlightened and ſenſible man, and one whoſe converſation diſcovers great ſincerity and purity of heart.

NAZARETH, CHRISTIAN-BROWN, AND GNADENTHAL.

Mr. Cunow wiſhed to conduct me to Nazareth, another Moravian ſociety, ſix miles diſtant from Bethlehem, which was eſtabliſhed ſo late as 1771, and is peopled with about two hundred perſons, including the academy, where the brethren are inſtructed in arithmetic, drawing, muſic, mathematics, and the French and Engliſh languages. A conſiderable number of pupils come from other parts to this ſeminary, which has ſome reputation; but the maſters appear to me very indifferent, at leaſt

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in reſpect of drawing, muſic, and French, which they cannot ſpeak, and which they appear to able only to read, but not to pronounce. They ſeem to be much inferior to the ſiſters academy at Bethlehem. Hence the ſtrangers who come to ſtudy here, are not from the United States, but moſtly from the iſlands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and Antigua, where the Moravian brethren have miſſionaries. The board, including the expence of cloathing, amounts to near two hundred dollars a year. The brethren pay for their children, and the different Moravian ſocieties in America pay for the young brethren whom they ſend, when their parents cannot afford it, and for thoſe whom the directory conſider of diſtinguiſhed talents. In other reſpects the ſyſtem of the ſociety of Nazareth is the ſame as that of Bethlehem, and all the others.

Near Nazareth there is another little Moravian ſociety, conſiſting of thirty houſes. Independent of theſe, there are alſo a number of Moravians ſpread through among the environs of Bethlehem and Nazareth, as well as in other parts of America; but theſe are only admitted to what they call the communion, and are not members of the ſociety. Nazareth is ſituated in a beautiful valley, of greater extent than that of Bethlehem, and more pleaſant; but the river Lehigh and Manokiſy-creek give to the appearance and ſituation of Bethlehem an agreeable richneſs, which is altogether wanting at Nazareth.

Before arriving at this place, we paſſed two farms, Chriſtian-brown and Gnadenthal, belonging to the Moravian Unity, and thus out of the direction of the ſocieties of Bethlehem and Nazareth. They are under the ſuperintendance of two directors appointed by the general college, and of theſe Mr. Cunow, with whom I was, is one. Theſe farms comprehend two thouſand five hundred acres, of which only eight hundred and ten are cleared. They are very well ſituated, and the lands excellent—they bear from twenty-five to thirty-five buſhels of corn the acre: thoſe in meadow yield in proportion, and yet they do not bring the revenue a clear profit of ſix ſhillings the acre; I ſpeak of the lands cleared. The want of hands, and the great expence of thoſe that can be got, is made an excuſe for this bad order of things, but it appears to me rather

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the fruit of ignorance and negligence. Some farms are let to tenants, who pay as rent one-half of their winter, and one-third of their ſummer produce; and theſe bring more profit to the Unity.

Mr. Cunow appeared ſenſible of the impropriety of the preſent bad management of theſe farms, and was employed in reforming it.

In commending, with him, the zeal of the Moravians to propagate the goſpel among the Indians, I ſpoke to him of the benefit it would be to propagate in America a good method of culture, which would be eaſy to them in the eſtabliſhment of their farms. They might employ ſome Engliſh Moravian farmers, and form in their farms a ſchool of agriculture, where a number of young American farmers might be inſtructed at once. Such an eſtabliſhment would undoubtedly, from the high price of labour, increaſe their expences for ſome years; but that inconvenience, which might probably be an invincible obſtacle to an individual, could not be ſo to a ſociety. It would ſoon be repaid an hundred fold by their produce, and the benefit which ſuch an eſtabliſhment would render to the country, would be an everlaſting honour to this benevolent and beneficent ſociety. Mr. Cunow appeared to me not to be inſenſible of this idea, the realiſation of which would produce innumerable happy conſequences to the United States.

THE ROAD TO EASTON.—EASTON.

The country from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and from Nazareth to Eaſton, is a ſucceſſion of little hills and vallies more or leſs extenſive. Many ſituations on this road afford very agreeable proſpects. The houſes are numerous, and have the air of comfort. The price of land in all this tract is from twenty-four to forty-eight dollars the acre.

Eaſton is built on the conflux of the rivers Lehigh and Delaware. It is the capital of the county of Northampton, which has twenty-ſix thouſand inhabitants. The land which is the ſite of the town is about two hundred acres in extent, lying compactly between the river and the mountains; it is nothing but ſand and pebbles, and the mountains which

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ſurround it are compoſed of calcareous ſtone. The ſituation of this ground, its compoſition, and a compariſon of it with other lands around, leave no doubt that it muſt have formerly been the bed of the rivers, which have changed their courſe. This city, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty houſes, moſtly of ſtone, contains the public buildings of the county. The inhabitants are moſtly Germans, or their deſcendents. The city was begun to be built in 1750, and has gradually increaſed. Almoſt the whole of the land, as well as a great part of the land in the neighbourhood, belonged to the family of Penn. At the time of the revolution, a great number of perſons ſeized upon it unlawfully; and it was not till 1794 that the Penn family were reſtored to their right, upon a ſettlement with the poſſeſſors, and received from them a price not equal to the preſent value, but conſiderably more than it was worth at the time of the uſurpation. Thoſe who refuſed were compelled by law.

Eaſton has a conſiderable trade in corn with Philadelphia. There belong to this city, and ſtand within ſeven miles round it, eleven good mills, upon the ſame conſtruction as thoſe of Brandywine. They ſend annually thirty-five thouſand barrels of flour to the Philadelphia market. A part of Jerſey, in the neighbourhood of the Delaware, and which enjoys no creek capable of turning mills, ſend their corn to the mills about Eaſton, as do all the county of Northampton. The Delaware is navigable for veſſels of a conſiderable burthen a hundred miles higher than Eaſton. The veſſels from Eaſton to Philadelphia carry ſeven hundred barrels of flour.

The town lots, which are twenty feet in front and two hundred in depth, are ſold at from two hundred and forty to five hundred dollars, according to their ſituation. The lands in the neighbourhood are worth from twenty-five to an hundred dollars the acre. This country, like all the reſt of Pennſylvania, is covered with fine orchards. They ſeem to begin to know ſomething of the difference of the kinds of trees, and the advantage of grafting. The labourers are paid from four to five ſhillings a day in the country about Eaſton. Maſons and carpenters receive in

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the town a dollar and a quarter. Meat coſts five pence a pound, and is in great abundance. Board coſts here three dollars a week, and houſes let at forty-five dollars.

THE ROAD TO BELVIDERE.—BELVIDERE

The river Delaware is throughout the boundary between the ſtate of Pennſylvania and that of New Jerſey. It is narrow at Eaſton, and there are now collecting wood to erect a bridge over it, the abutments of which on each ſide are already built: until it be finiſhed, the river is croſſed in a very good ferry-boat. Being deſirous of viewing the banks of this river, I went ſo far out of my road to follow them. The road to Belvidere, which I took, is all along through the Scotch Mountains, and the little hills, which in this tract almoſt uniformly border the river, amidſt an agreeable ſucceſſion of large vallies, from three to ſix or ſeven miles in extent. The country is filled with well built houſes, pretty cloſe together. The lands are of a good quality, and in a ſtate of high cultivation; even ſome of the declivities of the mountains are cleared, and are very productive. The whole of this road preſents a ſucceſſion of proſpects, not extenſive, but rich and agreeable. In three or four places we loſe intirely the little hills which border the Delaware, and enjoy a view towards Philadelphia, through vallies much more extenſive, ſtill better cultivated and inhabited than thoſe of Jerſey, and which is terminated by the Blue Mountains. Theſe proſpects are rich, varied, and delightful. The Piſqueſi-creek, which empties itſelf into the Delaware at Belvidere, is the only water to be found in the tract from Eaſton, which is more than fourteen miles, and the corn of all that diſtrict is carried to the Eaſton mills. This creek, which has a courſe of thirty miles, is at Belvidere broad and rapid. Two ſucceſſive falls, of from fifteen to twenty feet each, turn corn and ſaw-mills. The corn-mills ſend their flour to Philadelphia, and are ſupplied with grain in the neighbourhood, where it is produced in great quantities. This traffic is carried on by the Delaware; but the navigation of that river, although it is open

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for an hundred and fifty miles higher, is rendered difficult and dangerous, from the very ſtrong currents, and the number of rocks in ſeveral parts of it. There are two or three of theſe rapids between Belvidere and Eaſton, two of them two miles from Belvidere, called the Little and Great Falls: at the latter, in three quarters of a mile of its courſe, the river has a fall of twenty-nine feet. The navigable canal is near the ſhore of Philadelphia, and is not above ſix toiſes or fathoms broad. Beyond that the river is full of rocks, a very little depth under water, and ſometimes appearing above its ſurface. I was informed, that notwithſtanding the rapidity of this current, which carries veſſels at the rate of a mile in two minutes, and the number of rocks in its courſe, the boats are in no danger when the boatmen are attentive; but it often happens that they are not ſo, but get drunk, which produces frequent accidents; for if the boat be allowed to go the leaſt to one ſide, and be not kept carefully in the ſtream, it is inevitably driven either againſt the rocks or the bank. The riſing and falling of the waters increaſe the danger; and beſides this, the ice uniformly ſtops the navigation during the winter: it is often impracticable in the ſpring, and even to the middle of ſummer. The navigation from Belvidere to Philadelphia is made in twenty-four hours, and it takes five or ſix days to go up the river from Philadelphia to Belvidere. Hence a hundred-weight, which coſts only the fifth of a dollar to be carried to Philadelphia, coſts three quarter dollars to be ſent to Belvidere. The ſame applies to the whole navigation of the Delaware, with the difference of the freight, according to their diſtance. The batteaux, which come down from Belvidere, carry ſeventy barrels of flour. By theſe the ſtores at Belvidere are ſupplied with dry goods and liquors from Philadelphia, with which they, in their turn, ſupply that part of the country which furniſhes the corn to the mills. The price of goods at Belvidere is about thirty per cent. higher than at Philadelphia. There are at preſent two ſtores at Belvidere, which are ſaid to be in a proſperous ſituation.

Belvidere conſiſts of about twenty houſes, but the number of inhabitants is annually increaſing, and the neighbourhood is very populous. It

is one of the pleaſanteſt ſituations which I have hitherto ſeen in America. The view is not very extenſive, but it embraces a great number of gentle elevations on both ſides of the river, and filled with houſes. It follows the Delaware for two miles and to the head of the Great Falls, and is bounded, at the diſtance of three or four miles, by the chain of the Scotch mountains, along the ſide of which the road runs towards Eaſton. The lands in the neighbourhood of Belvidere are ſold at from forty to forty-eight dollars the acre. The town-lots, which are a quarter of an acre, bring at preſent from a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five dollars. The lands ſome miles farther are ſold for from thirty to thirty-five dollars the acre, and thoſe in Pennſylvania at the ſame diſtance are always three or four dollars dearer, although not of better quality than thoſe in Jerſey. This proceeds from the ſuperior excellence of the Pennſylvania laws, the more flouriſhing ſtate of the finances, which requires leſs taxes than in Jerſey for the expences of government; and, finally, from the dependence of that part of the ſtate of Jerſey upon Philadelphia for its ſales and returns.

Theſe motives, however, do not appear ſufficient to occaſion ſo great a difference of price between lands of the ſame quality, and in the ſame ſituation. This difference however does exiſt, and the Pennſylvania ſide is by far the more populous.

Although negro ſlavery be countenanced by the laws of Jerſey, the number of ſlaves is not there ſo conſiderable as to prevent the neceſſity of the labour of whites. Labourers are ſcarce: the free negroes, who hire themſelves out, receive, like other labourers, half a dollar a day and their board.

I had a letter from Mr. DRAYTON, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Congreſs, to Major HOPE, one of the inhabitants of Belvidere. He was formerly proprietor of all the land on which the town is now built, and of fourteen or fifteen hundred acres around it, which he purchaſed thirty years ago, for four dollars an acre. At that time it was in a deſert ſtate. He has retained only three hundred acres, on which is built a pretty but very ſmall houſe that he occupies. He received me

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with that cordial politeneſs and ſimplicity which I have found all through America, and would have had me ſtay with him a week, aſſuring me that it would put him to no trouble or inconvenience. I departed however after having paſſed half a day with him.

This country, as well as all the way I travelled from Philadelphia, is full of little birds of the ſize and kind of a blackbird; they are black, but their head is of the moſt brilliant plumage. They fly from branch to branch, and on the incloſures round the fields, and do not ſeem to be frightened at the approach of travellers.

The moſt common trees in the woods are the cephalantus, the black and white walnut, the Canada beech, the ſumach, the rhus toxicodendrum, the laurel, the benjamin and the ſaſſafras.

HACKETSTOWN.

A ſucceſſion of hills, preceding the chain of the Scotch mountains, leads to Hacketſtown, where I ſlept the 25th of June. We meet then conſtantly mountains and deſcents through a very rocky country; although, ſometimes, the road runs for a mile or two through valleys. This road preſents nothing agreeable to the view. Except theſe firſt hills neareſt the Delaware, all the reſt is thinly inhabited, and of courſe poorly cultivated. The houſes are rudely built of trunks of trees, and have a miſerable appearance. Occaſionally we meet with buildings ſomewhat better, but theſe are few. We ſee alſo meadows of conſiderable extent. This indeed is the moſt uſual kind of agriculture in theſe mountains; where, however, we find alſo ſome rye, corn, and maize, which is little cultivated on the Jerſey ſide of the banks of the Delaware. Apple orchards are likewiſe very common.

Five miles from Belvidere is Oxford-forge, ſo called from the name of the townſhip in which it is ſituated. This work had been given up for ſome years, and was lately renewed by Mr. ROBERDEAU, and Mr. CAMPBELL, with whom I dined at the houſe of Major Hope: it is not yet carried on with ſpirit. Five miles farther is Mintſmill, ſo

called from the name of the proprietor. The river is croſſed by the bank of the mill, which is very narrow, and a foot deep of water when the mill is not going: the water then falls about twelve feet, and is twenty fathoms wide. A little canoe, which was lying by the bank, frightened my horſe, who, to ſave himſelf, leaped into the canoe, which he overſet; but, although I run a great riſk, he carried me out ſafely, and better than he would have been able to do from the caſcade into which we muſt have fallen, but for this ridiculous leap. This is the ſame Creek Piſqueſſi which I paſſed before on a bridge four miles higher. The lands are indifferent in all this tract; they ſell for ſix or ſeven dollars an acre. The generality of the inhabitants are Germans or ſons of Germans; there are alſo a number of Iriſh, and people from New England. Hacketſtown is a long paltry village, thinly and badly inhabited. It lies half a mile from the Scotch mountains, which are called Cooly, or the Muſkinigunk Mountains. The water is brackiſh and very bad. Fevers are alſo frequent here in autumn, which is the caſe in all parts of Jerſey, particularly thoſe to the north and the middle of the ſtate. The lands at and about Hacketſtown are ſold at from ſix to nine dollars an acre, and are generally kept in meadow. The produce which is not conſumed in the country, and all the articles of iron manufactured at the forge, are carried to New York, or rather to Elizabethtown, from whence they are ſhipped for New York. Four thouſand pounds of hay is the general produce of an acre, and eighteen or twenty buſhels of rye, or Indian corn, in the lands under that culture. Labourers are found rather eaſier this year than in the two preceding ones, trade being leſs quick at New York. They are paid at Hacketſtown three quarter-dollars a day, if they board themſelves, or the half of that ſum with their board. The country abounds in iron mines, which are ſaid to be very rich, and are found at a very ſmall depth.

Three miles from Hacketſtown there is a ſpring of ferruginous mineral water, pretty much frequented in ſummer, and it would be ſtill more ſo if better fitted up, but the ſpring is ſcarcely covered. An old caſk, ſtanding in the open air, and covered with a bunch of willows, is the com-

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mon bathing place; there is no other: and as there is no houſe built at the place, thoſe who come to drink the waters are obliged to lodge in the neighbouring farm-houſes, and if they wiſh to drink wine they muſt carry it with them. The property of the ground in which the ſpring is ſituated being under diſpute between two perſons, there is no ſaying when this place, which would produce great profits to one that would arrange it conveniently, will receive any melioration.

About two miles before reaching Hacketſtown, at the foot of a mountain which I aſcended on foot, I perceived in the wood, ſixty or ſeventy feet from the road, ſomething of conſiderable ſize, the form of which I could not diſtinguiſh, but it ſeemed to hang on a tree: this was towards evening. I went up to it, and it appeared to be a dead animal, but having touched it with my whip, it leaped to the ground; it went ſlowly into the wood, emitting a fœtid ſmell. It was an opoſſum, of which I had ſeen a great many at Philadelphia, but had not before found them in the woods. This one muſt have been a foot and an half long, including the tail, which was about half a foot. The tail is flat and covered with a kind of rough ſcales, which enables it to ſuſpend itſelf from the trees. They are very common in Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Maryland. The remarkable peculiarity of this animal is a kind of bag, which the females have under their belly, where they keep their young from the time they are brought forth, and where they remain till they are able to run. Theſe animals live on fruit, fleſh, and on birds, when they can catch them. There are alſo in Jerſey rats and racoons. The ſkin of the racoon ſells at Philadelphia for two or three ſhillings. The hatters mix the hair of it with beaver and rabbits hair to make hats. Some perſons conſider a racoon a delicate morſel; to me it was execrable, although I ate it more readily than I did young bear, which I found excellent.

THE ROAD TO MORRISTOWN.—REYNHARD.

In travelling from Hacketſtown we croſs the Creek Muſkinigunk, which falls into the Delaware five or ſix miles below, and theſe are the laſt

laſt waters that take this courſe; the Scotch, Cooly, or Muſkinigunk mountains, throwing them the other way. This chain of mountains, as I have already mentioned, is a continuation of the Lehigh mountains. The creeks beyond them run either into the Bay of New York or the North River; but thoſe only that are in the northern part of the ſtate take this courſe. Theſe mountains are not very high, but are the higheſt in Jerſey. They are about a mile broad. The lands are very indifferent and thinly inhabited; and the few inhabitants are talking of emigrating towards the weſtern territory, or to Teneſſee. Great part of them are Germans. At the foot of theſe mountains we croſs one of the ſources of the Raritan, a river by which is carried on the navigation between Brunſwick and New York. Here we quitted the county of Suſſex, which contains nineteen thouſand free inhabitants, and a hundred and fifty ſlaves. My horſe was ſo hurt with the ſaddle that I was obliged to ſtop at the firſt tavern I found. I happily fell upon the houſe of one of the worthieſt and moſt obliging men living, REYNHARD, of German extraction, who took charge of my horſe till it ſhould be healed, which might take a fortnight, and who lent me one to go to Morriſtown, where I could find the means of getting to New York. He is proprietor of a farm of three hundred and forty acres, for which he paid, two years ago, five dollars an acre, being the common price in the country. The ſtate of culture and the prices are pretty much the ſame as on the other ſide of the mountains; the lands are however better. They have ſown no corn ſince four or five years ago, when the Heſſian fly deſtroyed two ſucceſſive crops. They propoſe to recommence that culture next year, theſe flies appearing to have quitted Jerſey. The townſhip where Mr. Reynhard's tavern is ſituated is called Flanders. It is in a great meaſure peopled with Iriſh, or emigrants from New England.

There are two churches in the neighbourhood, one of Methodiſts, and the other Preſbyterians.

In Jerſey, as well as Pennſylvania, the expence of worſhip is defrayed by voluntary ſubſcription. No perſon pays who does not chuſe, and there are many who contribute nothing.

Mr.

Mr. Reynhard alſo keeps a ſtore. The price of carriage from his houſe to Elizabethtown, thirty-two miles diſtance, is three dollars and three quarters the thouſand weight. The price of ſtores is here five and twenty per cent dearer than at New York; but a perſon muſt be both ſkilful and fortunate to clear half the profit of what ſo high a price ſeems to promiſe. The greateſt ſale is of liquors, and the number of neighbours who come to drink without paying is conſiderably greater than of thoſe who do pay. It is, therefore, neceſſary to follow the practice of courts; the one half of the money of thoſe who pay remains here, as elſewhere, in the hands of juſtice. A ſtore-keeper, who ſhould refuſe to give credit, would here ſell nothing: ſo at leaſt I was told by the worthy Reynhard. Other articles pay better, but do not make a quick return. Although the legal currency of the ſtate of Jerſey is the ſame with that of Pennſylvania, namely, ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence the dollar, the great traffic with New York makes the New York currency (eight ſhillings the dollar) more common in that part of Jerſey, where this commerce is carried on; and in that currency they make their markets and ſtate their accounts.

THE ROAD FROM REYNHARD'S TAVERN TO MORRISTOWN—MORRISTOWN.

The country, after leaving Flanders, is every where mountainous; they become lower and lower as we proceed, but we do not entirely loſe them till within a few miles of Morriſtown. All this way the houſes are very indifferent, and very thinly ſcattered. The lands ſeem to be ſomewhat better. The moſt common crops are graſs, rye, and Indian corn. The bread uſed in this part of Jerſey is moſtly of rye, as bread of Indian corn is moſt common in New England.

Morriſtown, the capital of Morris county, which we enter on croſſing a branch of the Rariton, is a pretty village, conſiſting of a hundred houſes, diſperſed over the hillocks around. Here is the court of juſtice, a Preſbyterian church, and the great ſquare laid out for the centre of the town, but which can never be regular from the ſituation of the grounds.

Beſides,

Beſides the Preſbyterian church, which is tolerably handſome, there is another belonging to the Anabaptiſts, and an academy, well built and reſpectably conducted. The ſcholars ſent away from this are fit for the ſecond claſs in the college of Princetown.

All the houſes in Morriſtown are of wood, neat and well painted. The town-lots coſt from eighty to a hundred and twenty dollars. Here, as in all this part of Jerſey, moſt of the ground is in graſs and Indian-corn. They rear a good many cattle, which they ſend to Philadelphia and New York. The fear of the Heſſian fly has prevented the farmers here from reſuming the culture of corn; ſome of them, however, mean to attempt it next year. There is at Morriſtown a ſmall "Society for the encouragement of Agriculture and uſeful Arts." From what I could learn of ſome of the moſt zealous of its members, it has only the title—it does nothing: the ſubſcription of the members furniſhes a library, which at preſent conſiſts of no more than two hundred volumes, and in which, according to the ſenſible inſtitution of the founders, there are to be no books either of law or divinity.

CHATHAM AND NEWARK.

Chatham, lying eight miles from Morriſtown, is the firſt village we find on the New York road. Here the plain commences, and afterwards the ground becomes uneven as far as Newark. The agriculture and vent for the produce, all the way to Newark, is nearly the ſame as at Morriſtown. The country is ſtill more covered with orchards of apples, cherries, and peaches. They complain in Jerſey of a ſmall worm, which inſinuates itſelf into the roots of the peach trees, and kills the tree in a year or two after it has attacked it. They have not been able to diſcover either the cauſe of this worm, or a method to deſtroy it. Peach-brandy is nevertheleſs nearly as conſiderable an article of commerce in Jerſey as cyder-brandy.

The inhabitants of Jerſey, beſt informed upon that ſubject, told me, that they export more of theſe two kinds of brandy than they export of rum, wine-brandy, gin, and wine. Their export muſt therefore be great,

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as the conſumption of foreign ſpirits is not leſs conſiderable in Jerſey than elſewhere.

The red fruit, of which there are ſeveral kinds unknown in Europe, abounds in the county of Eſſex; bounded by the river Paſſaik, a mile from Chatham, which contains ſeventeen thouſand free inhabitants, and thirteen hundred ſlaves.

Lands ſell at Chatham, and at Springfield (four miles beyond Newark), at from thirty to forty-five dollars the acre. The ſoil is good; the houſes increaſe in number and become better as we approach Newark, which is itſelf one of the fineſt villages in America, in point of extent, plan, the great number of good houſes, and the wideneſs of the ſtreets, which are covered generally with turf, and planted with trees.

The people of Jerſey ſeem to be very much divided in their political opinions. No body, or at leaſt very few, now ſpeaks of George Waſhington. The new Preſident ſeems not to inſpire the ſame confidence as his predeceſſor did. They dread a war with France. They conſtantly aſk any traveller coming from Philadelphia whom they meet, and who appears to be a Frenchman, whether they are to have a war with France; and this queſtion is generally accompanied with evident marks of diſapprobation of the party which is thought to incline to that war. I ſincerely hope no ſuch event will take place. It would be a great misfortune to this country, where the people are virtuous, tranquil, and happy, and which will require yet a long duration of the bleſſings of peace to confirm its proſperity, to cement its union, to ſweeten the ill blood of parties, and to inſure its real independence. It would alſo be a ſerious misfortune to France, while it would occaſion great joy to England, and would give pleaſure to all the enemies of liberty and free conſtitutions.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF JERSEY.

The firſt eſtabliſhments made in New Jerſey were by the Dutch, ſhortly after their arrival at the north river, under the conduct of Admiral HUDSON. The ſettlements were made along the river Delaware,

and were abandoned by the ſame Dutchmen in 1614. They were, in 1626, taken poſſeſſion of by the Swedes, who, adviſed by WILLIAM USELING, a rich merchant of that kingdom, of the beauty and fertility of the lands, formed a company. King GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the nobility and clergy, and a number of individuals in Sweden, furniſhed money to the company, who ſent to North America, in ſeven or eight veſſels, a conſiderable number of Swediſh and Finlander coloniſts. They arrived at Cape Henlepon in 1626, and the company's agents purchaſed from the Indians all the lands ſituated between that cape, at the mouth of the Delaware, and the falls of that river, lying under the forty-firſt degree of latitude. The colony there formed ſettlements, built forts along the river, and called the country New Sweden; but were intirely diſpoſſeſſed and driven off in 1655, by the Dutch, who ſent to Holland all the agents, officers, and principal Swediſh inhabitants, as priſoners of war; put the country under the Dutch government, and gave it the name of New Albion. The Dutch were themſelves expelled by the Engliſh, in the reign of Charles the Second; and this territory was, in 1672, granted by the king to his brother the Duke of York. It was ſoon after ſold by him to Lord BERKLEY and Sir GEORGE CARTERET, who gave it the name of New Jerſey, and eſtabliſhed at Elizabethtown the ſeat of government of the colony. The colony of New Jerſey made part of the province of New York till 1680, when the proprietors eſtabliſhed it as a ſeparate province.

A conſiderable number of Quakers from London and York came here to ſettle, and laid the foundation of the little town of Burlington, having purchaſed the territory from the Indians. That on the eaſt ſide of the Delaware was purchaſed by William Penn, who was one of the company known under the name of *The Twelve Proprietors*, and is the diſtrict which afterwards formed the ſtate of Delaware.

The quarrels which took place between the proprietors of New Jerſey and the inhabitants, from the avidity of the former, determined both parties to put the government of the colony under the ſovereignty of the crown of England. It was then united to the government of New York, and

continued

continued ſo till 1736, when its population having greatly increaſed, it was once more erected into a ſeparate ſtate. In 1776, New Jerſey formed its new conſtitution, which it has retained without any alteration ſince that period.

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF NEW JERSEY.

The legiſlature is compoſed of a general aſſembly and a legiſlative council. Each county, of which there are in New Jerſey thirteen, names three members of the general aſſembly, and one of the legiſlative council.

The qualifications to be a member of the general aſſembly are—a reſidence in the county for at leaſt a year, and a property of five hundred pounds, or thirteen hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third.

The qualifications of a member of the legiſlative body are—a ſimilar reſidence, and a property, real or perſonal, of one thouſand pounds.

The qualifications of an elector are—to be twenty-one years of age, to be reſident for a year in the county, and to poſſeſs a fortune of fifty pounds.

The legiſlative council, as well as the aſſembly, can propoſe and modify any laws, except thoſe relative to the finances, which they have the power merely of confirming or rejecting.

The governor is elected by the legiſlature; and the conſtitution preſcribes no qualification of age, fortune, or any other, for that office;—it ſimply ſays, that the legiſlature ſhall elect a proper perſon to fill it.

The duration of the functions of the two houſes of the legiſlature, and of the governor, is one year.

The ſame perſon may be elected governor as often as the legiſlature chuſes to appoint him.

The legiſlative council is the governor's executive council; three members form a ſufficient number to exerciſe with him the executive functions. The governor unites the functions of preſident of the executive council, chancellor, and commander of the forces: he can, with the advice of the executive council, grant pardons, even of high treaſon.

The council is alſo a court of appeal from the deciſions of the courts of law; but the council muſt, in this caſe, conſiſt of at leaſt ſeven members, with the governor.

The nomination of the judges, the ſuperior officers of the militia, the juſtices of the peace, the attorney-general, and the ſecretary of ſtate, is made by the council. Other officers are elected by the counties, except the officers of militia, who are choſen by their companies.

The judiciary ſtate conſiſts of a ſupreme court, a court of common pleas, and juſtices of the peace. The judges of the ſupreme court are choſen for ſeven years; the others for five; and they may be re-elected. An impeachment againſt them is made by the legiſlature, and judged by the council.

Uncontrouled liberty of conſcience is granted by the conſtitution; which even declares, that no tax can be impoſed for ſupporting public worſhip, repairing churches, &c.

The conſtitution gives the accuſed the ſame privilege of producing teſtimony in his favour, as is allowed to the accuſer againſt him.

The conſtitution declares, that the property of ſuicides is not forfeited to the ſtate, but ought to paſs to their heirs, as in caſes of natural death; nor does the inſtrument by which the death was inflicted become, as in England, the property of the ſtate. In general it confirms the Engliſh laws, where they are not revoked.

Full liberty of bequeathing is given; and in reſpect of wills there is no alteration of the Engliſh law, except the addition of ſome ſimple forms, required to conſtitute their validity.

The property of perſons dying inteſtate is divided into three parts; one-third to the widow, and the other two divided equally among the children, or their repreſentatives;—in default of children, the widow enjoys one half, and the other half is diſtributed among the neareſt relations. If a perſon die inteſtate after the death of his father, and leave no widow or child, his fortune is divided equally between his brothers, his ſiſters, and his mother.

According to a law of 1792, marriages may be performed by a miniſter

ſter of the church, or by a juſtice of peace, in the option of the parties. The marriage inſtrument muſt be ſent to the ſecretary of the county, and regiſtered in a book, which is evidence in the courts.

Divorces, which formerly were granted by the legiſlature, are now pronounced by the court of chancery, in virtue of a law of 1794. They are granted in caſes of adultery—repeated bad treatment—deſertion for ſeven years—and alſo in caſes where the marriage has been contracted between perſons within the degrees of propinquity prohibited by the laws of the ſtate.

Every impriſoned debtor may, by a law paſſed in 1795, be ſet at liberty by the court of common pleas, upon his ſurrendering all his property, according to a declaration made by him before that court, except ſome very trifling furniture for him and his wife. If his declaration be proved falſe, he is puniſhed with the pains of perjury. If, after his ſentence of liberation, it can be proved, that in his declaration he has concealed any part of his effects, ſuch effects are to be made over to his creditors, beſides his being puniſhed. But the property which he may acquire after his diſcharge is not ſubject to be claimed by his creditors.

By the criminal code, reviſed in 1796, the puniſhment of death is confined to perſons convicted of high treaſon, premeditated murder, and attempts to reſcue from priſon thoſe accuſed of capital crimes. All other crimes are puniſhed by greater or leſs fines, and a longer or ſhorter ſolitary confinement. It is the legiſlation of Pennſylvania a little ſoftened. A law of the laſt ſeſſion has directed the erection of a priſon, on the model of that of Philadelphia, where ſimilar works are to be eſtabliſhed.

The negro ſlaves are ſubject to the ſame laws, and tried before the ſame tribunals. The courts may order them to be whipped, inſtead of being impriſoned. The pain of death is not inflicted on a maſter for the murder of his ſlave; but in that caſe, or where he wounds him ſeverely, he is puniſhed by fine and impriſonment. There is no reſtriction upon ſlavery in the ſtate of Jerſey, nor is there any law yet made to put an end to it; but a law of 1788 directs, that all ſlaves under the age of twenty-one

years

years be taught to read, charges their maſters with this duty, ſubjecting them, in caſe of neglecting it, to a fine of twelve dollars and a third. The introduction into the ſtate of other ſlaves is forbidden, by a clauſe in the ſame law.

The highways are repaired in this ſtate by the labour of the inhabitants, but may, in their option, be converted into money.

The ſtage coaches belonging to Philadelphia and New York, are ſubject to a duty to the ſtate of Jerſey, for the repairs of the roads through which they paſs.

The poor-laws are the ſame as in moſt of the other ſtates. Poor-houſes are eſtabliſhed in ſeveral counties, and relief is alſo given to paupers at their houſes, under the direction of inſpectors of the poor.

The law for the obſervance of Sunday is here equally ſtrict as in New England. Every inhabitant has a right to arreſt a traveller who is going any where but to a place of worſhip, and carry him before the officers of juſtice. The ſtage coaches are not to travel upon a Sunday, under pain of being ſeized; but this law, although of a recent date, is only executed in the other ſtates where it is promulgated. They travel through Jerſey on Sunday, in the ſame manner as on other days; and even the public ſtages, which do not travel during the morning ſervice, are not interrupted during the reſt of the day, more than if this prohibitory law did not exiſt. The ſame is the caſe in reſpect to the laws againſt gaming and drunkenneſs. Laſtly, there has been paſſed, in the beginning of this year, an act againſt horſe-racing; which in all probability will be put in execution no more than the other two, as it would claſh too much with the habits of the people; and becauſe, were the public officers even to be moſt ſtrictly watchful, there would be ſo many ways to evade their vigilance. Will men never then leave off making impracticable laws, or allowing laws not executed to be in force! Governments do not ſufficiently conſider, that there cannot be a more certain way of deſtroying the morals of a people; for the firſt point of morality, eſpecially among a a free people, is an entire obedience to the law, and to all the laws.

The ſtate of Jerſey encourages thoſe works which have for their object

ject the facilitating communication by inland navigation and bridges, and alſo for the erection of the college; and for theſe they allow lotteries, which are otherwiſe prohibited in the ſtate. Every inhabitant who purchaſes a ticket in a lottery not ſanctioned by a law of the ſtate, and even in the lotteries of other ſtates, may be carried before the magiſtrates, and puniſhed by a fine.

A law of New Jerſey, paſſed in 1794, authoriſes any foreigner, belonging to a power at peace with the United States, to acquire and poſſeſs property in the ſtate, as if he were a citizen. This privilege ceaſes at the end of 1799, but it will undoubtedly be renewed.

The laws of the ſtate impoſe taxes on lands cultivated and uncultivated; houſes, and the lots on which they are built, not exceeding ten acres; forges, furnaces, mills of every kind, tan-works, paſſage-boats, ſhips, fiſheries, horſes, and cattle; and laſtly, merchants keeping ſhops, and batchelors, either keeping horſes and ſlaves or not. Carriages of every kind were alſo taxed before the beginning of the preſent year, when a law was made to aboliſh that duty.

All theſe objects of taxation are valued from time to time at a certain rate by the legiſlature; the lands by a ſcale of degree according to their fertility and ſituation. The valuation is every where low.

An aſſeſſor, appointed annually by each townſhip, demands of every inhabitant a declaration of his taxable property, and makes up a ſtatement of it. Any perſon refuſing to give ſuch declaration, or giving a falſe one, may be charged by the aſſeſſor double what he eſtimates may be the tax of the perſon refuſing.

Horſes and cattle are taxed at the ſame rate throughout all the ſtate. The taxes upon licences, ſlaves, &c. never vary, and are called ſpecific taxes.

On a day appointed, all the aſſeſſors for the county meet, and bring with them the ſtatements of the taxable property of their ſeveral townſhips. The amount of the ſpecific taxes payable in the county is then calculated, and the difference between theſe and the ſum required from the county is aſſeſſed upon the different townſhips, according to the opinion

opinion of the majority of the aſſeſſors. The detailed ſtatement of theſe aſſeſſments, ſigned by each aſſeſſor, is tranſmitted to the collector for the county.

Each aſſeſſor then gives to the collector of the townſhip a ſtate of the ſums he is to collect. A ſimilar liſt is ſent to the collector for the county, to be by him laid before the legiſlature.

Three proprietors, named by the general aſſembly of each townſhip, are the judges of appeal to whom the perſons taxed have a right to apply.

If the collector do not receive the tax in the courſe of a month after demanding it, he makes a complaint to a juſtice of the peace, who grants a warrant to ſell the defaulter's goods, to the amount of the tax and charges.

The collector for the townſhip pays the amount of the money received by him into the collector for the county, who pays into the treaſurer of the ſtate the amount of the money received from all the collectors of townſhips in the county.

The law has provided againſt the negligence and diſhoneſty of the collectors, by making the townſhips and counties who chuſe them, reſponſible for the monies received by them.

The aſſeſſors receive for their trouble one and three quarters per cent of the ſums they aſſeſs: the collectors for townſhips have the ſame allowance. This three and a half per cent is levied with taxes of the townſhip. The commiſſioners of appeal are paid a dollar for every day they are employed. The collectors for the counties receive a penny in the pound, or the two hundred and fortieth part of the ſums they pay into the treaſury of the ſtate, and ſix-pence a mile for travelling expences. They are paid by the treaſurer.

The taxable articles, according to the low valuation of the particulars by the legiſlature, amounted, in 1794, to three millions four hundred and fourteen thouſand eight hundred and eighty two dollars.

The taxes are paid regularly and promptly in the ſtate of Jerſey.

The expence of government amounts yearly to about twenty-ſeven thouſand

thouſand dollars. In 1796 the ſtate ſtill owed one hundred and twenty thouſand dollars, but from the additional taxes and ſome other reſources, this debt will probably be entirely extinguiſhed in four years.

According to a ſtatement of the balance of the debts between the different ſtates by the commiſſioners of Congreſs, the State of New Jerſey is a creditor to the Union in forty-nine thouſand dollars.

The articles on which the county taxes are raiſed are the ſame as for the ſtate taxes.

POPULATION AND INSTRUCTION.

The population of the State of New Jerſey was, according to an enumeration made in 1791, one hundred and eighty-four thouſand one hundred and thirty inhabitants, including eleven thouſand four hundred and twenty-three ſlaves. Its extent is calculated at about eight thouſand four hundred miles ſquare, which gives ſomewhat more than twenty-two inhabitants to the mile ſquare. The increaſe of population in this ſtate is inconſiderable, there being a good deal of emigration. Habit more than neceſſity induces this, for the quantity of uncultivated land is yet conſiderable; it is in general capable of raiſing good crops, and the price is not high. We may perhaps conſider as one great cauſe of this emigration, that New Jerſey is peopled from all nations, whence there is among the inhabitants leſs of a national ſpirit towards the ſtate, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, than in any other part of the United States. Beſides, theſe people of different nations, ſettled in Jerſey, live more in ſeparate diſtricts than in any other of the ſtates; and when there is any emigration from a particular diſtrict, it generally conſiſts of a number of families.

There can be no where leſs attention paid to education than there is in Jerſey. The legiſlature of the ſtate have never yet taken it into their conſideration. Some ſchools are kept in certain townſhips at the expence of ſuch of the inhabitants as chuſe to contribute to them. The number of theſe is not conſiderable. They pay poor ſalaries to the maſter, who of courſe is ignorant and negligent. Thus no people in the

United States appear to me more ignorant than the inhabitants of Jerſey; and, although the ſtate has, as I have already mentioned, a good college at Princetown, and ſome of the inhabitants are men of merit and underſtanding, the proportion of perſons of education is much leſs here than in any other of the ſtates.

Toleration in religion being unbounded in New Jerſey, all ſorts of ſects are eſtabliſhed, and have places for worſhip; but the Preſbyterians are by far the moſt numerous.

Few of the families in Jerſey make cloth or linen for their uſe; they purchaſe almoſt all they want. The facility with which they can procure foreign goods from New York and Philadelphia contributes, no doubt, to this defect of domeſtic economy in the people of the ſtate.

COMMERCE.

Although in Jerſey is ſituated Amboy, one of the beſt ports in the United States, acceſſible from the ſea, and by a ſingle tide to all ſorts of veſſels, it has no foreign trade. Its vicinity to New York and Philadelphia induces its inhabitants to get every thing from theſe cities. The communication with them is at once eaſy and ſecure. The ſale of their produce is more certain and quick, the price better, the choice of returns greater, and the credit longer; and, laſtly, old cuſtoms: ſuch are the reaſons which have always rendered fruitleſs the attemps of the legiſlature of Jerſey to attract merchants to Amboy and enlarge its trade. The country furniſhes corn of all kinds, plenty of wood, lintſeed, iron, leather, ſalt-meat, and is particularly famous for hams. In the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia are raiſed much poultry, and they cultivate a great quantity of pulſe; but a very ſmall portion of all theſe articles of produce is exported from Amboy. A number of the veſſels loaded with it deſcend the Rariton, paſs before Amboy, and proceed with their cargoes to New York.

The value of the exports from Amboy, in 1791, was ſeventeen thouſand four hundred and three dollars; in 1792, it was nineteen thouſand ſeven

ſeven hundred and twelve dollars; in 1793, it was forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three dollars; in 1794, it was fifty-eight thouſand one hundred and fifty-four dollars; in 1795, it was one hundred and thirty thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen dollars; and, in 1796, it was fifty-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-nine dollars.

The ſtate has three other ſmall ports where there are cuſtom-houſes; Burlington, on the River Delaware; Bridgetown, on the bay of that name; and Great Egg Harbour, on the ſea coaſt; but none of them has any thing of what may be called trade. It often happens that in a whole year there does not ſail from them one foreign veſſel. This may be ſeen from the total exports of New Jerſey, in which are included thoſe of Amboy, whereof I have given the amount. The whole of theſe exports amounted, in 1791, to twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred dollars; in 1792, to twenty-three thouſand four hundred and five dollars; in 1793, to fifty-four thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-eight dollars (the three ſmall ports exported nothing); in 1795, to one hundred and thirty thouſand eight hundred and fourteen dollars; and, in 1796, to fifty-nine thouſand two hundred and twenty-ſeven dollars.

PATERSON FALL.

The fall of the River Paſſaik, about twenty miles from New York, is one of the moſt noted in North America. It ſhould be viſited by all thoſe who admire natural curioſities. The courſe of that river through rocks, which it has rent in precipitating itſelf from a height of ſixty-ſix feet, preſents a grand ſpectacle. From the appearance of the ſoil there ſeems formerly to have been two courſes, but which by ſome convulſion in nature have fallen into one. At the fall it is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide. On the day I viſited it the ſun ſhone bright; the weather was hot, the wind pretty high; all which circumſtances combined to give great beauty to this magnificent ſcene. There is an agreeable view from the upper part of the fall over a tolerably well cultivated plain.

The little town of Paterſon is built at the foot of the fall. It contains

a variety of machinery, but all in a ſtate of decay. In 1791 a company was formed for their eſtabliſhment, but its funds were ſoon conſumed, indeed before they were completed. A lottery was granted by the State of Jerſey to aſſiſt it, but was not attended with ſucceſs. They talk of new efforts. Certainly no ſituation can be better adapted for all kinds of machinery.

This town was called Paterſon, after WILLIAM PATERSON, formerly governor of New York, and who is at this day one of the judges of the ſupreme court of the United States. He is one of the moſt reſpectable and enlightened men in the country. He was appointed by the legiſlature of New Jerſey to revive and publiſh their code of laws. The law which conferred upon him the commiſſion, gave him even a power to alter the criminal laws, and to him is owing the reform in the penal code which I have mentioned.

The ſtones that form the baſon into which the river falls are moſtly ſandy. There is a kind of hard granite very common in all the plain, lying in a compact bed of baſaltes. The flints that are found in the bottom of the fall, being the fractures of the rocks above, are of the ſame nature. The river below the fall runs through a flat and marſhy country, and in conſequence its courſe is very ſlow and undulating.

I waited upon Mr. Paterſon at New York, where I remained a conſiderable time. In the following book I ſhall give the obſervations which I collected reſpecting that great ſtate, the ſecond of the Union for riches, for the ſpirit with which it is cultivated, and for the extent of its commerce.

STAY

STAY AT NEW YORK, IN AUGUST 1797.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK.

THE ſtate of New York belonged originally to the Dutch. It is true, that before that ſome plans were formed to coloniſe this country, but they were very vague.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, had, in 1584, granted to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, a patent to occupy, under the ſovereignty of the crown of England, all the country of North America, not in the poſſeſſion of any other Chriſtian Prince.

James the Firſt, diſregardleſs of that patent, divided this immenſe poſſeſſion, then known under the name of Virginia, and which extended from Carolina to Nova Scotia, between two companies. To the former, called *The Company of London Adventurers*, he granted the right to eſtabliſh colonies, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-firſt degree of latitude; and to the other, *The Plymouth Company*, a ſimilar privilege, from the forty-firſt to the forty-fifth degree. But the lands thus granted, and even their coaſts, were then in a great meaſure unknown.

HENRY HUDSON, in a veſſel belonging to the Dutch India Company, firſt diſcovered Long Iſland, and aſcended the great northern river, to which he gave his name. The Dutch, ignorant of the grants made of theſe countries to the two companies, and paying no regard to it, declared themſelves the ſovereigns; in 1614 they ſent there a colony, which built

built the towns of Fort Orange and New Amſterdam, calling the country itſelf New Holland.

James the Firſt having ſent ſome forces to lay waſte the new ſettlements, the Dutch proprietors preferred to a hopeleſs reſiſtance the more ſafe and prudent meaſure of acknowledging the Engliſh ſovereignty, thus preſerving their poſſeſſions, on payment of a tribute to England.

The troubles of that kingdom, during the latter part of the reign of Charles the Firſt, enabled the Hollanders to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, which indeed they had repeatedly before attempted. They ſucceeded alſo in deſtroying a Swediſh colony, ſettled upon the Delaware. But afterwards Charles the Second ſent troops from Europe, who without difficulty ſeized New Holland, and expelled from thence the Dutch, who on their part proceeded to invade Surinam. Charles the Second, having thus got peaceable poſſeſſion of this vaſt territory of the continent of North America, granted the weſtern part of it to his brother the Duke of York, and New Holland got the name of New York, New Amſterdam alſo changing its name for that of New York; and this extenſive province reached from the banks of the river St. Laurence to the mouth of Hudſon's River, without encroaching upon the limits of the Plymouth Company.

Such is briefly the hiſtory of the province of New York, up to the late revolution.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

This province was much longer than any of the other colonies in beginning their oppoſition to England. Its great commercial connections with that kingdom, and the circumſtance of Engliſh troops being conſtantly ſtationed in the town of New York, ſupported a ſpirit of ariſtocracy and dependence. At length it followed the example of the other ſtates; and its legiſlature, aſſembled at Kingſton, formed, in 1777, a conſtitution, upon the ſame principles with thoſe of the other ſtates.

This conſtitution is neither introduced nor followed up by any declaration

tion of rights; and its preamble, which recites the different acts of the general congreſs, ſeems to be rather an excuſe for that conſtitution, than the effervescence of liberty and reſentment, which appear to have dictated almoſt all the others. Each county names one or more members of the aſſembly of repreſentatives. The conſtitution fixes their preſent number at ſeventy; it alſo determines proviſionally the number to be elected by each county. A new enumeration is to be made every ſeven years; and when the number of electors is in any county increaſed one-ſeventeenth part, ſuch county is to return an additional deputy. The whole number is never to exceed three hundred; and precautions are taken in that event to proportion the number of members of each county to the exceſs of population. The members of the aſſembly are choſen for one year.

The electors muſt be twenty-one years of age—muſt poſſeſs a clear property of twenty pounds, or fifty dollars; or rent property in the county to the amount of forty ſhillings, or five dollars a year at leaſt—muſt pay taxes to the ſtate, and reſide in the county.

The ſenate, by the conſtitution, is compoſed of twenty-four members; but this number is only fixed temporally, like that of the members of the houſe of aſſembly.

The members of the ſenate are choſen by diſtricts, the ſtate being in this view divided into four. The number of ſenators which each of theſe diſtricts is to elect, is alſo determined by the conſtitution. When on the new enumeration there is found an increaſe of twenty-fourth part in the population of the diſtrict, ſuch diſtrict is to appoint one more ſenator, and ſo on, till the ſenate conſiſts of one hundred members, which number it is never to exceed. The ſenators are elected for four years, and a fourth part of them is annually renewed.

The electors for the ſenators muſt be freeholders, and poſſeſs a clear property of the value of a hundred pounds, or two hundred and fifty dollars. The liſt of electors of both claſſes amounted, in 1795, to ſixty-four thouſand and ſeventeen.

The electors who have the qualification required for voting for members

bers of the ſenate, alſo elect the governor and lieutenant-governor; but in theſe elections they vote by counties.

The legiſlature aſſembles annually the firſt Tueſday in January; but it may be called together oftener by the governor, and it can adjourn itſelf.

The governor and lieutenant-governor are choſen for three years.

The governor is commander of the forces both military and naval: he may grant pardons of every ſentence, except in capital caſes, where he can only ſuſpend the execution, until the matter be finally determined by the legiſlature. The nominations to offices, civil and military, are made by the council of appointment, at which the governor preſides. This council is compoſed of four members of the ſenate, one from each diſtrict; they are appointed every year by the aſſembly, and cannot be named two years ſucceſſively.

If the governor ſhould be abſent on any account, the lieutenant-governor takes his place: he is preſident of the ſenate.

The chancellor, the judges of the ſupreme court, and the chief judge of every county, are named by the council of appointment. They continue in office during their good behaviour, but never after they are ſixty years of age.

The ſheriffs and coroners are appointed annually, and cannot continue in office more than four years. The military commiſſions are revocable at pleaſure.

The governor has power to refuſe his conſent to laws, with the advice of the council of reviſion, which is compoſed of the chancellor and the judges of the ſupreme court. But ſuch refuſal muſt be given in the courſe of ſix days; and the bill muſt be ſent back, accompanied with the reaſons of refuſal, ſigned by the members of the council. The bill, notwithſtanding this refuſal, becomes a law, if two-thirds of each houſe perſiſt in it. The bills approved by the council are returned to the houſe from which they proceeded, with the ſubſcription of the governor only.

The

The members of the council of reviſion receive no ſalary nor allowance for that function. Their ſittings muſt be during the ſeſſion of the legiſlature.

The treaſurer of the ſtate and of the counties are appointed by the legiſlature.

The conſtitution guarantees the grants of land made by the kings of England previous to the month of October 1775, and annuls all thoſe made ſince that period.

The electors for the nomination of the preſident and vice-preſident of the United States, are, by a law of the 12th of April 1792, choſen in the ſtate of New York by the two houſes of the legiſlature.

TAXES.

The taxes in the ſtate of New York are impoſed in the groſs by the legiſlature, and afterwards aſſeſſed by it upon the different counties, according to the value of the properties reſpectively contained in them.

That firſt diviſion being made, the inſpectors of each townſhip meet by counties, and determine, after the ſame rule, the part to be raiſed by each townſhip.

The inſpectors and the aſſeſſors make in each townſhip a ſimilar diviſion among the individuals; and for this purpoſe, they are by law directed to inform themſelves of the amount of the property, moveable and immoveable, of every perſon. The taxes being thus aſſeſſed, they are levied by the collectors, and remitted by them to the treaſurer of the county, who pays the ſame to the treaſurer of the ſtate.

No object of taxation is ſpecified in the laws; no principle preſcribed for valuing property; no means taken to obtain from the individuals a declaration of their property; whence the aſſeſſment of the taxes by the legiſlature, the inſpectors and the aſſeſſors, can be determined only by an arbitrary eſtimate of the general and relative riches of corporations and individuals.

The following is the manner in which they annually proceed to make the aſſeſſment.

In the month of April every year the inhabitants of the different townſhips elect an inſpector, from three to ſeven aſſeſſors, and one or more collectors.

Every inhabitant choſen to theſe functions muſt accept of them, or pay a fine.

The aſſeſſors meet, after having taken an oath for the faithful diſcharge of their duty; they make an eſtimate of the property of each inhabitant, diſtinguiſhing real from perſonal property, and ſet down ſuch eſtimate in a liſt, which is ſigned by the majority of them, and tranſmitted to the inſpectors before the end of May, under the penalty of a fine of twenty-five pounds, or ſixty-two dollars and a half, to the uſe of the county.

The inſpectors of each county meet the laſt Thurſday in May, and from that eſtimate of the aſſeſſors they aſſeſs the tax upon the different townſhips, adding to the tax of the ſtate that neceſſary for the expences of the county, and the maintenance of the poor in every town. The ſtatements are ſent by the inſpectors to the collectors of every diviſion, with an order to levy the taxes conformably to them. From the firſt of the money raiſed, the amount of the ſums ordered for the ſupport of the poor is paid to the inſpectors of the poor of each town; and the remainder, including the part required for the taxes of the ſtate, is paid into the hands of the treaſurer of the county.

The county treaſurers are appointed by the inſpectors of taxes, and muſt give ſecurity.

The orders for levying ſent by the inſpectors to the collectors, authoriſe them to ſell the effects of the perſons taxed in caſe of non-payment; and in default of moveable property, the produce of their lands.

When the collector is in arrears, the treaſurer of the county directs an order to the ſheriff to ſell his property, real and perſonal, to the amount of the value of the taxes unaccounted for. He is however acquitted of this penalty, on ſatisfying the treaſurer of the county, upon oath, of his not having been able to obtain the payments.

When the ſtate has impoſed taxes for its uſe, the treaſurers of counties are, before the end of March, to ſend the amount of this part of the taxes

to

to the treaſurer of the ſtate, with the reaſons for any deficiency in the levy, in default of which the ſame ſteps are to be purſued as againſt collectors in arrear.

It is the duty of the county inſpectors, at their annual meeting, to examine the deficiency in the levy of taxes impoſed the preceding year; and if, notwithſtanding the report of the collectors, the inſpectors are of opinion, that the perſons who have not made good their payments are able to do ſo, they are intitled to direct anew ſuch levy.

If they approve of the reports of the collector, or if they are ſatisfied of the inſolvency of the collector himſelf, they add an additional ſum to the amount of the deficiency, for the townſhip which has not made good its payment, and the ſums firſt levied the year following are appropriated to make up ſuch deficiencies in the former year's taxes.

The allowances made to the inſpectors and their clerks, and to the aſſeſſors, are included in the annual county rates. The collectors are intitled to deduct five per cent from the amount of their collection. The ſheriff receives two and an half per cent of the ſums he levies upon the collectors in default. The treaſurer of the county has a commiſſion of three quarters per cent on the ſums received.

The total expence for the aſſeſſment and collection of taxes in the ſtate of New York, is eſtimated at from fifteen to twenty per cent of the ſums levied.

There has been no tax for the ſtate ſince 1788; it was that year fifty thouſand dollars, three fourths of which was paid into the treaſury the firſt year; the reſt was not completely paid in two years.

As to the taxes neceſſary for the expences of the counties, they are annually fixed at a meeting of all the inſpectors of each townſhip and town, and are impoſed, upon the ſame principle with thoſe of the ſtate, at ſo much a pound of the eſtimated value.

The poors rate is regulated at the ſame meeting, on the report of the inſpectors of the poor named by the inhabitants; but each town ſupports its own; and the ſtate has, in order to prevent the ſettlement of the poor in their territory, or their change of reſidence from one town to another,

enacted laws, which are in ſome meaſure, but not entirely, free from the faults of the Engliſh poor-laws.

The few poor there are in the ſtate are to be found chiefly at New York, which, like all great towns in the different parts of the world, contains at once more riches and more wretchedneſs than towns leſs populous and commercial, and ſtill more ſo than in the country.

THE CIVIL LAWS.

The laws relative to inteſtates at New York, as in all the other ſtates of America, divide the property equally among the children, after allowing a third to the widow; but the liberty of bequeathing is in this ſtate, as well as the others, reſerved entire; and the manners, eſpecially in the great cities, and among the rich, are not in this reſpect ſo republican as the laws.

The roads are made altogether by the labour of the inhabitants of the townſhip through which they paſs. Every individual is obliged annually to contribute twenty days labour, or more, on the roads. The commiſſioners are directed to proportion juſtly the number of days, according to the circumſtances of the perſons who are to contribute. Perſonal labour is commutable for money, at the rate of half a dollar a day. The uſe of a carriage and horſes is received as an equivalent for three days labour. The juſtices of the peace are the head inſpectors of the highways, and determine queſtions reſpecting them. Individuals who make roads at their own expence, and for their own uſe, may erect gates on them. The townſhips are divided into highway diſtricts, for the more eaſy execution of this law, which was made in 1784. In certain caſes where there is an extraordinary public advantage, or any particular difficulty in forming roads, as well as in other circumſtances, the ſtate gives ſome aſſiſtance. In ſpite of theſe laws, the roads in general are very bad in this ſtate.

There are in the ſtate of New York no bankrupt laws; but there is a law reſpecting inſolvent debtors, which is nearly the ſame thing. This law was made in 1788, and has ſince received ſome trifling and immaterial alterations.

Every

Every debtor, who cannot or will not pay his debts, may be impriſoned by the courts of juſtice; and he cannot be liberated from priſon, but upon a petition of three-fourths of his creditors to the court of chancery, the ſupreme court, or other court in the ſtate.

Thoſe of his creditors whoſe debts are ſecured by any mortgage, cannot concur in ſuch petition. The court to which the petition is addreſſed may decree the priſoner's diſcharge, upon taking his oath that he has given a juſt account of his effects and debts, and that his petitioning creditors claim no more than the exact amount of the debts due to them.

In the priſoner's declaration of his property real and perſonal, and the releaſe he executes of it, are compriſed all effects which he may ſucceed to by inheritance; but the judgment pronounced of his liberation, diſcharges from all claim the property which he may thereafter otherwiſe acquire.

There are great complaints in the ſtate of New York of this law, as very unjuſt. An honeſt debtor, who has become inſolvent from misfortune, remains for a ſeries of years, often all his life in priſon; he is not liberated, but perhaps from the neglect of his creditors to pay his ſubſiſtence, and then he is in a ſtate of wretchedneſs; while the fraudulent debtor gives a falſe ſtatement of his property, conceals part of his diſpoſable effects, and falſely putting down as creditors his friends, who are made to form the three-fourths of his creditors, he preſents a petition for his enlargement, obtains it, and then freely enjoys that part of his fortune of which he has defrauded his real creditors.

The law, it is true, appoints puniſhment by fine, for perſons appearing falſely as creditors; but that proof is never to be got. Unfortunately, in this, as in other caſes, a debtor who is a raſcal is better off than one who is honeſt and unfortunate.

They talk much of amending this law; but it ſtill exiſts, and is extremely injurious to trade, morality, and virtue.

The laws of New York do not allow foreigners to acquire landed property; for this it is neceſſary to be a citizen of the ſtate, or of the United States. The legiſlature however grants, without much difficulty, ex-

ceptions

ceptions to this general prohibition, and there are few ſeſſions in which ſuch grants are not made to foreigners. In other reſpects, the right of citizenſhip is eaſily acquired.

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

The criminal juriſprudence of the ſtate of New York was, until laſt year, the Engliſh law in all its rigour. The example of Pennſylvania has, however, prevailed over ancient cuſtom; and in the laſt ſeſſion the legiſlature has reformed it, after the mild and reaſonable code of that ſtate.

Premeditated murders, and robberies committed in churches, are at preſent the only crimes puniſhable with death. The latter part of this law affords rather a painful conſideration—that in a ſtate which allows all religions to be equal, where every one is at liberty to contribute or not as he thinks proper, to the ſupport of any kind of worſhip, and where robberies, even made with an armed force in dwelling-houſes, were only puniſhable by impriſonment, this great additional ſeverity ſhould have been made againſt robbery in churches. A remnant of the barbarous prejudice, which proves the influence of prieſts, could alone rank this ſpecies of robbery with premeditated murder. Had reaſon been conſulted, it could only have been claſſed with ordinary robbery in a dwelling-houſe; indeed it is undoubtedly leſs dangerous in all its conſequences, than a robbery in an inhabited houſe, there being nothing to ſteal in churches but benches and prayer-books. But in the ſtate of New York, as elſewhere, opinion is more powerful than law; and the conſequence is, that criminals guilty of this kind of robbery are generally acquitted by the juries, who think it their duty to be more juſt than the act, which is thus rendered a dead letter; all reſpect due to the law is thus taken away, which proves its impropriety.

There are ſome other laws of this ſtate to which ſimilar obſervations will apply. Such, for example, is that paſſed in 1788, that condemns every perſon who gets drunk to pay a fine of three ſhillings, and to ſtand in the pillory for two hours, and inflicts a fine of ſix ſhillings for every oath;

oath; another law of the ſame date, which forbids travelling on Sunday, under a like penalty of ſix ſhillings; and laſtly, an act of the ſame year, which inflicts a penalty of five times the ſum loſt on every perſon loſing at play more than twenty-five dollars in the ſpace of twenty-four hours.

An old eſtabliſhed government might find ſome pretext for not revoking obſolete laws, which are not and cannot be executed, but there is no excuſe for a legiſlature to make new laws of that deſcription. Governments are yet too little perſuaded that public order can reſt only on the moſt abſolute obedience to the law. A ſingle law allowed to remain unexecuted, gives a great ſhock to reſpect for the laws, and when its not being executed proceeds from its execution being impoſſible, from the manners, opinions, and other circumſtances, it is the legiſlators who are to blame, that the law loſes the veneration neceſſary to it in a well-eſtabliſhed order of ſociety.

The new criminal code of the ſtate of New York, enacted in 1796, directs that two ſtate priſons ſhall be built, one at New York and the other at Albany, and preſcribes their regulations, which are nearly the ſame as thoſe of the priſon of Philadelphia. The expence of erecting and ſupporting them is to be defrayed by the ſtate.

SCHOOLS.

The legiſlature of New York has alſo, in 1795, made a ſtep towards the eſtabliſhment of free ſchools in its territory; but little has yet been done, nor does there appear any certainty that they ever will be eſtabliſhed.

Twenty thouſand pounds, or fifty thouſand dollars, are annually appropriated to the funds of the ſtate, "to encourage and ſupport, in the different towns and townſhips of the ſtate of New York, ſchools in which children ſhall be inſtructed in the Engliſh language and grammar; in arithmetic, mathematics, and other moſt neceſſary and uſeful branches of knowledge, ſo as to furniſh a complete Engliſh education."

Each county, according to its known population, receives a part of this ſum,

ſum, in the proportion regulated by the legiſlature. The inſpectors of each county ſubdivide among the different towns the proportion allotted to the county. Each town muſt add, for the ſame purpoſe, from a tax raiſed among themſelves, a ſum equal to half of what it receives from the ſtate.

The mayors, aldermen, and municipalities of the towns of New York, Albany, and Hudſon, are the head inſpectors of their towns, and may, as they judge moſt proper, apply the ſums collected to this purpoſe, either in ſupporting the ſchools already eſtabliſhed, or the charity-ſchools, or in the eſtabliſhment of new ſchools. The ſame powers are given in the townſhips to the head inſpectors of the ſchools, who are elected by the freeholders.

Two commiſſioners for each ſchool, choſen in the ſame manner as the inſpectors, are to ſuperintend the management of the ſchools, the appointment of maſters, &c.

This ſum of twenty thouſand pounds given annually, is only for five years. The eſtabliſhment of free-ſchools is not preſcribed by the law; and the admiſſion of negro children, or thoſe of colour, even in the charity-ſchools, is left to the diſcretion of the head inſpectors.

The eſtabliſhment of free-ſchools through all the ſtate, an object ſo truly deſirable, and the advantage of which is inconteſtibly proved by the example of Maſſachuſetts, is not then a neceſſary conſequence of this liberal donation of the legiſlature of New York. Some are eſtabliſhed; elſewhere the ſums are applied to the improvement of the ſchools already exiſting, and which are of no utility but to thoſe in eaſy circumſtances; laſtly, the children of ſlaves, and even of free negroes, have not a right to that education, which would be the firſt ſtep towards their ſolid, their uſeful emancipation. This law then is far from uniting all the advantages to be expected from a great ſtate, engaged in the important object of the education of youth, and making ſacrifices to that object. What a difference between this law and that of New England upon the ſame ſubject!

Another law of 1796, which, like that reſpecting ſchools, is meant to facilitate

facilitate public education, incorporates the ſocieties formed in different counties and towns for the eſtabliſhment of public libraries. This law gives the legiſlative ſanction to ſuch eſtabliſhments, but does not grant one ſhilling of the ſtate's money to promote them.

SLAVERY.

The ſtate of New York is not one of thoſe which appear to have the moſt liberal ideas as to ſlavery. It is therefore natural, that the laws, which in every country follow more or leſs the public opinion, ſhould alſo in this reſpect be rather illiberal.

It is eaſy to conceive why, in the ſouthern ſtates, the great number of ſlaves render their emancipation difficult, and why this difficulty gives a pretence for the opinion of the neceſſity of ſevere laws againſt ſlaves; but in the ſtate of New York, where in a population of more than four hundred thouſand ſouls, there are not twenty thouſand negroes, it is impoſſible to conceive what ſo great obſtacles there can be to the emancipation, and upon what they can found their opinion, that on account of this trifling number of negroes there is a neceſſity for more rigorous laws againſt them than againſt perſons of another colour.

Be this as it may, a law, ſo late as 1788, confirms the ſtate of ſlavery in every negro, mulatto, and meſtee, who was a ſlave at the time of its enactment; declares every child born, or to be born of a female ſlave, to be a ſlave; authoriſes the ſale of ſlaves, and ſubjects them for petty crimes to be tried by juſtices of the peace, who may ſentence them to impriſonment or whipping. One clauſe of the act ſubjects them to this trial, and to this kind of puniſhment, for ſtriking a white perſon, without any exception in the caſe where the white man is the aggreſſor. The privilege of a trial by jury is, however, allowed to a ſlave, if the crime of which he is accuſed be capital. He is alſo permitted to adduce evidence in criminal caſes, where other negroes are implicated.

The new criminal code, founded in general on principles of humanity and juſtice, does away none of the truly unjuſt and barbarous enactments

of that law. At the ſame time, ſlaves are generally treated with greater mildneſs by their maſters in the ſtate of New York, and leſs oppreſſed with labour, than they are in the ſouthern ſtates. The manners, in this reſpect, prevail over the rigour of the laws; but the manners are here, as in many of the other American ſtates, impregnated with avidity and avarice. This diſpoſition alone prevents the abolition of ſlavery. It has been frequently propoſed in the legiſlature; but hitherto every meaſure, even of a preparatory nature, has been rejected. Although the diſproportion of free men to ſlaves is ſo great, that the greater part of the inhabitants of New York poſſeſs no ſlaves, the ſmall number of thoſe who do poſſeſs them are the richeſt and greateſt proprietors; and in the ſtate of New York, as elſewhere, ſuch perſons have the principal influence.

The reſpect due to *property* is the arms with which every propoſal for their enfranchiſement is combated. I have heard one of their moſt enlightened lawyers, a gentleman who in all other reſpects entertains the moſt liberal opinions, inſiſt, "that it would be an attack upon property, to declare even the children of female ſlaves free; for (ſaid he) the maſters who have purchaſed or inherited ſlaves, poſſeſs them under the idea that their *iſſue* ſhall be their property, which they can employ or diſpoſe of."

Thus, while in Virginia they aſſert, "that it is impoſſible to aboliſh ſlavery, without exporting at once all the negroes in the ſtate,"—in New York they ſay, "that it cannot be thought of to aboliſh ſlavery, or take any ſteps with that view, without paying to every proprietor of a ſlave the preſent value of their negroes, young and old, and the eſtimated price of their expected deſcendants." This is certainly throwing every poſſible obſtacle in the way of the abolition of ſlavery, and ſhewing themſelves fairly inimical to ſuch a meaſure.

The obſtacle preſented by the citizens of New York is the leaſt difficult to conquer. Admitting the principle of the neceſſity of an indemnification to the maſters for their negroes, on their being made free, and valuing each negro at one hundred and thirty dollars, the whole amount

would

would be only three millions of dollars. This price would ſtill bear reduction, from the powerful motives of public intereſt and honour, to which every member of ſociety muſt make ſacrifices.

The queſtion of the property of children unborn would not take a quarter of an hour to diſcuſs, if it were agitated in the legiſlature; laſtly, this enfranchiſement, if made as it ought to be, by degrees, would coſt the ſtate much leſs ſacrifices; and being done in ſucceſſion, it would be almoſt imperceptible in their finances, which, beſides, could certainly not be more worthily employed.

At New York, as elſewhere, the enfranchiſement of the negroes ought to have for its end the advantage of the ſtate, its good order, and the benefit even of the negroes to be made free. Were this meaſure too quickly and ſuddenly general, it would fail as to different objects of the firſt neceſſity. I ſhall not here repeat what I have obſerved in another place in that reſpect, and what ſo many others have ſaid before me. The expence to the ſtate then would be reduced to a very ſmall ſum, in compariſon to the utility and the duty of the meaſure. But while the ſtate of New York, ſurrounded with the examples of Connecticut, Maſſachuſetts, and Pennſylvania, does nothing towards this liberation, but ſeems to approve of the permanence of ſlavery by the ſilence or the refuſal of its legiſlature, it leaves its conſtitution and its laws ſtained with a blot which, without exaggeration, may be called diſhonourable, as it cannot be excuſed, or even palliated, by any circumſtances exiſting in that ſtate.

The exportation of foreign ſlaves into the ſtate of New York is prohibited by the ſame law which confirms the ſlavery of thoſe who were in the ſtate at the time of its enactment. This diſpoſition therefore in that law, and the mild manner in which the ſlaves are here generally treated, is a confirmation of the opinion, that pecuniary intereſt, more than a real approbation of ſlavery, prevents the legiſlature from proceeding in this reſpect with that juſtice and judgment with which their other deliberations are for the moſt part conducted.

THE MILITIA.

A law of 1793, paſſed in conſequence of the militia law of the United States, regulates the formation and the government of the militia of the ſtate of New York. It is diſtributed in four diviſions, one for each of the grand diſtricts of the ſtate. Each of theſe diviſions is commanded by a major-general, and ſubdivided into different brigades, each brigade into different regiments, and theſe again into companies. The number of theſe corps is left at the diſcretion of the commander in chief (the governor of the ſtate), who is guided in this reſpect by the population of the different diſtricts and counties. A company of artillery and a troop of cavalry is attached to each brigade.

The militia are to aſſemble three times in the year; twice by companies, and once in their regiments. The companies of artillery and cavalry are embodied on the orders of the major-general of the diviſion.

Courts martial, for the cognizance of military offences, are ordered by the governor, the general officers, and the major generals of the diviſions, and alſo by the field officers of regiments, &c. according to the rank of the accuſed. A fine is the moſt uſual puniſhment for neglect of duty, &c. and ſuch fine cannot exceed twenty-five dollars for the firſt fault, nor a hundred and twenty for any ſubſequent offence. Diſmiſſal is the higheſt puniſhment which a court martial can inflict on an officer, and in this caſe the ſentence of the court martial muſt be approved of by the commander in chief.

In the caſe of fines, the ſentence muſt be approved by the commandants of diviſion or brigade, according to the rank of the officer, and of the commander in chief, if the officer convicted be a commandant of diviſion. The ſubalterns and privates are ſentenced to a fine by a council of officers of their regiment or brigade. Theſe fines are appropriated to the general expences of the regiment, ſuch as the purchaſe of colours, drums, &c. Beſides the perſons excepted from public duty by the general law of the United States, the following exemptions are made by the law of the ſtate of New York, namely, the governor, the members

of

of the legiſlature, and their officers, the chancellor, the judges, the ſecretary, the treaſurer, the auditor, the attorney general, the chief ſurveyor, all the inferior officers of juſtice, including jailors, two boatmen for each paſſage-boat, where the roads croſs rivers, all the clergy, phyſicians and ſurgeons, (except in ſo far as their profeſſional ſervices are required) profeſſors and ſtudents, ſchool-maſters engaged in that profeſſion for three months or more, perſons belonging to the poſt-office, one man for each corn mill, all the firemen belonging to inſurance companies, and the perſons employed in iron works and glaſs works. Every other free man, from eighteen to forty-five, is ſubject to militia duty, except Quakers, who are relieved upon payment of three dollars annually. The governor, in his character of commander in chief, may call out the militia in caſe of invaſion, or in any other particular emergency.

THE FINANCES.

The ſtate of New York is rich. Its annual revenue, proceeding from the intereſt of money, lodged moſtly in the banks of the ſtate, and in that of the United States, is two hundred and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and eighteen dollars. There has not, as already mentioned, been any general tax for the ſtate impoſed ſince the year 1788.

The annual expence of the civil liſt is about ſeventy-five thouſand dollars, and the money expended by the public treaſury upon the univerſity, the college, the hoſpital, ſchools, and caſualties, exceeds this ſum.

The ſtate ſtill owes two hundred and twenty-five thouſand dollars, moſtly treaſury-bills granted during the war. In this ſum is not included the debt due to the United States, which the commiſſioners of accounts have aſcertained to be two millions ſeventy-four thouſand eight hundred and forty-ſix dollars; and it appears that the State of New York is leſs diſpoſed to pay than any other of the United States debtors.

TRADE.

Of all the towns on the continent, New York is beſt ſituated for trade. It is the only port in the ſtate, and is one of the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing in America.

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All the produce of the ſtate is brought to New York by water-carriage, as well by the river as by canals, which the legiſlature are unremittingly employed in completing, and which will eſtabliſh a free communication between Lake Ontario and this port. Another intended canal is to run from Lake Champlain and Hudſon's River, by which the productions of Lower Canada will be conveyed directly to New York. The length of this canal will not exceed eighteen miles; it is to terminate at South Bay, which communicates with Lake Champlain.

New York alſo receives, by its noble river, all the productions of that part of Maſſachuſetts, ſituated on the weſt of the Green Mountains, and of that part of the ſtate of Vermont, which is in the ſame tract.

The impoſſibility which the State of Connecticut finds of extending its commerce for the want of a ſufficient capital and good ports, adds to the trade of New York all that of Connecticut. New York is alſo the place of exportation of moſt of the proviſions from New Jerſey, as well as of the importation neceſſary for this ſtate, which, as we have already ſeen, carries on little or no trade at its fine port of Amboy.

None of the ſtates is more rapidly increaſing than New York. All its new lands, to the weſt of Albany, along and behind the Mohawk River, which were not formerly inhabited, are peopling very faſt. The immenſe country, extending from the Mohawk River by the Wood Creek, as far as Lake Ontario, and which has, at different times back, been purchaſed by companies on ſpeculation, begins to be divided and cleared. In that ſtill larger tract, which runs to the ſouth of Lake Oneida, as far as the boundaries of Pennſylvania, there are a number of ſettlements ſtill farther advanced. Geneſſee, which was in a manner a deſert four years ago, is peopling beyond every expectation; and all the immenſe territory of the State of New York is now inhabited, except a tract between the river Geneſſee and that of Niagara, which was acquired from the Indians only laſt month, and a ſmall part ſtill retained by the Indians, which they will ſoon be obliged to diſpoſe of to ſpeculators.

Theſe lands will be ſoon inhabited; they are good, ſome of them of the firſt quality; and the flats of the Geneſſee, which I ſpoke of in my journey

journey in the year 1795, are at leaſt equal to the German flats along the Mohawk River, which has been conſidered the richeſt land in America. This country will be peopled by the inhabitants of New England, the moſt induſtrious, active, and enterpriſing of all the United States; and if, as is expected, the obſtructions in the navigation of the River Oſwego and Wood Creek were removed; if the canals projected, and already begun, to join Wood Creek and Mohawk River; and the canal to make Mohawk River, navigable as far as Albany, were completed; and if the ſand bank in Hudſon's River, ſix miles below this town, in the midſt of the iſlands called Overſlaugh, which at preſent prevents large veſſels from going up to Albany, were, as it is thought practicable, cleared away, New York would enjoy a great part of the fur trade.

This year two ſmall ſloops have already made this voyage from Niagara. But what was to them a matter of labour, will undoubtedly be ſoon made eaſy for larger veſſels, and will add much to the proſperity of all the ſtates of New York, and particularly its capital.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the place of the greateſt trade in the United States. The amount of its exports in 1791 was two million four hundred and ninety-one thouſand and fifty-four dollars; in 1792 it was two million five hundred and twenty-eight thouſand and ninety-five dollars; in 1793 it was two million nine hundred and eighteen thouſand three hundred and three dollars; in 1794 it was five million four hundred and thirty-five thouſand four hundred and twenty dollars; in 1795 it was ten million three hundred thouſand ſix hundred and forty-two dollars; and in 1796 it was twelve million two hundred and eighty-eight thouſand and twenty-ſeven dollars.

The articles of commerce are the ſame as in the other principal ports of the United States; and theſe, as well as in all the others, the re-exportation of the produce of the Antilles makes a great part of their exports. I have not been able to procure equally ſatisfactory details in reſpect of the imports, exports, and tonnage of this great port as I obtained in ſeveral others; for having requeſted from Mr. WOLCOTT, ſecretary

cretary of the treaſury, a letter to the collector of the cuſtoms, by which means alone I could get the information, he ſaid that in the preſent political ſituation of the United States with France, ſuch compliance to a Frenchman was impoſſible: and although I ſaw in this the perſonal diſpoſition of the ſecretary of the treaſury, and that this ſtateſman did not wiſh to diſcloſe what he conſidered political ſecrets to one whom he looked upon in ſome degree as an enemy, I was obliged to ſubmit to his harſh anſwer. The value of the exports from the State of New York in 1788, was one million nine hundred and twenty-five thouſand dollars.

Potaſhes are more exported from New York than from any other port of the United States. That commodity is here, as in all the other ſtates, ſubjected to inſpection, and it is the only article that is always ſold for ready money. All the other articles of produce ſubject to be inſpected in the other ſtates are ſo in this. The examination of flour, although more ſtrict than in the ſouthern ſtates, is leſs ſo than at Philadelphia.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the largeſt and beſt town in the United States. Theſe two cities rival each other almoſt in every reſpect. Philadelphia has hitherto had the advantage, but from the fine ſituation of New York there is reaſon to expect that ſooner or later it will gain the ſuperiority.

It is calculated that this city contains at preſent upwards of fifty thouſand inhabitants. There have been no leſs than four hundredand fifty new houſes built here in this preſent year. It is increaſed and beautified with unheard of quickneſs; a circumſtance owing, no doubt, in a great meaſure, to the immenſe benefit its trade has derived for theſe two or three years from the preſent ſtate of Europe. But if peace diminiſh, as it certainly will, their exceſſive profits, the extenſion of the cultivated lands and ſettlements in this vaſt territory, the produce of which will find, directly or indirectly, a vent by Hudſon's River, will inſure a ſolid foundation, independently of all foreign circumſtances, for the increaſing proſperity of the trade of New York. To all theſe advantages New York adds

adds that of lying more to the eaſtward, and nearer to the ſea than any port in America, except Boſton; and it is never choaked up with ice, although that part of the bay, which is formed by the mouth of the river and the ſea, is ſometimes frozen ſo hard as to make an eaſy communication on the ice between the city and the iſlands called Governor's and Staten Iſlands.

New York is built at the extremity of the iſland of Manhattan, now generally known by the name of New York Iſland. This iſland, which is fifteen miles long, and three broad at the wideſt part, is formed by Hudſon's River and Eaſt River, improperly ſo called, it being nothing elſe than an arm of the ſea, which ſeparates Long Iſland from New York Iſland and the continent. The firſt houſes of New York, then New Amſterdam, were built in 1614 by the Dutch. The Engliſh made themſelves maſters of it in 1684, and retained it till 1783. It was the laſt town on the continent which they quitted.

In 1775, when it was evacuated by the American troops, the beſt part of the town, and that ſituated next the fort, was, as the Americans ſay, burnt by the Engliſh, and, according to the Engliſh, by the Americans.

This quarter of the city has been rebuilt ſince the peace, and is now one of the handſomeſt parts in it. The town had formerly been built without any regular plan, whence every where almoſt, except what has been rebuilt in conſequence of the fire, the ſtreets are ſmall and crooked; the foot-paths, where there are any, narrow, and interrupted by the ſtairs from the houſes, which makes the walking on them extremely inconvenient. Some good brick houſes are ſituated in theſe narrow ſtreets; but in general the houſes are mean, ſmall, and low, built of wood, and a great many of them yet bear the marks of Dutch taſte. The new part of the city built adjoining to Hudſon's River, and parallel with its courſe, is infinitely more handſome; the ſtreets there being generally ſtraight, broad, interſecting each other at right angles, and the houſes much better built. There is not in any city in the world a finer ſtreet than Broadway; it is near a mile in length, and is meant to be ſtill farther extended: it is more than a hundred feet wide from one end to the other.

Moſt part of the houſes are of brick, and a number of them extremely handſome. From its elevated ſituation, its poſition on the river, and the elegance of the buildings, it is naturally the place of reſidence of the moſt opulent inhabitants. Broadway is terminated, at one end, by a handſome ſquare, in the front of which is the governor's houſe, built in a very good ſtile of architecture, upon the ſpot where the fort ſtood before the revolution. The demolition of this fort has alſo left between the governor's houſe and the river a large ſpace, which has been formed into a public walk, upon the banks of Hudſon's River, and from thence round to Eaſt River, commands a view as far as the narrows at the entrance of the roadſtead. Thus, in this promenade, the eye embraces at once all the outlets of this great port, and ſees all its ſhipping come in and go out. This walk, which is called the Battery, might undoubtedly be kept in better order, and be made more agreeable to the uſe it is intended for, by planting ſome trees, &c. but as it is, its ſituation makes it incomparably the moſt delightful public walk any where to be found.

The fortifications erected upon Governor's Iſland, to defend the entrance of the harbour, are partly of brick and partly of earth; they are in a reſpectable ſtate of defence. The works were begun three years ago, upon a very good plan, by M. VINCENT, a French engineer, and eighty thouſand dollars granted by Congreſs have been already expended upon them; but it will take a great deal more to complete them; and this muſt be expended regularly, and without delay, which is ſeldom the caſe with works of this kind in the United States. It appears, however, evident to me, that to fortify the heights of Long Iſland, would be alone an effectual defence of the harbour of New York; at leaſt that it would be an indiſpenſable addition to its ſecurity, as there is nothing to prevent an enemy from landing in ſome places in that iſland; and having poſſeſſed themſelves of theſe heights, they might ſoon become maſters of New York, which they could eaſily deſtroy by their artillery.

New York was, till laſt year, the ſeat of the legiſlature of the ſtate, which has been ſince that time transferred to Albany. The building in which the legiſlature held its ſittings, and which contains alſo the courts

of

of juſtice, is one of the moſt elegant, or, at leaſt, the moſt ſpacious in the city. It is, however, much inferior to the deſcriptions given of it in all the American Gazetteers.

There are here nineteen places of worſhip, belonging to different religions. Of theſe the Trinity Church and St. Paul's are the largeſt and moſt elegant. St. Paul's is the epiſcopal church. The biſhop, the miniſters, and the rector are paid from its revenues, which there, as in all the others in America, are increaſed by letting out the pews. The monument erected by order of Congreſs to the memory of General Montgomery, who was killed at the ſiege of Quebec, in 1795, ſtands againſt one of the outſide walls of St. Paul's Church.

There are three markets at New York, but all of them ſmall and narrow, very much inferior to thoſe of Philadelphia, both in ſize, and in neatneſs, and regularity. They are ſupplied from Jerſey, and, in a great meaſure, from Long Iſland. The nearneſs of the ſea makes the fiſh-market be better ſupplied here than at Philadelphia. All the trade of conſequence is carried on by Eaſt River, where likewiſe come the veſſels from Connecticut. It is only the veſſels belonging to Hudſon's north river that land their cargoes at the keys upon that river.

The water is, in general, bad at New York, although in ſome quarters it is leſs ſo than in others. There is a pump placed at the extremity of the city, where thoſe families that are not ſatisfied with the wells and common pumps, get their water. The ſpring which ſupplies this pump belongs to one of the inhabitants, and is by him let for twelve hundred dollars, to a perſon who is ſaid to ſell daily from fifteen to twenty thouſand gallons, and ſometimes more. This water is known in the town by the name of *tea water*.

But I have ſaid enough of this city. All the accounts which I could give of it would not equal the deſcriptions to be found in moſt of the American almanacks. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to a few words on its public eſtabliſhments.

HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC CHARITIES.

An hoſpital fit to contain a hundred and fifty patients, is ſupported at New York at the expence of the ſtate.

In this hoſpital are admitted all the poor inhabitants of New York, and even ſtrangers. An order, ſigned by one of the directors, is all that is required; and from the number of patients, which ſeldom exceed ſixty, it appears that this facility of admiſſion is not abuſed.

Thoſe patients who can afford it, pay to the inſtitution two dollars and a half weekly for their expences.

A ſkilful phyſician viſits the patients regularly once a day; and a young phyſician and an apothecary live in the houſe. The ſtudents who attend the phyſician in his viſits, pay, as at Philadelphia, a ſmall ſum towards forming a library. More attention ſeems to be paid here to the patients than at Philadelphia; or, at leaſt, the hoſpital is regulated ſo as to be of more benefit in the inſtruction of the pupils, and even of the phyſicians. A very correct journal is kept of the different diſeaſes, their management, the effect of the medicines, &c.

Upon the whole this hoſpital ſeems to be well managed, but the patients labouring under different diſorders are not kept ſufficiently apart, which is principally owing to the ſmall number of the ſick. The hoſpital having been burnt during the war, it has been rebuilt partly by ſubſcription, and partly by the public money. It is at this time ſupported altogether by the ſtate, who have endowed it with the ſum of twelve thouſand five hundred dollars paid annually by the treaſurer. The directors have applied for an augmentation of this ſum, which is required for the additions and ameliorations as well of the buildings as of the ground ſurrounding it. They will obtain this augmentation from the wiſe liberality of the legiſlature, which never refuſes uſeful and beneficial expences, although they might ſometimes employ them with more advantage and judgment than they have done.

The poor's-houſe is ſupported by a poor's-rate raiſed among the inhabitants of the city, and is under the direction of inſpectors of the poor.

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There are generally from ſix to eight hundred paupers kept in this houſe, beſides ſix hundred more who received aſſiſtance from it during winter. The building was erected laſt year, and coſt twenty-five thouſand pounds, or an hundred and thirty thouſand dollars. It is kept remarkably neat, and the poor well treated. A great number of theſe are infirm, decayed, and children, ſo that the only labour that can be expected from them is the kitchen-work, waſhing, ſewing, and working in the garden belonging to the houſe.

The annual expence of each pauper is calculated at forty pounds, or an hundred and fifty dollars. The annual poor's-rate amounts to thirty thouſand dollars, and is in proportion to one third of the whole taxes raiſed in the city in thoſe years where there is no extraordinary expence.

If a poor's-houſe be any where proper, it is undoubtedly in a great city, but, in my opinion, it is ſeldom a good inſtitution either in a political or charitable point of view. According to the acknowledgment of the inſpectors of the poor at New York, the poor-houſe of New York produces paupers.

It is aſtoniſhing, that we ſee nowhere in America the eſtabliſhment of benefit-clubs, where the working claſs might, by contributing a ſmall part of their earnings, ſecure to themſelves, in their old age, a ſupport ariſing from their economy, which would prevent that kind of ſhame ever attending the receipt of public charity, and would be, in its effects, as beneficial to the morals of the people as to the finances of the ſtate, and its true proſperity. Such inſtitutions ſhould therefore receive every public encouragement.

A numerous ſociety, called the *City Diſpenſary*, provides alſo, by ſubſcription, for the relief of the indigent ſick, in providing them with medicines. A phyſician, a ſurgeon, and an apothecary, are appointed and paid by the ſociety to give their advice to the patients who attend there in virtue of an order from a member of the ſociety. In caſes of neceſſity they are alſo to viſit the poor at their own houſes, and to inoculate them if required. The ſubſcription is five dollars a year, which gives the member a right to have two patients at all times on the liſt; and a mem-

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ber may nominate more upon the additional payment of two dollars and a half for each. A ſubſcription of fifty dollars is the qualification of a member for life. This ſociety annually relieves from ſeven to eight hundred ſick. It is a kind of inſtitution common to all the large towns of the United States, and ſeems to be one of great utility.

At New York, as in all the great trading towns on the continent, there are a great number of priſoners for debt. A ſociety has been eſtabliſhed by voluntary ſubſcription, which provides amply for the wants of thoſe debtors who have no other recourſe to procure garments and bed clothes. The juries called in courts of law, who are allowed a ſhilling a day each for their attendance, generally alſo give up this ſmall ſalary to the above purpoſe. The relief thus granted to the poor priſoners amounts annually to five or ſix hundred dollars.

There are ſeveral other charitable ſocieties eſtabliſhed at New York, all with a view of relieving the unfortunate, the ſick, and of different deſcriptions; each of which has its particular regulations.

This is the proper place to mention the relief granted by the ſtate and city of New York to the unfortunate coloniſts who eſcaped from St. Domingo, and which has been continued ever ſince the year 1793, when it was begun.

Immediately upon their arrival at New York, a ſubſcription was quickly raiſed for their relief, amounting to the ſum of eleven thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four dollars, and ſince that time eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty dollars more have been granted by the legiſlature of the ſtate for the emigrant coloniſts. The ſtate of New York has had alſo the diſtribution of ſeventeen hundred and fifty dollars, as their proportion of fifteen thouſand dollars voted by Congreſs in 1794 with the ſame intention; ſo that the unfortunate coloniſts of St. Domingo have received from the ſtate of New York the ſum of twenty-four thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four dollars, or an hundred and thirty-two thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy French livres.

The benevolent ſpirit which induced the ſubſcription and vote for theſe ſums has alſo preſided at their diſtribution. Immediately on their

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arrival houſes were taken to receive thoſe moſt deſtitute of reſources; they were there ſupplied with food, clothing, and fewel; the leſs neceſſitous received a ſmall weekly allowance of from ſix to twelve dollars, according to the number of their family. By degrees theſe ſuccours became leſs neceſſary. France provided for the ſupport of a great number of families; a number of others, from time to time, returned to the colonies, or proceeded to France; but the ſtate of New York has never ceaſed to exerciſe its benevolence, and there now are raiſed funds to ſecure the French families in the city who are deſtitute of reſources, againſt the wants and ſeverity of the approaching winter. The diſtributors of theſe ſuccours have been LAWRENCE EMERY and RICHARD LARÆNER, both Quakers, who deſerve every praiſe, and the particular gratitude of all Frenchmen, for the goodneſs, the juſtice, and the unremitting attention with which they have diſcharged this honourable function. Richard Laræner is now the ſole agent, Lawrence Emery having been dead for theſe two years.

BANKS.

There are two banks eſtabliſhed at New York; one of theſe is a branch of the bank of the United States, and is conducted in the ſame manner, and under the ſame regulations, as the other branches of that bank; the other is the bank known by the name of the *New York Bank*. It was incorporated in 1791; its capital is nine hundred and fifty thouſand dollars, in nineteen hundred ſhares of five hundred dollars each. The rules and the buſineſs carried on by this bank are ſimilar to thoſe of the others eſtabliſhed in the United States, particularly in Pennſylvania. In its adminiſtration, and in all its tranſactions, it is abſolutely independent of the ſtate, which, by a particular regulation, may purchaſe as far as a hundred ſhares, but has no farther vote in the deliberations, than in proportion to its ſhares as an ordinary proprietor. This bank deſervedly enjoys the confidence of the public. Its dividends are about nine per cent per annum. The preſent value of ſhares is about twenty-five per cent above their original price.

PRISONS.

PRISONS.

I have before mentioned that the criminal juriſprudence has been reformed in the ſtate of New York, and, with the exception of the crime of robbery in churches, has been made altogether ſimilar to that of Pennſylvania: that new ſyſtem neceſſarily produced the preſent regulation of priſons. The legiſlature of New York have been anxiouſly engaged in this particular, and in the conſtruction of a priſon at New York for ſtate convicts; and in the mean time, ſince paſſing the law, it has been ordered to delay building the priſon at Albany.

The new priſon at New York is already nearly finiſhed, and it is upon a very complete plan. Its walls incloſe four acres, and nothing is wanting in reſpect of ſecurity, extent, good air, diviſion of the different claſſes of priſoners, facility of ſuperintendence, and every other circumſtance neceſſary to this ſort of inſtitution, and will, without doubt, be one of the moſt perfect buildings of its kind. It may give ſome idea of the liberality of the legiſlature of New York in defraying expences for public utility, to ſtate that this priſon will coſt upwards of nine hundred thouſand dollars. It will not be entirely completed till the next year, but in the preſent year the chief of the lodging part will be finiſhed, and the *convicts* are to be removed thither in the courſe of a month.

This priſon is intended for that claſs of priſoners only; priſoners for debt, and thoſe committed by the police, being confined in ſeparate priſons. It were to be wiſhed, that it had been built within the city, from which it is about half a mile diſtant, as it would in that caſe have been in leſs danger of being forced from without, and the perſons in confinement reſcued. But the city of New York is extending ſo rapidly on that ſide, that in a very few years it is probable the priſon will not be thus inſulated: and even now it is not at ſo great a diſtance but aſſiſtance may be eaſily got when neceſſary.

The internal government of this priſon will be conducted, as at Philadelphia, under inſpectors, principally Quakers. One of thoſe, THOMAS EDDY, whoſe philanthropy, virtue, and zeal, merit equally the eſteem

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of the public, will render this inſtitution in no reſpect inferior to that of Pennſylvania! He is one of the moſt excellent of men, his firſt wiſh being to do good to others. In giving him this praiſe, I do not mean to detract from the merit of his coadjutors, who, he aſſures me, are animated with the ſame ſentiments as himſelf; but, as I happen not to be acquainted with them, I cannot ſpeak from my own knowledge.

The convicts are at preſent confined in the ordinary priſon, and are well ſuperintended: four or five of them are in the ſame apartment; but they are not made to work, the place not permitting it. In the ſame range of buildings where the convicts are kept, is the houſe of correction, for women confined by order of the police. It is the old ſyſtem of the *Salpetriere* at Paris, in all its imperfections. I could not ſee, without horror, two or three girls, twelve years of age, arreſted as public proſtitutes; and one of them was there for the ſecond time. The vices of large cities are every where alike.

THE COUNTRY ABOUT NEW YORK.

The iſland of New York being the only place round the city that can be reached without croſſing water, the ground there has riſen to an enormous price. In this place the moſt opulent inhabitants of New York have their country ſeats. Among theſe, that of Mr. OLIVE is moſt diſtinguiſhed for its ſimplicity and taſte, and for its pleaſure-grounds, planted with all the European trees, reared with an attention very uncommon in America, and which is fully recompenſed by its ſucceſs. Mr. Olive's houſe is ſtill more remarkable for the truly patriarchal and hoſpitable life he there leads. He paſſes at this villa all the time he can ſpare from his buſineſs as a merchant, and has the happineſs to be, with one of the moſt accompliſhed of wives, ſurrounded by a charming family. He is of the firſt rank among thoſe Frenchmen whom no private intereſt could induce to make them forget that of their country. The Americans allow, that this diſpoſition is more common among the French, than among any other people.

The ſoil is in general bad in the iſland of New York; it ſells however higher than any of the grounds in the environs of Philadelphia.

The land in Long-Iſland, which is the dearer in proportion to its vicinity to New York, is of a very inferior quality. In other reſpects, however, that iſland is extremely agreeable. The land, although very indifferent, is well cultivated, the market of New York furniſhing a certain and profitable vent for their produce. Yet towards the middle of the iſland there is a good deal of ground, of a light and dry ſand, that has been hitherto conſidered as unfit for cultivation. Although I went through the whole of this iſland, I do not conſider it ſufficiently intereſting to enter into any details reſpecting it, ſuch as I have given of my other journies. In a ſpace of four hundred miles ſquare, Long-Iſland contains, according to an enumeration made in 1790, thirty-eight thouſand two hundred and nineteen inhabitants, including four thouſand eight hundred and thirty-nine ſlaves.

THE MANNERS OF NEW YORK, AND NOTICES OF PERSONS INCIDENT TO THE SUBJECT.

Every thing is ſtill dearer at New York than at Philadelphia: the ſhops are not ſo well ſupplied, and the ſhopkeepers not ſo civil and obliging.

The manners are the ſame at New York as in the other large towns in America, throughout all the different claſſes of ſociety. In point of hoſpitality, the inhabitants hold a middle degree between thoſe of Philadelphia and thoſe of Boſton.

Their political opinions were more favourable to England two years ago than they are now; and it is at preſent doubtful whether Mr. Jay, who owes his election as governor of the ſtate to that diſpoſition, will be re-elected the enſuing year.

I had great pleaſure in again meeting here Mr. Hamilton, who, as I have already mentioned, is one of the moſt intereſting characters in America: he unites, to an enlarged underſtanding, a great degree of courage and

and firmneſs, with mild and extremely agreeable manners. It is generally thought, and apparently with ſome foundation, that he ſtrongly influenced, and even directed the conduct of General Waſhington in the laſt years of his preſidency. Mr. Hamilton is, more than any other of the federaliſt party, expoſed to the ill-will of the oppoſite party: he is a very eminent Barriſter at New York, and his profeſſional conduct is highly liberal. Born without a fortune, he quitted the office of ſecretary of the treaſury without a fortune, when the circumſtances of the conſolidation of the public debt, the extenſive ſales of land, &c. gave him immenſe opportunities of becoming rich, without the riſk of public cenſure, if he had choſen to profit by them; but a diſintereſtedneſs in pecuniary matters, every where rare, but particularly ſo in America, is a univerſally allowed trait in Mr. Hamilton's character; and I have been informed, by his clients, that their only conteſt with him is reſpecting the ſmallneſs of the fees he requires.

Colonel BURR, who is alſo one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the United States, for the extent, preciſion, and clearneſs of his judgment, for his acquired knowledge, and for the delicacy and generoſity of his ſentiments, and whoſe friendſhip I have enjoyed for theſe two years, made me acquainted with the aged General CLINTON, formerly governor of the ſtate of New York, who is now as ardent in his love of liberty as he was at the age of thirty; and as he has devoted himſelf during the whole courſe of the revolution, and ſince that period, to eſtabliſh and preſerve the liberty of his country, he alſo has a number of enemies in the federaliſt party; but, from what I have ſeen, and from what I know of him, I conſider him a man of the moſt eſtimable character.

Another inhabitant of New York, whom I frequently met during my laſt ſtay there, where my intention of returning ſoon to Europe induced me to keep little company, is EDMUND LIVINGSTON, one of the moſt enlightened and eloquent members of the oppoſition party in congreſs. When the American politics, coming round towards England, reſtrained public expreſſions of attachment to the unfortunate Lafayette, whom they knew in fact more as the priſoner of George the Third, and under

the influence of that monarch, than that of the Emperor, and prevented any attempts being made to looſen his chains; Edward Livingſton more than once raiſed his voice in congreſs, to engage them to take proper ſteps towards the deliverance of that unfortunate but eſtimable character, and to call the honourable attention of congreſs towards his ſon. Although Edward Livingſton is too young to have ſerved with Lafayette in America, and could have no particular tie to him, he ſaw in his cauſe that of the friends of liberty, that of America, and he has ſupported it with warmth. He has always been ſeconded by a number of his colleagues, and often by the majority; he would have been ſo by the whole, in any other ſtate of political diſpoſitions.

I ſhall be pardoned for adding the name of KOSCIOSKO to the liſt which I delight in commemorating. There is no heart friendly to liberty, or an admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name of Koſcioſko does not excite ſentiments of intereſt and reſpect. The purity and liberality of his intentions, the boldneſs of his undertakings, the able manner in which he conducted them, and the misfortunes and atrocious captivity which have been their conſequence, are too well known to require repetition. It is alſo well known, that Paul the Firſt ſignaliſed the commencement of his reign by the enlargement of this reſpectable ſufferer, whoſe impriſonment and barbarous treatment made every generous mind condemn Catharine, if the whole life of that infamous woman, blackened with crimes and vices, could be ſullied by an additional crime. In America, where he ſerved with diſtinction in the war of the revolution, has Koſcioſko come to ſeek an aſylum. He lodged, when I ſaw him, at the houſe of the brave General GATES, in whoſe army he was employed at the memorable affair of Saratoga. The conſequences of his wounds, which ſtill prevent him from the free uſe of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement, have impaired his health, but it now begins to be reeſtabliſhed. Simple and modeſt, he even ſheds tears of gratitude, and ſeems aſtoniſhed at the homage he receives. He ſees in every man who is the friend of liberty and of man, a brother. His countenance, ſparkling with fire, diſcovers a ſoul which no circumſtances can render dependent,

pendent, and expreſſes the language of his heart, *Shall I never then fight more for my country?* He ſpeaks little, particularly on the misfortunes of his country, although the thought of theſe occupy his whole ſoul. In a word, elevation of ſentiment, grandeur, ſweetneſs, force, goodneſs, all that commands reſpect and homage, appear to me to be concentrated in this celebrated and intereſting victim of misfortune and deſpotiſm. I have met few men whoſe appearance ſo much excited in me that effect.

His young friend NIEMCEWICZ, who was wounded in the ſame battle with Koſcioſko, and, like him, was impriſoned in the dungeons of Catherine, has followed him to America, and devotes to him the fondeſt attentions of friendſhip. Niemcewicz is, from his noble ſentiments, the agreeableneſs of his manners, and the extent of his knowledge, a perſon particularly intereſting. He is ſaid to hold the firſt rank among the poets of his country.

After having ſeen both theſe great men as often as I could, I left them, with a ſincere wiſh for the happineſs of their country, which was returned with an equal wiſh on their part in behalf of mine.

GENERAL

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING given a ſketch of the conſtitutions and principal laws of the union, I have now to ſpeak of the federal government, which exerciſes a ſovereign power over the whole, and forms the bond which unites them together.

The political character of the times gives a degree of importance to this part of my work that belongs to no other; were it not, indeed, abſolutely neceſſary to render the notions of my reader more diſtinct and perfect reſpecting the United States and their ſeveral governments.

SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES PREVIOUS TO THE YEAR 1787.

Early in the American revolution, and in the midſt of the dangers of that war it occaſioned, a congreſs was held of deputies from each of the ſtates, who, ſitting together in one chamber, formed the government of the union. The only bond which connected the ſeveral ſtates, at this period, was the common cauſe in which they were engaged; and the general confidence was the ſole authority of the congreſs. But ſo imperious were the circumſtances in which they acted, and ſo perfect the zeal of their conſtituents, that the orders they iſſued, many of which exceeded their authority, were promptly and ſcrupulouſly obeyed. The congreſs thus ſtrengthened with the public opinion accompliſhed many great objects; it levied armies; raiſed extenſive loans; formed important alliances; maintained the war with vigour; and proclaimed the independence of the country.

The

The articles of confederation which were not adopted till 1781, gave the congreſs a more extenſive authority; but one that was ſtill very limited, and, in many reſpects, incomplete. By thoſe articles it had authority to require of the different ſtates the money neceſſary for the war, and the expences of the union; but it was totally deſtitute of all means of coercion on the ſtates, or even individuals, who ſhould refuſe to bear their portion of the public burthens; and all regulations of commerce, however general, were left to the ſeveral ſtates.

At the peace, zeal and confidence abated with the abſence of the dangers that gave them birth. The congreſs found the limits of its authority too narrow; it was deſtitute even of power to execute its own laws; and was, on that account, unwilling to paſs many that were neceſſary. The inadequacy of the government to its object was felt in every direction; the ſeveral ſtates neglected to fulfil engagements made by the congreſs, in the name of the whole, to pay debts contracted for the war; the paper of the congreſs was depreciated; credit exiſted no longer; and commerce languiſhed. England laid heavy duties on the importation of the produce of the American ſtates. Some of the ſtates, it is true, impoſed heavy duties on Engliſh goods; but that meaſure was not general, and, in the condition of the country, the expedient was prejudicial to the ſtates by whom it was adopted.

It was in the midſt of theſe and other calamities, and with a deſign of applying a remedy to them, that the Convention of Annapolis, and afterwards that of Philadelphia, were convoked.

This laſt convention framed the conſtitution which at this day exiſts in the United States. Although it is already well known, I will here ſet it down entire and in its own words. A conſtitution is a thing of which a perfect idea is not formed from a mere abſtract; and a complete idea of the American conſtitution is neceſſary to comprehend what I have to ſay concerning the debates on this conſtitution, and the oppoſition it had to encounter.

CONSTI-

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure domeſtic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do ordain and eſtabliſh this conſtitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1ſt. All legiſlative powers herein granted ſhall be veſted in a congreſs of the United States, which ſhall conſiſt of a ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives.

Sect. 2d. The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall be compoſed of members choſen every ſecond year by the people of the ſeveral ſtates; and the electors in each ſtate ſhall have the qualifications requiſite for electors of the moſt numerous branch of the ſtate legiſlature.

No perſon ſhall be a repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States; and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that ſtate in which he ſhall be choſen.

Repreſentatives and direct taxes ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral ſtates which may be included within this union, according to their reſpective numbers, which ſhall be determined by adding to the whole number of free perſons, including thoſe bound to ſervice for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other perſons. The actual enumeration ſhall be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the congreſs of the United States, and within every ſubſequent term of ten years, in ſuch a manner as they ſhall by law direct. The number of repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, but each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one repreſentative; and until ſuch enumeration ſhall be made, the ſtate of New Hampſhire ſhall be entitled to chooſe three, Maſſachuſetts eight, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations

tions one, Connecticut five, New York ſix, New Jerſey four, Pennſylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland ſix, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the repreſentation of any ſtate, the executive authority thereof ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies. The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall chooſe their ſpeaker and other officers, and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3d. The ſenate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of two ſenators from each ſtate, choſen by the legiſlature thereof, for ſix years; and each ſenator ſhall have one vote.

Immediately after they ſhall be aſſembled, in conſequence of the firſt election, they ſhall be divided as equally as may be into three claſſes. The ſeats of the ſenators of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the ſecond year; of the ſecond claſs at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third claſs at the expiration of the ſixth year; ſo that one-third may be choſen in every ſecond year; and if vacancies happen by reſignation, or otherwiſe, during the receſs of the legiſlature of any ſtate, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legiſlature, which ſhall then fill up ſuch vacancies.

No perſon ſhall be a ſenator who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States; and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the ſtate for which he ſhall be choſen.

The vice-preſident of the United States ſhall be preſident of the ſenate; but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The ſenate ſhall chooſe their other officers, and alſo a preſident, *pro tempore*, in the abſence of the vice-preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of preſident of the United States.

The ſenate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the preſident of the United States is tried, the chief juſtice ſhall preſide;

and no perſon ſhall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members preſent.

Judgment, in caſes of impeachment, ſhall not extend further than to a removal from office, and a diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, truſt, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall be nevertheleſs ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment, according to law.

Sect. 4th. The times, places, and manner of holding election for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof; but the congreſs may at any time by law, make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the place of chooſing ſenators.

The congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once every year, and ſuch meetings ſhall be on the firſt Monday of December, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5th. Each houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications for its own members, and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of abſent members, in ſuch a manner, and under ſuch penalties as each houſe may provide.

Each houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as in their judgment may require ſecrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either houſe, on any queſtion, ſhall, at the deſire of one-fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither houſe, during the ſeſſion of congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

Sect. 6th. The ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſa-

tion

tion for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall, in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and the breach of peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective houſes, and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for any ſpeech or debate in either houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No ſenator or repreſentative ſhall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emoluments whereof ſhall have been encreaſed during ſuch time; and no perſon holding any office under the United States ſhall be a member of either houſe during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7th. All bills for raiſing revenue ſhall originate in the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate may propoſe or concur with amendments, as on any other bills.

Every bill which ſhall have paſſed in the houſe of repreſentatives, and the ſenate, ſhall, before it becomes a law, be preſented to the preſident of the United States; and if he approve, he ſhall ſign it, but if not he ſhall return it, with his objections, to that houſe in which it originated, who ſhall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconſider it. If, after ſuch re-conſideration, two-thirds of that houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other houſe, by which it ſhall alſo be re-conſidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that houſe, it ſhall become a law. But in all ſuch caſes the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the preſident within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the congreſs, by their adjournments, prevent its return, in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, may be neceſſary, except on a queſtion

of adjournment, ſhall be offered to the preſident of the United States; and before the ſame ſhall take effect, ſhall be approved by him, or, being diſapproved by him, ſhall be repaſſed by two-thirds of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

Sect. 8th. The congreſs ſhall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and excifes; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts, and excifes, ſhall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral ſtates, and with the Indian tribes;

To eſtabliſh the uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures;

To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States;

To eſtabliſh poſt offices and poſt roads;

To promote the progreſs of ſciences and uſeful arts, by ſecuring, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries;

To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court;

To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences committed againſt the laws of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque, and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raiſe and ſupport armies; but no appropriation of money for that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To

To provide for the calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, ſuppreſs inſurrections, and repel invaſions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia; and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States, reſerving to the ſtates reſpectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the diſcipline preſcribed by congreſs;

To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict, not exceeding ten miles ſquare, as may by ceſſion of particular ſtates, and the acceptance of congreſs, become the ſeat of government of the United States; and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlature of the ſtate in which the ſame ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and to make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary to carry into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof.

Sect. 9th. The migration or importation of ſuch perſons, as any of the ſtates now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the congreſs prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, or when the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex poſt facto* law ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation or other direct tax ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the cenſus or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any ſtate.—No preference ſhall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one ſtate over thoſe of another; nor ſhall veſſels bound to or from one ſtate, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts

receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States; and no perſon holding any office of profit or truſt under them ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate.

Sect. 10th. No ſtate ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, *ex poſt facto* law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any ſtate on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch laws ſhall be ſubject to the reviſion and controul of the congreſs.—No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, lay duty on tonnage keep troops, or ſhips of war, in time of peace; enter into any engagement or compact with another ſtate, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unleſs actually invaded, or in ſuch imminent danger as will not admit delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sect. 1ſt. The executive power ſhall be veſted in a preſident of the United States of America: he ſhall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-preſident choſen for the ſame term, be elected as follows.

Each ſtate ſhall appoint, in ſuch manner as the legiſlature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of ſenators and repreſentatives to which the ſtate may be intitled in the congreſs; but no ſenator or repreſentative, or perſon holding an office of truſt or profit under the United States, ſhall be appointed elector.

The electors ſhall meet in their reſpective ſtates, and vote by ballot for two

two perſons, of whom one at leaſt ſhall not be an inhabitant of the ſame ſtate with themſelves. And they ſhall make a liſt of all perſons voted for, and the number of votes for each; which liſt they ſhall ſign, certify, and tranſmit, ſealed, to the ſeat of government of the United States, directed to the preſident of the Senate. The preſident of the ſenate ſhall, in the preſence of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, open all the certificates, and the votes ſhall then be counted.

The perſon having the greateſt number of votes ſhall be the preſident, if ſuch a number be a majority of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have ſuch majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the houſe of repreſentatives ſhall immediately chooſe, by ballot, one of them for preſident; and if no perſon have a majority then from the five higheſt on the liſt, the ſaid houſe ſhall, in the like manner, chooſe the preſident. But in chooſing the preſident the votes ſhall be taken by ſtates, the repreſentations from each ſtate having one vote; a quorum for this purpoſe ſhall conſiſt of a member or members from two thirds of the ſtates, and a majority of all the ſtates ſhall be neceſſary to a choice. In every caſe, after the choice of the preſident, the perſon having the greateſt number of votes of the electors ſhall be the vice-preſident. But if there ſhould remain two or more who have equal votes, the ſenate ſhall chooſe from them, by ballot, the vice-preſident.

The congreſs may determine the time of chooſing the electors, and the day on which they ſhall give their votes; which day ſhall be the ſame throughout the United States.

No perſon except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be eligible to the office of preſident; neither ſhall any perſon be eligible to that office who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a reſident within the United States.

In caſe of the removal of the preſident from office, or of his death, reſignation, or inability to diſcharge the powers and duties of the ſaid office, the ſame ſhall devolve on the vice-preſident, and the congreſs may by law provide for the caſe of removal, death, reſignation, or inability,

both

both of the preſident and vice-preſident, declaring what officer ſhall then act as preſident, and ſuch officer ſhall act accordingly, until the diſability be removed, or a preſident ſhall be elected.

The preſident ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for his ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall neither be increaſed or diminiſhed during that period for which he ſhall have been elected, and he ſhall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he ſhall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do ſolemnly ſwear, or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the office of preſident of the United States, and will, to the beſt of my ability, preſerve, protect, and defend the conſtitution of the United States."

Sect. 2d. The preſident ſhall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the ſeveral ſtates; when called into the actual ſervice of the United States, he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective offices, and he ſhall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences againſt the United States, except in caſes of impeachment.

He ſhall have power, by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the ſenators preſent concur; and he ſhall nominate, and by and with the advice and conſent of the ſenate ſhall appoint ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, judges of the ſupreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whoſe appointments are not herein otherwiſe provided for, and which ſhall be eſtabliſhed by law. But the congreſs may, by law, veſt the appointment of ſuch inferior officers, as they think proper, in the preſident alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of the departments.

The preſident ſhall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the receſs of the ſenate, by granting commiſſions which ſhall expire at the end of their next ſeſſion.

Sect. 3d. He ſhall, from time to time, give to the congreſs information

tion of the ſtate of the union, and recommend to their conſideration ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occaſions, convene both houſes, or either of them, and in caſe of diſagreement between them, with reſpect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to ſuch time as he ſhall think proper; he ſhall receive ambaſſadors, and other public miniſters; he ſhall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and ſhall commiſſion all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4th. The preſident, vice-preſident, and all civil officers of the United States, ſhall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treaſon, bribery, or other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

Article III.

Sect. 1ſt. The judicial power of the United States ſhall be veſted in one ſupreme court, and in ſuch inferior courts as the congreſs may, from time to time, ordain and eſtabliſh. The judges, both of the ſupreme and inferior courts, ſhall hold their offices during good behaviour, and ſhall, at ſtated times, receive for their ſervices, a compenſation, which ſhall not be diminiſhed during their continuance in office.

Sect. 2d. The judicial power ſhall extend to all caſes in law and equity, ariſing under this conſtitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under their authority; to all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters and conſuls; to all caſes of admiralty and maritime juriſdiction; to diſputes to which the United States ſhall be a party; to diſputes between two or more ſtates; between a ſtate and citizens of another ſtate; between citizens of the ſame ſtate claiming lands under grants of different ſtates; and between a ſtate or the citizens thereof and foreign ſtates, citizens or ſubjects.

In all caſes affecting ambaſſadors, other public miniſters, and conſuls, and thoſe in which a ſtate ſhall be party, the ſupreme court ſhall have original juriſdiction. In all the other caſes before mentioned, the ſupreme court ſhall have appellate juriſdiction, both as to law and fact,

with ſuch exceptions, and under ſuch regulations as the congreſs ſhall make.

The trials of all crimes, except in caſes of impeachment, ſhall be by jury; and ſuch trials ſhall be held in the ſtate where the ſaid crimes ſhall have been committed; but when not committed within any of the United States, the trials ſhall be at ſuch place or places as the congreſs may by law have directed.

Sect. 3d. Treaſon againſt the United States ſhall conſiſt only in levying war againſt them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No perſon ſhall be convicted of treaſon, unleſs on the teſtimony of two witneſſes to the ſame overt act, or on confeſſion in open court.

The congreſs ſhall have power to declare the puniſhment of treaſon; but no attainder of treaſon ſhall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the perſon attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sect. 1ſt. Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each ſtate to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other ſtate. And the congreſs may by general laws preſcribe the manner in which ſuch acts, records, and proceedings ſhall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2d. The citizens of each ſtate ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in each of the ſeveral ſtates.

A perſon charged in any ſtate with treaſon, felony, or other crime, who ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in another ſtate, ſhall, on demand of the executive authority of the ſtate from which he has fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of the crime.

No perſon held to ſervice or labour in one ſtate, under the laws thereof, eſcaping into another, ſhall, in conſequence of any law or regulation therein, be diſcharged from ſuch ſervice or labour, but ſhall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom ſuch ſervice or labour may be due.

Sect.

Sect. 3d. New ſtates may be admitted by the congreſs into this union, but no new ſtate ſhall be formed or erected within the juriſdiction of any other ſtate; nor any ſtate be formed by the junction of two or more ſtates, or parts of ſtates, without the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſtates concerned, as well as of the congreſs.

The congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular ſtate.

Sect. 4th. The United States ſhall guarantee to every ſtate in this union a republican form of government, and ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and on application of the legiſlature, or of the executive power, when the legiſlature cannot be convened, againſt domeſtic violence.

Article V.

The congreſs, whenever two-thirds of both houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this conſtitution, or, on the application of the legiſlatures of two-thirds of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall call a convention for propoſing amendments, which in either caſe ſhall be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this conſtitution, when ratified by the legiſlatures of three-fourths of the ſeveral ſtates, or by conventions of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be propoſed by the congreſs: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no ſtate, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the ſenate.

Article VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States under this conſtitution, as under the confederation.

This conſtitution, and the laws of the United States, which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges in every ſtate ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſenators and repreſentatives before mentioned, and the members of the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall be bound by oath or affirmation to ſupport this conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the convention of nine ſtates ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution, between the ſtates ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in the convention, by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates preſent, the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witneſs whereof, we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, preſident, and deputy of Virginia.

Deputies of *New Hampſhire*.	John Langdon.
	Nicolas Gilman.
Maſſachuſetts.	Nathaniel Gorham.
	Rufen King.
Connecticut.	William Samuel Johnſon.
	Roger Sherman.
New York.	Alexander Hamilton.
New Jerſey.	William Livingſton.
	David Brearly.
	William Paterſon.
	Jonathan Dayton.

Deputies

Deputies of *Pennſylvania.*	Benjamin Franklin.
	Thomas Miflin.
	Robert Morris.
	George Elymer.
	Thomas Fitz-Simons.
	Jared Ingerſoll.
	James Wilſon.
	Governor Morris.
Delaware.	George Reed.
	Gunning Bedford, jun.
	Richard Baſſet.
	Jacob Brown.
Maryland.	James Mac-Henry.
	Daniel St. Thomas Jonifer.
	Daniel Caroll.
Virginia.	John Blair.
	James Maddiſon, jun.
North Carolina.	William Blount.
	Richard Dobbſpaight.
	Hugh Williamſon.
South Carolina.	John Rutledge.
	Charles Coteſworth Pinckney.
	Charles Pinckney.
	Peter Buttler.
Georgia.	William Feer.
	Abraham Baldwin.

Atteſted WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

STATE OF PARTIES AT THE TIME OF PROPOSING THE NEW CONSTITUTION TO THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA.—DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION.

The conſtitution did not paſs without warm debates; but as the ſtruggle was occaſioned as much by the views and paſſions of the different parties that agitated America, as by the advantages or defects of the conſtitution itſelf, I think it right, before I ſpeak of theſe debates, to ſay a word of the ſtate of parties at that period.

Although there was a perfect accord among the friends of the revolution during the war, many of the Americans, and eſpecially of the inhabitants of the towns, were not of that number. Many who oppoſed the ſtamp-act, expreſſed leſs repugnance to the tea-act. There were many even of thoſe who concurred in the oppoſition to that laſt act, who wholly diſapproved of the meaſures of defence for which America prepared on the arrival of the troops from England. Finally, there were opponents, both in and out of congreſs, to the declaration of independence, that great and deciſive meaſure, which alone formed the ſafety of the United States, by placing them in the neceſſity of conquering, or giving up every thing for which they contended. Many of the opponents of independence threw themſelves, one after another, into the arms of the Tories, who, under the influence of England, were exerting all their powers to defeat the revolution. Others, although they could not oppoſe the will of the majority of the country, gave it a very lukewarm ſupport; and theſe latter, who called themſelves the moderate party, were viewed with equal diſſatisfaction and miſtruſt by each of the other two.

When the revolution was effected, its partiſans, without difficulty, were reconciled to the moderate party, whom the ſucceſs of the revolution had already brought over to them; and the Tories were for ſome years the only objects of the hatred of the reconciled parties.

Succeſs begets clemency in a nation, as well as among individuals, and conſequently

conſequently a diſdain of the oppoſition of their enemies, which indeed is a ſecond and not a mean triumph to the conquerors. The Tories were in time viewed with leſs diſlike. In ſome inſtances their confiſcated eſtates were reſtored to them; in others, they were permitted to enter on their eſtates, on repaying the purchaſe-money to the preſent poſſeſſors, which in general was ſmall: thoſe who were baniſhed were ſuffered to return to their country, and all theſe took the oath to maintain independence; and thenceforth the diſſentions of the revolution ſeemed to be for ever healed.

The converſion, however, of many of theſe, was far from being ſincere; and, if among the converts ſome have ſteadily maintained the independence of the United States, they certainly were not the majority.

Peace was no ſooner concluded, than the United States fell into the greateſt diſtreſs. The debts due from the merchants to England, the payment of which had been prohibited by the congreſs during the war, were now impatiently demanded. The American merchants were almoſt univerſally ſued, and the remnant of their effects ſeized, by the agents of Engliſh houſes. To relieve their diſtreſs, they proceeded againſt the retailers, who had been unable to pay them during the war, and who, at this time, had as little power of ſatisfying their demands. The greater part of the merchants were ruined; and, being compelled to abandon their commercial concerns, they gave place to new adventurers, who were chiefly Engliſh, and moſt of them agents of the Engliſh creditors. So widely did this ruin extend, that at this day there are not among the American merchants one in fifty who was engaged in commerce, even ſo lately as the year 1783.

The ſeveral ſtates had themſelves contracted debts for the war. Some of theſe, willing to fund their debts, impoſed taxes for the purpoſe, which were ſo far beyond the means of the inhabitants that they could not be levied without extreme rigour; merchandiſe, cattle,—in fine, all kinds of effects, were almoſt univerſally ſeized, while very ſmall and ineffectual levies were obtained. The extremities to which government proceeded

ceeded in theſe caſes, occaſioned general diſcontents, and were the cauſe of inſurrections in Maſſachuſetts, New Hampſhire, and Rhode-Iſland.

The paper money, both of the Union and the ſeveral ſtates, was depreciated to the loweſt point, and inundated America. The embaraſſments of commerce, and in ſome caſes its utter ruin, the natural conſequence of this ſtate of things; the inability of the laws to enforce the taxes of the different ſtates, and even thoſe of the congreſs; a ſpirit of jealouſy and rivalry among the ſeveral ſtates; the incoherency of their ſeveral commercial regulations, and its deplorable conſequences; the inadequacy of the congreſs to produce unanimity, or to apply any remedy to theſe complicated evils—produced ſomething little ſhort of anarchy in the United States. The partiſans of the mother country, and that country itſelf, now made themſelves certain that this new born nation could not exiſt without England, and would ſoon be compelled to return to its former condition.

The diſcontent was univerſal. The friends of freedom were alarmed. They ſaw at once, that the drawing cloſer the ties of the Union, and the extenſion of the powers of the federal government, were the only things that could preſerve the independence of the United States.

Such were the dangers which gave riſe to the convention of Annapolis. No more than five ſtates ſent delegates to this aſſembly; and theſe had powers only to frame a general ſyſtem for the commerce of the Union, which, by advancing the intereſts of the whole, ſhould maintain a good underſtanding among the ſeveral ſtates. The delegates, perceiving how far they fell ſhort of a general repreſentation of the Union, and the inadequacy of their own powers to effect any important change, diſſolved the convention, after drawing up an addreſs to all the ſtates, in which they urged the neceſſity of each of them ſending deputies to a new convention, with full powers to deliberate on the general ſituation of the Union, and to deviſe means to add ſolidity and force to the preſent conſtitution, indiſpenſable as that was to the reſtoration of their affairs. They concluded, by propoſing the aſſembling of that convention in the following

following May; and they diſpatched copies of the addreſs to the congreſs, and the executive branches of the ſeveral ſtates.

The invitation of the delegates of Annapolis was accepted by every one of the ſtates, but that of Rhode-Iſland; and was the parent of that great and memorable convention held at Philadelphia in 1787, whence ſprang the preſent conſtitution of the United States.

But the deſigns of the different ſtates, in deputing members to the convention, and the opinions of the delegates themſelves, were far from being of one kind. Even the ſeveral friends of liberty were not unanimous in their plans. Few of the ſtates gave their deputies power to deliberate on a new conſtitution; they were all willing to give efficacy to the conſtitution in exiſtence, and to make a code of regulations for the general commerce; but few wiſhed to advance further. The enlightened men of the time ſaw, that a confederation haſtily made, in the moment of a revolution, and in the midſt of the imminent dangers and imperious wants of the war, was not ſuch a form of government as was neceſſary for the durable proſperity of the Union. Each of them ſtrongly felt the neceſſity of a new conſtitution, but were far from being agreed as to the parts of which it was to be compoſed.

It was to be expected, that the Engliſh conſtitution would find partiſans among the members of ſtates that were ſo lately Engliſh colonies; that conſtitution was familiar to them; they had long been conducted by its principles; it was the moſt free form of government at that time known, and had been juſtly ranked above all others; the vices of the Engliſh government were independent of its conſtitution; and the abuſes which had crept into the conſtitution might with facility be ſeparated, in its adoption, from its better principles—every trial of a new ſyſtem was dangerous to a country; the advantages of the Engliſh conſtitution were proved by experience; England had reached the higheſt degree of proſperity under its auſpices—ſuch reaſonings as theſe were ſufficiently powerful to account for the conduct of thoſe who propoſed to adopt the Engliſh conſtitution in the United States, or to frame one approaching it as near as poſſible, without ſeeking to diſgrace them with motives of perſonal

ſonal intereſt and ambition. On the other hand, that ſcheme could not fail to find many opponents, preciſely becauſe it was of Engliſh extraction. A people who had ſo recently bent their whole force to throw off their dependence on the crown of England, could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to look for the ſecurity of their liberty, and the continuance of their independence, in a conſtitution from which they had derived ſo many misfortunes. That conſtitution, in whatever manner it might be modified, appeared to them to affect the equality of ranks exiſting among all the inhabitants of the ſtate, to which were ſtrongly attached that immenſe number that had nothing to expect from the deſtruction of equality. The public ſentiments were at that time almoſt univerſally republican; and the Engliſh conſtitution would plant ſeeds of ariſtocracy, that it was feared would grow up to the extirpation of thoſe of liberty. The Engliſh conſtitution might be ſuitable to a people grown old, powerful, and wealthy, and be very unfit for a people in a ſtate of infant weakneſs. In a word, the ſervility of imitating the Engliſh conſtitution, ſeemed to be a ſtep towards the old ſubjugation to England; and the diſpoſition of the United States was greatly averſe to ſuch a diſgrace. Theſe reaſonings raiſed opponents to the adoption of the Engliſh conſtitution, even among thoſe who acknowledged the neceſſity of a change; and this, properly ſpeaking, is the era of the origin of parties in the United States.

Such were the diſpoſitions of the two parties, when the twelve delegates arrived at Philadelphia—Rhode-Iſland not having ſent any to the convention. That aſſembly ſoon ſplit into two parties—one deſirous of eſtabliſhing a form of government as monarchical as poſſible; in a word, on a baſis very different from that of the confederation;—the other determined to take the confederation for their ground-work, clearing it from the vices pointed out by experience, and ſtrengthening it on the ſide of its power; nevertheleſs, in a manner conſiſtent with the rights of the different ſtates, and on principles perfectly republican.

It is aſſerted, that ſome of the leaders of the firſt party had formed the project of a monarchy, on the exact plan of that of England, on the throne of which was to be placed the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, now Duke of York;

York; and that on theſe terms the Engliſh government had promiſed the ceſſion of Canada to the United States, and the gift of ſeveral veſſels of the line and frigates. According to this plan a perpetual offenſive and defenſive treaty was to be made with England. There is no appearance, however, that ſuch a project was ever entertained. Letters, in which it was ſketched out, were indeed circulated through different parts of the United States previous to the meeting of the convention; ſeveral perſons, whoſe veracity I cannot diſpute, have aſſured me that they have ſeen ſuch letters; but in truth they might be circulated by the artifice of the republican party, to prejudice the people, by preſenting this extreme to their conſideration, againſt any attempt of their opponents to deſtroy the ground-work of the federal government.

Whatever were the caſe, early in the ſittings of the convention a plan was preſented, which propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a preſident for life, and ſenators for life, and expreſſed a deſire to make both one and the other of theſe functions hereditary, and to ſubject the laws of the reſpective ſtates to the reviſion of the general government. But this plan met with no ſupport; and a committee was appointed, who laid the baſis on which the preſent conſtitution ſtands.

The republican principle prevailed among the greater number of the deputies, and was even prevalent throughout the whole ſtates; but the delegates of the more powerful ſtates were deſirous of giving thoſe ſtates more influence in the government they were framing than to the weaker; and a party more enlightened and more juſt in their views, were equally determined to preſerve the equality which all the ſtates had in the original confederation. The former of theſe two parties, in moſt diſputes, ranged themſelves on the ſide of the committee that framed the conſtitution, from whom they hoped to gain better terms than from the purely republican party. The inequality in the general repreſentation, founded on the baſis of the population of the ſtates, was one of the advantages they gained by their policy; but it was not even without long and violent debates.—Another was, the right given to Virginia, and the ſouthern ſtates, to reckon in the population which formed the ratio of delegates

of each ſtate, three-fifths of the ſlaves—a conceſſion that exhibited a deplorable departure from the principles of a free people; it was a conceſſion that gave to ſome ſtates a degree of power and influence over the others, in proportion as the former violated, by the maintenance of ſlavery in their own ſtates, the very principles of the Union; it was a conceſſion which encouraged and encreaſed the growth of ſlavery, by the natural operation of the political intereſts of the ſtates where that injuſtice ſtill exiſts; and in a word, a conceſſion which was wholly abſurd, becauſe it gives the privileges of freemen, in the election of the general government, to perſons who are regarded by the laws of the ſtate in which they reſide as part of the ſtock of the land, and are ſold with other ſtock by its proprietors.

The delegates of the great ſtates did not, however, obtain all they demanded. The powers of the ſeveral ſtates were not reſtricted in the degree they deſired; the title of *national conſtitution*, which they propoſed to be given to the new frame of government, was rejected, and that of *federal conſtitution* adopted; the inequality of the repreſentation in the houſe of repreſentatives was not gained by them, till they had agreed to the equality of repreſentation in the ſenate.—The accommodation in this article between the two parties was effected by Benjamin Franklin.

The deputies of the great ſtates propoſed, that the houſe of repreſentatives ſhould be choſen for three years, and that of the ſenate for ſeven; and by the conſtitution the former was reſtricted to two years, and the latter to ſix. They propoſed that the preſident ſhould be elected by the congreſs, and that the term of his continuing in office ſhould be ſeven years; the conſtitution gave the power of chuſing the preſident to the electors of the ſeveral ſtates, and reſtricted the term of his remaining in office to four years.

Many, however, of the deputies of the powerful ſtates, when the particular intereſts of their conſtituents were no longer concerned, voted with the party purely republican, which indeed was conſiſtent with their general principles.

In

In this convention the votes were given by ſtates; and when the delegates of a ſtate differed in opinion, the majority was reckoned the vote of the ſtate.

Some members of the republican party, which was then called the federaliſts, diſguſted with their want of ſucceſs, and convinced that their oppoſition would not prevent the preponderance of the adverſe party; believing alſo that the conſtitution would not receive the ſanction of the ſtates, when it ſhould be preſented for their acceptance, withdrew from the convention—many even a ſhort time after the commencement of its ſittings. It is affirmed, that ſeveral new articles were introduced into the conſtitution during the laſt twelve days of the ſitting of the convention, when almoſt the whole of the republican party, thinking it finiſhed, had retired; and that even other articles, which had already paſſed, were at the ſame time modified. The obſcurity of ſome of the articles has given riſe to an opinion, that the intention of their authors was to acquire the power by this means of giving their own direction to the conſtitution, without an open eſtabliſhment of their principles. It is to be noticed, that the ſittings of the convention were never public; and to keep its debates ſecret, in one of its firſt ſittings, a reſolution paſſed, that no member ſhould hold any correſpondence with perſons out of doors, on the objects of their diſcuſſion, nor ſhould take notes of the debates, nor copies of their reſolutions. This precaution was attributed to the fear of the ruling party, that its views would be oppoſed by the majority of the ſtates.

To this day the journals of the convention have not been publiſhed; and it is only to the notes of ſome of its members, in deſpight of its reſolutions, that we are indebted for the account we have of the debates of that aſſembly.

I cannot finiſh this article without gratifying myſelf with the pleaſure of giving my reader the truly diſintereſted and patriotic ſpeech of Benjamin Franklin, in the debates on the queſtion of the adoption of this conſtitution by the convention.

"Sir,

"Sir,

"I am very ready to acknowledge that I do not, at this moment, entirely approve of the conſtitution now offered to us; but I am not the leſs ready to own that I do not feel myſelf ſure of my continuing in my preſent ſentiments. In the long career I have already run, I have more than once been compelled, by ſubſequent reflection, to abandon opinions I had openly maintained, and which I thought well founded from the deep conſideration I had given them. As I grow older, I am more and more diſpoſed to queſtion my own judgment, and to pay reſpect to that of others. There are ſome men, as well as ſome religious ſects, who imagine, that reaſon is entirely on their ſide, and that their opponents plunge deeper into error, in proportion as they depart from their opinions. Struck with theſe examples, which are but too common, I accept of this conſtitution, with all its faults, even ſuppoſing I am not miſtaken in my opinion of its faults; for I am perſuaded that a general government is neceſſary to our ſafety, and that no form of government that is well adminiſtered is incapable of producing the happineſs of the people; and I think there is reaſon to believe that this conſtitution will be well adminiſtered for a number of years, and that it will not end, as too many other governments have done, in deſpotiſm, unleſs the American people ſhall reach that degree of corruption in which at once, incapable of being directed by a free conſtitution, and unworthy of its bleſſings, deſpotiſm becomes neceſſary to their exiſtence. I therefore give my vote for this conſtitution, both becauſe in the preſent circumſtances of this nation I cannot hope to ſee one more perfect, and becauſe I am not ſure this is not as perfect as any it can have. I make a ſacrifice of the opinions I have expreſſed of its defects to the public happineſs. I have never uttered my objections out of this houſe; here they had their birth, and here I wiſh them for ever to be buried. If every one of us who have oppoſed the conſtitution, when we return to our conſtituents, were to unfold the motives of our oppoſition, and endeavour to gain partizans to our ſide, perhaps we might prevent the unanimous adoption of the conſtitution; but by this we ſhould only loſe the advantage which the appearance

pearance of unanimity will give us with foreign nations, and indeed with our own people. The general good opinion of a nation, reſpecting its government, is as neceſſary as the wiſdom and integrity of its adminiſtration to the happineſs of its people. I truſt, therefore, both for our own ſafety, as members of the community, and for the ſake of our poſterity, that we ſhall be of one mind in recommending this conſtitution wherever our influence reaches, and that afterwards our whole thoughts will be bent to its happy adminiſtration. I cannot forbear to form the wiſh that ſuch of us as ſtill entertain objections to this conſtitution will follow my example, and doubt a little of their infallibility, and ſign this conſtitutional act, that no queſtion may be left of our unanimity."

Franklin had not only foſtered principles the moſt purely democratic, but had always openly declared for them. A ſingle houſe of legiſlature, and the executive part of the government extremely limited in its power with frequent elections of the perſons exerciſing its functions, formed, in his opinion, the only deſirable conſtitution. The ſacrifice he made of the opinion of his whole life on the altar of his country, on this great occaſion, certainly deſerves our moſt profound admiration, and his example is an ineſtimable leſſon to the preſent times. Who will flatter himſelf that there is no miſtake in the moſt rooted of his opinions? Who will not heſitate to conclude, that even the experience of paſt ages is infallible to prove the fitneſs of any of the old forms of government for the preſent age? Will not the preſent times, in like manner, belong to the experience of poſterity? And the immenſe changes that have been wrought in ſociety by the acknowledged vices of governments, a change in manners, the detection of long prevailing errors, the recent diſcovery of a variety of truths, and the extenſion of knowledge in almoſt all its directions, do theſe make the preſent time ſo perfectly ſimilar to the paſt, that a reaſonable man cannot heſitate to ſay, that every propoſition relative to forms of government that was once true, continues ſtill to be ſo? Is it not ſafer to ſay with Franklin, that there is no conſtitution, which, adminiſtered by the government and obeyed by the people with mutual attachment

attachment to the public welfare, is not capable of ſecuring to the people the only true object of government? And is it not true, that attachment to the public welfare is at once the duty of every citizen, and his own individual intereſt?—Oh my country! may you learn this indubitable truth, in which alone will you find your ſafety and happineſs!

DEBATES IN THE CONVENTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES, ON THE QUESTION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The reference of the conſtitution to the ſeveral ſtates, for their adoption or rejection, occaſioned ſtill greater debates than thoſe of the convention at Philadelphia. The ſeveral ſtates formed the tribunal of appeal on that great queſtion. A majority of nine ſtates were to decide it irrevocably. Each of the parties now directed all their efforts to this point. Pamphlets poured from the preſs; the papers were filled with diſcuſſion; "Public liberty is in danger if the conſtitution is accepted"—ſuch was the language of the oppoſition papers; while the papers on the other ſide declared, that "the independence of the United States could be ſecured only by its acceptance." The two opinions were reſpectively ſupported not only by argument, but alſo by the exaggerations and other artifices of party.

The greater number of the ſtates went into an analyſis of the conſtitution, in its proviſions, its detail, and its conſequences; but none of them in the ſame degree as Pennſylvania, New York, Maſſachuſetts, and Virginia. The arguments of the oppoſition in the ſeveral ſtates were much the ſame. The following were their principal objections:

1ſt. That the convention was aſſembled only to reviſe and correct the articles of the original confederation, and not to frame a new conſtitution.

2d. That the convention, had it been authorized to frame a new conſtitution, had exceeded its powers, in declaring that the acceptance of the conſtitution by nine of the ſtates ſhould make it law, and that the acceptation was to be without amendment—that this declaration was, on the one hand, contrary to the rights of the people, who alone were to judge

of

of the form of the conſtitution under which they were to live; and, on the other, to the rights of the ſeveral ſtates, who, being independent of each other, could not be united in a political body by any deliberations but their own.

3d. That the conſtitution ought to have been preceded by a declaration of rights; the people of the ſeveral ſtates being, as the conſtitution ſtood, no longer ſecure of their own particular conſtitutions, inaſmuch as the laws of congreſs would in future bind all the ſubjects of the union, and controul the laws of the ſeveral legiſlatures.

4th. That the people of the union were not to be adequately repreſented in the congreſs; becauſe the conſtitution, while it declared that the number of repreſentatives ſhould not exceed one for every thirty thouſand of the inhabitants, provided that, till the number of the inhabitants in the union ſhould be aſcertained, the repreſentatives in congreſs ſhould not exceed ſixty-ſeven—whence it was to be feared, that the congreſs itſelf would not hereafter permit the number of its members to be increaſed, according to the neceſſity of the occaſion; and that, conſequently, queſtions of the higheſt importance might be decided by eighteen voices, as thirty-four members preſent were declared to be ſufficient to paſs any law.

5th. That the houſe of repreſentatives, being the only one in which the people were repreſented, ought to have the excluſive diſpoſal of the public purſe; and that the power given to the ſenate of making amendments in money bills, was contrary to the intereſts and ſafety of the people—and alſo that other power, of fixing the ſalaries of officers, which were to be nominated by them, in conjunction with the preſident.

6th. That no executive council being given to the preſident, as had been propoſed, to conſiſt of two members from the northern, two from the ſouthern, and two from the midland ſtates, the conſequence would be, to aſſociate the ſenate to the executive power in many of its functions; and thus the ſeparation of powers acknowledged to be an eſſential condition to every good government, was departed from—that the ſenate, becoming neceſſarily connected with the preſident, by its concur-

rent nomination to places, would be the more ready to join in improper appointments, becauſe its members, being eligible for any appointment, their complacence to the preſident might be the price of their own advancement, and the public liberty thereby endangered—that the intereſts of the United States was even more affected by the power given to the preſident, to make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the ſenate, and without the intervention of the houſe of repreſentatives.

7th. That the juriſdiction given to the federal courts would be vexatious to the individuals of the ſeveral ſtates, who would be inceſſantly taken from their homes to appear to ſuits inſtituted in thoſe courts, of which the tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates were the natural judges—that thoſe juriſdictions would draw to themſelves all the affairs of the tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates—that the want of preciſion in the judgments of the federal tribunals, would be a fertile ſource of new ſuits, and afford new opportunities of enlarging their juriſdiction—and, finally, that the power given to theſe tribunals to pronounce judgment according *to the ſpirit* as well as the letter of the conſtitution, ſubmitted the conſtitution itſelf to their diſcretion, by authoriſing them to explain it according to their own caprice.

8th. That the prerogative given to the preſident to pardon criminals ſentenced for high treaſon, endangered the public liberty, by enabling him to ſcreen thoſe whom he himſelf had employed to conſpire againſt it.

9th. That the power given the congreſs to name the times and places in which elections for its members were to be held in the different ſtates, at once attacked the ſovereignty of the ſeveral ſtates, and expoſed the electors to journies that might draw them to a greater diſtance from home, and for a longer time, than was abſolutely neceſſary to the diſcharge of the duty of chooſing members of the legiſlature.

10th. That the power given to the congreſs to impoſe all kinds of taxes, to apportion them among individuals, and to cauſe them to be levied, was vexatious—that it might take from the ſeveral ſtates the reſources neceſſary to their particular expences—and that, increaſing the expence of the collection, it augmented the contribution of individuals without

without advantage to the ſtate; an inconvenience that would eaſily be avoided, if the congreſs, ſatisfied with naming the ſum to be raiſed by each ſtate, ſhould leave to its legiſlature the care of its collection, reſerving only the power of levying the taxes on a refuſal of any ſtate to pay them, or in the caſe of negligence in collecting them.

11th. That a ſimple majority of voices in the congreſs being ſufficient for all laws relative to navigation and commerce, the ſouthern ſtates, having a ſurplus of produce of a valuable nature, but being without ſhipping for its exportation, would be ſubject to the monopoly of the northern ſtates, who had not an equal quantity of ſurplus of produce, and abounded in ſhipping; an evil that would be remedied, by requiring a majority of two-thirds of voices for laws of that nature.

(It will be readily enough underſtood, that this objection was made only by the ſouthern ſtates.)

12th. That the trial of *impeachments* being committed ſolely to the ſenate, connected in intereſt with the executive power by the conſtitution itſelf, would neither ſecure the acquittal of the innocent, nor the condemnation of the guilty.

13th. That the prerogative given the preſident to confer appointments in his power on members of the two houſes of legiſlature, was a means of corruption, and an enemy to freedom of debate.

14th. That the function of preſident being capable of being indefinitely continued in the ſame hands, might give an ambitious and politic man an influence dangerous to the congreſs, to individuals, and even the conſtitution itſelf, which through that defect might ceaſe to become republican.

15th. That the public liberty was endangered by the power given to congreſs to maintain a ſtanding army in times of peace.

16th. That the public liberty was endangered alſo, and the rights of individuals infringed, by the want of juries in civil matters before the federal tribunals.

17th. That the invariable and indiſpenſable uſe of juries in criminal matters, was not declared with ſufficient preciſion.

18th. Finally, that nothing in the conſtitution guaranteed the liberty

of the preſs, nor liberty of conſcience—and that no aſſurance was left to the ſeveral ſtates, that the congreſs would not ſucceſſively aſſume the ſeveral powers of which the conſtitution did not at preſent demand the ſacrifice, and which were at once their right as independent ſtates, and the only ſafeguard of their independence.

Many of theſe objections were by no means forcible; and the apprehenſions they expreſſed were exaggerated, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn by the event. But if ſome of theſe are to be aſcribed to a ſpirit of party, and to the deſire of the ſeveral ſtates to make as little ſacrifice as poſſible of their own authority and powers to the general government, it is not the leſs true, that the greater part of the oppoſition to the new conſtitution had its ſource in the ſpirit of liberty which at that time animated the citizens of the United States, the ſtruggle for the acquiſition of liberty being then recent; and in that fear of ariſtocracy and monarchy, to which it was thought there was a tendency in the new conſtitution—in the republican temper which was then common to all the United States—and, finally in the ſtrong miſtruſt, which was the natural conſequence of theſe circumſtances.

It is indeed certain that a very great majority of the people of the United States were averſe to the adoption of the conſtitution; and that it had not a majority in the ſeveral conventions, but from a general conviction among its opponents of the inefficacy of the articles of confederation, and the neceſſity of giving greater power to the federal government; and from the fear they had of prolonging the anarchy in which the country was at that time plunged, and of rendering that anarchy more incorrigible by the delay that muſt be occaſioned by the convoking a new aſſembly to frame another conſtitution.

It is ſaid that theſe powerful motives were ſtrengthened, in many of the adherents of the conſtitution, by individual intereſts, ambitious views, and, above all, by the proſpect of lucrative ſpeculations in the public funds and in the purchaſe of public lands, which were ſtated to be the inevitable reſult of the new government.

The ſupport which was given to the conſtitution was not, however, the ſame in all of the conventions. In the ſtates of Delaware, New Jerſey, and Georgia, its acceptance was unanimous. In Connecticut, Maryland,

Maryland, and Pennſylvania, a minority voted againſt it; but it paſſed without any amendment. In Pennſylvania, where the oppoſition was the ſtrongeſt, the minority withdrew, and entered a proteſt, accompanied with the motives of their objection to the conſtitution. South Carolina, Virginia, New York, and Maſſachuſetts, accepted the conſtitution, by a very ſmall majority, and joined to their acceptance the propoſition of ſeveral amendments, which they repreſented as indiſpenſable to the public liberty and ſafety; and declared, that their reſolution not to obſtruct the action of the government, and the hope that a new congreſs would yield to their repreſentations and demands, were the only motives on which they accepted the conſtitution. New York was on the eve of rejecting the conſtitution, when intelligence arriving that it was accepted by nine of the ſtates, and proving the futility of further oppoſition, it was accepted by that ſtate. New Hampſhire ſeparated without coming to a reſolution; and having afterwards aſſembled, gave its aſſent, accompanied with propoſitions for amendments. North Carolina propoſed amendments, and made them the conditions of its acceptance; but ſome time afterwards accepted the conſtitution without reſerve.

Rhode-Iſland, inſtead of calling a convention, referred the conſtitution to the aſſemblies of the towns; by whom it was rejected, with the exception of Newport, Providence, and ſome others, who declared themſelves incompetent to enter into the diſcuſſion, and propoſed the convoking of a convention for the purpoſe; which, being afterwards called, accepted the conſtitution.

The following is a table of the periods when the ſeveral ſtates accepted the conſtitution, and of the manner in which it paſſed in the ſeveral conventions.

States.

States.	Period of accepting the Conſtitution.	Manner of paſſing it.	
Delaware - -	Dec. 31, 1787	Unanimouſly	
Pennſylvania -	—— 13. ——	For, 46—Againſt, 23	Maj. 23
New Jerſey - -	—— 19. ——	Unanimouſly	
Georgia - -	Jan. 2. 1788	Ditto	
Connecticut -	—— 9. ——	For, 128—Againſt, 40	88
Maſſachuſetts -	Feb. 6. ——	— 187 —— 168	19
Maryland - -	April 28. ——	— 63 —— 12	51
South Carolina -	May 23. ——	— 149 —— 73	76
New Hampſhire	June 21. ——	— 57 —— 46	11
Virginia - - -	—— 15. ——	— 89 —— 79	10
New York - - -	July 26. ——	— 30 —— 25	5
North Carolina -	Nov. 27. 1789	— 193 —— 75	118
Rhode-Iſland -	May 29. 1790	— — —— —	2

The ſeveral amendments propoſed by ſome of the conventions, without being preciſely the ſame, related to the ſame objects. The congreſs, in its firſt ſittings after the acceptance of the conſtitution, took them into conſideration; and from their purport, drew up twelve new articles, as a ſupplement to the conſtitution, which, in virtue of the fifth article of the conſtitution, were ſubmitted to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, for their ratification, in the following terms.

Articles propoſed to be added to the Conſtitution, and ſubmitted to the States for Ratification.

"*In Congreſs, 4th March*, 1789.

"The conventions of certain of the ſtates having, at the time of their adopting the conſtitution, expreſſed a deſire in order to prevent miſconſtruction or abuſe of its powers, that further declaratory and reſtrictive clauſes ſhould be added: and, as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will beſt enſure the beneficent ends of its inſtitution, it was

"*Reſolved* by the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives of the United States of America, in congreſs aſſembled, two-thirds of both houſes concurring,

curring, that the following articles be propoſed to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, as amendments to the conſtitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the ſaid legiſlatures, to be valid to all intents and purpoſes, as part of the ſaid conſtitution.

"*Art.* 1ſt. After the firſt enumeration required by the firſt article of the conſtitution, there ſhall be one repreſentative for every thirty thouſand, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to one hundred; after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by congreſs, that there ſhall be not leſs than one hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every forty thouſand perſons, until the number of repreſentatives ſhall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion ſhall be ſo regulated by congreſs, that there ſhall not be leſs than two hundred repreſentatives, nor more than one repreſentative for every fifty thouſand perſons.

"*Art.* 2d. No law varying the compenſation for the ſervices of the ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall take effect, until an election of repreſentatives ſhall have intervened.

"*Art.* 3d. Congreſs ſhall make no law reſpecting an eſtabliſhment of religion, or prohibiting the free exerciſe thereof; or abridging the freedom of ſpeech or of the preſs; or the right of people peaceably to aſſemble, and to petition the government for a redreſs of grievances.

"*Art.* 4th. A well regulated militia being neceſſary to the ſecurity of a free ſtate, the right of the people to keep and bear arms ſhall not be infringed.

"*Art.* 5th. No ſoldier ſhall, in time of peace, be quartered in any houſe without the conſent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be preſcribed by law.

"*Art.* 6th. The right of the people to be ſecure in their perſons, houſes, papers, and effects, againſt unreaſonable ſearches and ſeizures, ſhall not be violated; and no warrants ſhall iſſue, but upon probable cauſe, ſupported by oath or affirmation, and particularly deſcribing the place to be ſearched, and the perſon or things to be ſeized.

"*Art.*

"*Art.* 7th. No perſon ſhall be held to anſwer for a capital or otherwiſe infamous crime, unleſs on a preſentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in caſes ariſing in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual ſervice, in time of war or public danger; nor ſhall be tried twice for the ſame offence; nor ſhall be compelled in any criminal caſe to be a witneſs againſt himſelf; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due proceſs of law; nor ſhall private property be taken for public uſe, without juſt compenſation.

Art. 8th. In all criminal proſecutions, the accuſed ſhall enjoy the right to a ſpeedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the ſtate and diſtrict wherein the crime ſhall have been committed, which diſtrict ſhall have been previouſly aſcertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cauſe of the accuſation; to be confronted with the witneſſes againſt him; to have compulſory proceſs for obtaining witneſſes in his favour; and to have the aſſiſtance of counſel for his defence.

"*Art.* 9th. In ſuits at common law, where the value in controverſy ſhall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury ſhall be preſerved; and no fact tried by a jury ſhall be otherwiſe re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

"*Art.* 10th. Exceſſive bail ſhall not be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

"*Art.* 11th. The enumeration in the conſtitution of certain rights, ſhall not be conſtrued to deny or diſparage others retained by the people.

"*Art.* 12th. The powers not delegated to the United States by the conſtitution, nor prohibited by it to the ſtates, are reſerved to the ſtates reſpectively, or to the people."

The two firſt of theſe twelve articles did not receive the ratification required by law. The other ten being ratified, make part of the conſtitution.

GENERAL

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is not my deſign here to enter into a minute examination of the merits of the conſtitution of the United States. The information I have gathered as to the ſituation of affairs, and the temper of parties, at the period of its adoption, induces me to believe that it is the beſt which could at that time be carried into execution. I ſhall confine myſelf to ſpeak of its principal and inherent defect; which I regard as an obſtacle to the public welfare in any conſtitution where it is found. I confeſs there is ſome degree of boldneſs in ſpeaking thus freely on this topic; for what I conſider to be a fundamental defect in the conſtitution of the United States, is viewed by almoſt every American as its moſt valuable quality. I am alluding to the federal form of the government. I admit the conception to be of a ſublime nature, and calculated to delight in theory. Sovereign ſtates ceding to a general government part of their authority, for the public benefit, preſents, in a more faſcinating way than ordinary, the image of men united in ſociety, making a ſacrifice of a portion of their rights and liberties for the ſecure enjoyment of the reſt, and for the general proſperity; but experience will ſhew this ſcheme, pleaſing as it is to the imagination, illuſory, and incapable of execution. The propenſities of governments have a power, of a nature and extent very different from that of individuals; their apparent motives are much more plauſible; and the ſuppreſſion of them by force is much leſs prompt, and leſs eaſy in the execution, than that of the paſſions of individuals—meanwhile they inherently oppoſe themſelves to the advantages that form the object of the compact, which is the general welfare of the union. Without purſuing the diſcuſſion of the principles and reſults of a federal government, I will give two ſtriking examples of its ſerious evils in the United States.

In 1787, the old congreſs, deſiring to ſettle the claims of the different ſtates upon the general government, paſſed a law, on the 7th of May,

providing, that five commiſſioners ſhould be ſent ſucceſſively into all the ſtates, to receive the accounts of each, for ſums expended by them during the war, for the ſervice of the Union, in virtue of orders of congreſs, or without ſuch orders, where proofs of the expenditure ſo applied could be given. The commiſſioners were to examine the ſeveral claims; to ſtrike the balance of each; returns of which balances they were to make to the treaſurer of the Union, accompanied with the ſeveral documents, for which they were to give acknowledgments to the ſtates to which they reſpectively belonged; and alſo with their remarks on the nature and validity of ſuch documents; and the law enjoined the different ſtates to furniſh ſuch documents and titles to the commiſſioners within the ſpace of ſix months, to be by them tranſmitted to the treaſury in the current year. It further provided, that, when the above returns ſhould be made, the congreſs ſhould name three other commiſſioners to examine all accounts and documents, and finally to ſtrike balances of the ſeveral claims; acting on the opinion of the firſt commiſſioners as to the validity of the documents, where ſuch were produced, and on the principles of equity, where claims were made for expences in the war not previouſly authoriſed by orders of congreſs. This law declared the deciſions of the majority of the three commiſſioners to be concluſive, and not ſubject to appeal; and it finally enjoined the commiſſioners to compleat the deciſion of all ſuch claims within eight months. At the expiration of that term, theſe claims ſtill remained unſettled, the public mind being occupied by the preſentation and adoption of the new conſtitution. A law was therefore paſſed in the new congreſs, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1790, authoriſing the preſident of the United States to appoint three new commiſſioners, with the ſame powers as were delegated to the former; who were, on an examination of the claims and titles on the one hand, and of the returns of the treaſury of ſums advanced by the Union to the ſeveral ſtates on the other hand, to ſtrike the ſeveral balances; and to make ſuch ſtates creditors of the Union as ſhould have expended more than their receipts from the treaſury, and ſuch ſtates debtors to the Union, as ſhould not have expended the ſums advanced to them by the Union. This

law

law fixed the 1ſt of July, 1792, for the lateſt period for the returns of ſuch balances to be made. By a law paſſed on the laſt day of February, 1792, the time for returning ſuch balances was extended to the 1ſt of July 1793.

The law which thus authoriſed the preſident to appoint three commiſſioners for this important ſervice, paſſed almoſt unanimouſly; and Mr. Waſhington, the preſident, made choice of men of acknowledged integrity and information;—theſe were, WILLIAM IRWINE, JOHN KEAN, and WOODBURY LANGDON, whoſe appointment gave univerſal ſatisfaction in the ſtates. Theſe commiſſioners finiſhed their labour within the time preſcribed; and the following is a table of the returns they made of their deciſion.

States, Creditors of the Union.	Sums.
New Hampſhire	75,015 Dollars.
Maſſachuſetts	1,248,801
Rhode-Iſland	289,611
Connecticut	619,121
New Jerſey	49,030
South Carolina	1,205,978
Georgia	19,888
States, Debtors to the Union.	
New York	2,072,846
Pennſylvania	76,709
Delaware	612,428
Maryland	151,640
Virginia	100,879
North Carolina	501,882

It was not till towards the cloſe of 1790, that the queſtion was agitated in congreſs, of the means of bringing into the treaſury of the Union the ſums due from the ſtates that were debtors to it, which ſums were deſtined to diſcharge the debts due from the Union to the other ſtates;

and then it was ſoon demonſtrated, by the turn the debates took in the queſtion, that the ſtates, debtors to the Union, had no intention of diſcharging their obligations, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs of the treaſury of the Union, and the flouriſhing condition of the finances of moſt of thoſe ſtates, eſpecially that of New York. A regard to the particular intereſts of the ſeveral ſtates, and a jealouſy of each other, were univerſally manifeſted. The debates abounded with ſophiſtry, and ill faith to the public. An attention to the concerns and intereſts of the Union was no where to be found in them. Although many ſittings were given to the diſcuſſion, no reſolution paſſed on the ſubject; and no other reſult was apparent, than that the ſtates, debtors to the Union, or the greater part of them, would never diſcharge the debt, and that the Union was deſtitute of means to enforce payment—for an attempt to obtain the payment by arms, was to provoke a civil war, and haſten the diſſolution of the Union. The loſs to the treaſury of the Union amounted to three millions ſeven hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; or rather three millions nine hundred and four thouſand three hundred and fifty-one dollars, including the intereſt. The welfare of the Union was made a ready ſacrifice to the rapacity and injuſtice of individuals, who oppoſed the execution of a law againſt which they had ſolemnly engaged to make no appeal. The object of the federal government was in this inſtance entirely defeated.

The other inſtance I have to give of the inconvenience of the federal ſyſtem, is relative to the fortifying of the harbours of the ſtates. The conſtitution, in the firſt article, and the eighth ſection, provides, that the Union "ſhall exerciſe excluſive legiſlative authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;" and by a law paſſed in December 1794, whoſe object was to provide for expences incurred in the fortification of ſome places on the coaſt of the United States, it is declared, "that the preſident ſhall receive from the legiſlatures of the different ſtates the ceſſion of the lands neceſſary to ſuch fortifications, or ſhall purchaſe them, if they are not the property

property of the ſtates." The greater part of the ſtates refuſed to cede the lands wanted for this purpoſe, or to authoriſe the preſident to acquire them by purchaſe, in the caſe of their being the property of individuals. They demanded ſums of the Union, in aid of the ſums they conſented to expend from their own treaſuries, in fortifications to be raiſed on their own lands; but the aſſiſtance they gave the law went no further. The conſequence was, that the fortifications were conſtructed on the plans, and according to the notions of individuals, the ſeveral ſtates in which they were erected attending only to their own advantage; that they were built on ſordid principles, and in a very inadequate manner, the reſources of the ſeveral ſtates not appearing competent to conſtruct them either in the extent or with the ſolidity the object required; that they are raiſed in places where the expence of the erection would be leſs, rather than in ſuch places as would beſt cover the towns, and add to the general defence of the country. In the laſt ſitting of the late congreſs, in February 1797, very extraordinary debates were held on this ſubject; in which it appeared, by the language of the deputies of Maſſachuſetts, New York, and South Carolina, that thoſe three powerful ſtates, poſſeſſing the moſt important ports of the country, were reſolved not to cede to the Union the lands neceſſary for the erection of fortifications for the ſafety of thoſe ports. In the diſcuſſion, the government of the United States was reproached, by the deputies of Pennſylvania and Rhode-Iſland, (which ſtates had ceded to the Union the lands demanded of them), with being leſs occupied with the defence of the ſtates who paid obedience to the law, than that of the ſtates refuſing to make any ceſſion of their lands. And the deputies of the refractory ſtates uſed the argument of the neglect of the government toward the ſtates of Pennſylvania and Rhode Iſland, as an excuſe, and even a ſubject of praiſe to their own ſtates, for having refuſed to cede their lands to the general government. Whatever might be the degree of juſtice with which theſe reproaches were caſt upon the government of the Union, they were only uſed as a pretext for the refuſal of the refractory ſtates to cede the lands in queſtion, the real motive being the jealouſy conſtantly exiſting between the ſeveral ſove-

reign

reign ſtates of the Union and the general government—a jealouſy natural enough to man, but more particularly prevailing among true republicans; inaſmuch as the general government, having citadels and troops in the midſt of the ſeveral ſtates, and in the moſt important poſts, might be the more readily tempted to abridge or deſtroy their independence.

The reſult of this ſtate of things is, that the moſt important points along the coaſts of the United States are not fortified, or are in a worſe ſtate—for the confidence which is placed in incomplete and inſufficient works, and which avail nothing to the ſafety of the places they affect to cover, is a fatal error; beſides, in an extenſive country, fortifications moſt completely made, and placed with the greateſt judgment for particular objects, contribute nothing to the general defence, if they are not connected with a ſyſtem, which, having the general defence for its object, expends frequently, with the greateſt utility, the largeſt ſums on poſts that may be unimportant to the local intereſts of the place, but are, notwithſtanding the keys of the country. It is no exaggeration to ſay, that the coaſts of the United States are defenceleſs; and that the fineſt and richeſt ports of the Union are not ſecure even againſt a *coup de main*. And this great evil is entirely occaſioned by the refuſal of ſome of the ſtates to cede the lands neceſſary to a plan of general defence.

By theſe two examples, we ſee—that the derangement of the finances of the United States, and the defenceleſs condition of their coaſts, are the reſult of the federal ſyſtem—a reſult, deſtructive of the end of the Union, but one that is the neceſſary conſequence of a ſyſtem which places the intereſts and paſſions of the ſeveral ſtates in oppoſition to the welfare of the Union, and is deſtructive of the unanimity, without which no government, however excellent in its form, can afford its ſubjects the protection and other advantages for which it is inſtituted. And if theſe inconveniences are already felt in the United States, where population is ſo diſproportioned to the extent of country, what will they not be with a great population, and a time far removed from the origin of the Union?

STATE

STATE OF PARTIES FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

The opponents of the conſtitution, both in congreſs and out of doors, ſubmitted, on its being adopted by the ſeveral ſtates, to its authority; but they nevertheleſs formed a party in oppoſition to the new government. The conſtitution, although called a plan of *conſolidation* by its opponents, becauſe its object was to make one body of the different ſtates, by diminiſhing in too great a degree, according to their opinion, their reſpective ſovereignties, was in truth a federal conſtitution. It had, indeed, the title, and all the properties of ſuch a conſtitution. But although its opponents contended for no other purpoſe but to eſtabliſh a conſtitution more completely federal in its nature, they were by the other party named *anti-federaliſts*—a name that by no means belonged to them; but which, at that time, being the moſt odious that could be given them, it was natural their adverſaries ſhould ſtigmatize them with it. The friends of the conſtitution called themſelves *federaliſts*, a title aſſumed to give them popularity. Thus the two parties, without having changed opinions, objects, or policy, had ſuddenly changed names; and each continued to be diſtinguiſhed by that which its adverſary was known a year before.

The *anti-federaliſts* (for we will uſe the denominations of the parties as they are applied) had long reproached the other party with a ſubmiſſion to Engliſh influence. I do not know that the *federaliſts*, in the early times of the new conſtitution, had betrayed any other ſymptoms of this influence, than the attachment of many merchants belonging to that party to the Engliſh commerce; an attachment that their commercial intereſts readily accounted for. Afterwards the ſenate, in which the *federaliſts* were very numerous, agitated a deſign of giving the titles of his *illuſtrious highneſs* to the preſident of the United States; of *right honourable* to the members of the ſenate; and *honourable* to the houſe of repreſentatives;

preſentatives; but the ſenate itſelf abandoned the project, the public opinion being evidently averſe to it, and the houſe of repreſentatives diſpoſed to throw it out.

About this time was diſcuſſed the ſyſtem of finance, which now exiſts, and which was vehemently combated by the oppoſition. This debate appears indeed the only one which openly expoſed the views of the two parties, till the period of the French revolution.

Some inconſiderable tumults that happened in ſeveral of the ſtates, on the ſubject of the exciſe, were not perhaps regarded with ſo unfavourable an eye by the *anti-federaliſts*, as the other party; becauſe the former ſaw in them nothing more than the conſequences they had foretold of an unpopular mode of taxation, which indeed had been once rejected by the congreſs, and was not finally adopted but with great difficulty, and in a ſucceeding ſeſſion.

But if the two parties were marked by the diſpoſitions in which they ſeverally viewed theſe tumults, it was but ſlightly; for no partizan of the *anti-federaliſts* gave his countenance to the diſobedience of the law, and many of the party aided, in their ſeveral functions, to reſtore order. Theſe events, therefore, cannot ſtrictly be conſidered as a ſhock of the parties.

It was at the period of the French revolution, or rather at the ſecond epoch of that revolution, that the two parties openly declared their reſpective views. The *federaliſts*, whoſe objects were to ſtrengthen the government of the Union, to encreaſe the influence of the executive power, and to carry the conſtitution as far as poſſible toward monarchy, naturally beheld in the Engliſh government a barrier againſt the ſyſtem of French republicaniſm. The *anti-federaliſts* as naturally turned to the ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the ſecond revolution in France, for aid in the plan they projected, of giving a purely republican direction to the conſtitution of the ſtates. From that period, the attachment of the parties to their ſeveral opinions, their deſire of accompliſhing their reſpective views; in a word, the intention of one to give a *monarchical* tendency, and of the

the other, a *democratic* tendency to the American government, gave them the appearance of being—the one Engliſh, and the other French parties, in the country.

The party, whoſe deſign it was to detach the United States from France, and connect them ſtrictly with England, received, no doubt, a great acceſſion of ſtrength from the horrible crimes which the men in power in France ſeemed for two years to have made the habitual adminiſtration of that unhappy country; from their avowed ſyſtem of a general diſorganization of other governments; from the open attempts of M. Genet, the French miniſter in America, to force the ſtates from their neutrality, which it was their intereſt as well as their right to maintain; and, in a word, from the intrigues of that imprudent miniſter to ſpread the principles of jacobiniſm through the ſtates, which at once were inimical to the intereſts of France, and contrary to the rights of nations.

An abhorrence of the crimes of the governing party in France, and diſguſt with the conduct of its agents in America, were mutually felt by both the parties of the United States. The *anti-federaliſts*, however, continued to regard the diſorders they lamented as temporary; while the other party imagined they ſaw, or affected to ſee, in the evils that afflicted France, ſomething that was permanent, or at leaſt likely to be of ſome duration. At this period was formed a confederacy of the kings of Europe againſt France; and it was natural for the government of the United States to ſuppoſe the confederacy could not fail to be ſucceſsful againſt an anarchy, ſtained at home with crimes and blood, aſſailed by the choiceſt troops of Europe, and having nothing in appearance to oppoſe to this force but new troops without experienced generals, and a treaſury without any other currency than a diſcredited paper. At the ſame period England harraſſed the commerce of the United States, by taking their veſſels, and preſſing their ſailors, and even menaced them with a direct war. Thus the danger of being involved in a war againſt an enemy already powerful, and who ſeemed to be increaſing in power, gave great uneaſineſs to the United States; while their former ally, to whom in other circumſtances they would have looked for aid, ſeemed on

the point of becoming a prey to that enemy. And if the fears of the American government were exaggerated, we cannot be ſurpriſed that its ſyſtem of policy threw it into the arms of the ſtrongeſt party.

Although the *anti-federaliſts* neither approved of the diſorganizing ſyſtem of France, nor the practices of her miniſter in America, they did not apprehend any danger from an alliance with France to the interior tranquillity of the ſtates, which they deemed to be incapable of the extravagance of the anarchiſts. The evils that afflicted France appeared to them temporary; and the ſpirit of liberty, they had no doubt, would enable her to repel all her enemies. They were even more attached to an alliance with France, when they ſaw England ſo lofty in her pretenſions. Their policy was, to preſerve the abſolute neutrality of the ſtates, and to avoid a war with England by every means that did not humble the ſtates before her. If ſatisfaction could not be obtained from England for the affronts offered to the ſtates, they propoſed the ſequeſtration of Engliſh property in America, and an interruption of all commerce with her; in a word, war—if England was reſolved on war. And this party ſuppoſed that the arming of American privateers, a prohibition to carry proviſions to the Engliſh iſlands, and the ſeizing on Canada, were more certain means of injuring England, than any ſhe had with which to make repriſals on the ſtates.

Warm conteſts were occaſioned in the houſe of repreſentatives by this difference of opinions and views, when the queſtion came to be debated concerning the relative ſituations of England and the United States. The two parties oppoſed each other with the greateſt animoſity. The queſtion equally agitated the people out of doors, throughout the whole extent of the United States; and although it was the general wiſh to preſerve peace and maintain neutrality, the complaints uttered againſt the Engliſh were loud and almoſt univerſal; and the remembrance of the triumph of America over the Engliſh arms, giving aſſurance of ſucceſs in a new conteſt, made a war with England little the object of fear with the populace. The diſmiſſion, about this time, of Mr. Jefferſon from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, increaſed the diſcontent of the *anti-federaliſts*.

Mr.

Mr. Jefferſon was of that party, and had always avowed an attachment to pure republicaniſm. His party aſcribed his diſmiſſion to the politics he adopted in the preſident's council. They were perſuaded, however he might fear the ſtates were in no condition at that moment to declare war againſt England, and however reſolved he might be to leave no reaſonable propoſition untried to reſtore a good underſtanding between the countries, he was nevertheleſs equally bent upon rejecting every meaſure that would affect the honour and dignity of the ſtates. The wiſhes of the party were, not to challenge England, but to ſhew her how the ſtates had been inſulted and injured by her conduct; to let her ſee they were offended, and to let her know they demanded reparation. They were not ignorant that Mr. Jefferſon oppoſed in the council too cloſe and intimate an union with England, whom he accuſed of treachery; that he oppoſed ſtill more eagerly all meaſures tending to ſeparate the ſtates from France, where anarchy and its conſequent crimes would ſoon give way to order, and where a regard to the intereſts of the United States was evinced even in the midſt of the worſt diſorders that had diſgraced the revolution. The ſame party knew alſo that it was Mr. Jefferſon's firmneſs that defeated the dangerous pretenſions and projects of M. Genet; and that he had been the cauſe of that miniſter's being recalled by France. And the recal of M. Genet they conſidered as a new and ſolid proof of the good will and friendſhip of France toward the United States.

In proportion as this party complained of the diſmiſſion of Mr. Jefferſon, the *federaliſts* expreſſed their triumph. Theſe latter ſaw, with extreme ſatisfaction, that their views would be no longer thwarted in the preſident's council, where till then they did not think the Engliſh government ſufficiently favoured. It was inſtantly determined to ſend Mr. Jay to England. It is univerſally believed that the inſtructions given to that miniſter by the preſident, were framed with great wiſdom and moderation, and that they formally enjoined Mr. Jay to reſpect the engagements of the United States with France in any new treaty with England. However that were, it is certain the preſident was careful to

inform the French government, that the ſending an ambaſſador extraordinary to England, had no other object than to avoid a war with that power, and to ſettle the differences between the two countries; and that the alliance with France would be maintained with the moſt perfect good faith on the part of the United States.

The choice of Mr. Jay for the embaſſy to England, gave great offence to the *anti-federaliſts*. This miniſter was chief juſtice of the United States; an office that ſeemed to make his preſence in the country indiſpenſable, and therefore appeared incompatible with any foreign miſſion. He was conſidered as devoted to England by his general habits, but more eſpecially by a blind zeal for the doctrines of the Engliſh church. He was known to have an old diſlike to France, which was ſaid to have been excited by the manifeſt preference given by the French miniſter and the whole French nation to Benjamin Franklin, whoſe colleague he was at the making of the peace in 1783.

When parties proceed to extremes with each other, every thing ſerves as food to their mutual hatred and injuſtice. About this time the inſurrection at Pittſburg broke out. The *federaliſts* accuſed their adverſaries of being the contrivers and authors of the inſurrection. They endeavoured to implicate many of them individually in its guilt, although the accuſation was never ſupported with the ſmalleſt proof. That inſurrection was no other than an exploſion, of a very culpable nature, no doubt, but perfectly foreſeen, of the diſcontents occaſioned by the levying a tax on private diſtilleries; a meaſure that never could be carried into effect in that part of Pennſylvania, even when, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the new conſtitution, that tax made part of the law of the ſtate.

About this time alſo democratic clubs were formed in ſeveral towns in the United States; and the *anti-federaliſts* were accuſed of being the authors of this dangerous imitation of the Jacobin aſſociations that had cauſed ſo many misfortunes to France. It was alleged againſt them, that it was their deſign to uſe the clubs as inſtruments of overthrowing the conſtitution, by introducing diviſions among the ſtates, and rending to pieces the federal ſyſtem. As it generally happens, theſe accuſations

increaſed

increaſed the aſperity, as well as of the party by whom they were advanced as thoſe who were the objects of them.

In this ſituation of things, the treaty with England was concluded. It is not my intention to diſcuſs the merits of any particular parts of that treaty; nor do I affect to give its hiſtory, much of which is known only to very few perſons. I propoſe merely to take ſome notice of its effect on the two parties. It is perfectly known, that the preſident perceived the treaty to be ſo little conformable to the inſtructions he had given Mr. Jay, and ſo little conſiſtent with what he thought the intereſts of the United States, that it was long before he could prevail on himſelf to preſent it to the ſenate for its ſanction—that this treaty occaſioned violent debates in the ſenate, which would not have ended with its ratification, had not the majority of that aſſembly been previouſly determined to accept it, even without knowing the articles it contained—that, as ſoon as the treaty was made public, addreſſes for and againſt its ratification crowded in from every town and corporation of the United States—that the queſtion of its ratification or rejection begat the deepeſt concern, and the warmeſt diſcuſſions among the inhabitants of the northern ſtates—that the general confidence placed in the preſident tempered in the majority their averſion to the treaty—and that, finally, when the ſums for carrying it into execution came to be voted in the houſe of repreſentatives, a long and violent ſtruggle, relative to the merits of the treaty itſelf, was the effect; although the right of that houſe to interfere with its ratification was denied by the friends of the treaty, the letter of the conſtitution having, as they ſaid, withheld that privilege from them. It is to be obſerved, that the repreſentatives maintained the right of entering into the merits of the treaty, from the very letter of the conſtitution, ſo little preciſion is there in the wording of it.—The dread of involving the United States in a war with England, at length gained a majority in the houſe for the treaty; in the ſame manner as that motive had influenced not only the preſident, but the majority of the individuals in the ſtates, who finally adhered to the treaty, to the latter of

whom

whom all alliance with England, of whatever kind, was extremely obnoxious.

The old animoſity of the two parties was further inflamed by theſe diſcuſſions. The debates in the congreſs, and the pamphlets, and writings in the papers, on the ſubject, were loaded with perſonal abuſe and mutual accuſations. The *anti-federaliſts* were accuſed of encouraging a ſpirit of diſorganization for dangerous purpoſes, and from the ſordid motive of French gold. The other party was accuſed of ſacrificing the national honour; of ſhamefully humbling the ſtates at the feet of England; of violating their ancient engagements to France; and of corruption, through the medium of ambition or gold. The moſt fatal conſequences were predicted to flow from the treaty, and aſcribed to the federaliſts, as injuries brought by them upon the country. The ſpirit of party was excluded from no claſs of ſociety. Political intolerance proceeded to the extreme; even frequently in the ſame dwelling, it was found to be the greateſt; and the moſt diſgraceful and hateful appellations were mutually given by the individuals of the parties to each other.

The diſpleaſure which France expreſſed at the treaty, widened the breach between the parties. The *anti-federaliſts* having foretold it, conſidered the expreſſion of that diſpleaſure as the eulogium of their oppoſition; while the *federaliſts* declared them to be the authors of the diſſatisfaction of France. The latter even went ſo far as to ſay, that their opponents had, by underhand intrigues, engaged the government of France to complain of the treaty, when it was not diſpoſed to do ſo; and thus they openly denounced them as enemies of their country.

The executive government of the United States, the centre of the party of the *federaliſts*, could not be ignorant that their treaty with England placed France in a much leſs favourable ſituation than formerly relative to America, and even in a leſs favourable ſituation than England, eſpecially in times of war; but whether they did not foreſee the diſpleaſure of France, or they braved the conſequences, they affected to be ſurpriſed and offended with the complaints of the French government; and

and immediately, whether in purſuance of a ſyſtem they had projected, or from a fear of giving advantage to the oppoſite party by reſorting to open and frank means of reconciliation with the French, they ſeemed in haſte to plunge into meaſures calculated to heighten the diſpleaſure of the French government, and to encreaſe, if poſſible, the animoſity of the *anti-federaliſts*, whom they no longer heſitated to denominate jacobins, and agents of France.

Among the meaſures with which the *anti-federaliſts* reproached the government as being inimical to France, was the ſending of a new ambaſſador to Paris, without powers to adjuſt the differences between the countries, and without even authority to place France and England on a footing of equality with reſpect to the United States. They certainly, without any injuſtice, conſidered among the meaſures openly hoſtile to France, a delay of eight months of the ſecretary of ſtate in anſwering one of the diſpatches of the French miniſter; the inſulting anſwer that was given, after ſo extraordinary a delay; and the drawing up a *manifeſto*, under the title of *inſtructions* to the American miniſter in France, that was a libel on both the old and new governments of France, and that did not ſcruple to attribute to *perfidious deſigns*, the ſignal ſervices rendered by France to the United States during their ſtruggle for independence; and above all, the laying theſe *inſtructions* before the congreſs, that they might be publiſhed to the world, without the blame of this inſult being, in point of form, imputed to them. In the conduct of the government and the federaliſts, their opponents pretended to ſee an intention of breaking with France at all events, and of joining England, againſt that faithful ally of the United States; they imputed the conduct of the governing party, either to total ignorance of the intereſts of America, or to corruption;—for, of the incurable hatred of England toward the States, and her ſecret reſolution to involve them in difficulties, and to detach them from a powerful ally, in order to have complete power over them for the purpoſes of her ambition, that party affected to have no manner of doubt.

The election of a new preſident afforded freſh aliment to the animoſity

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of the parties. The leaders of the *federaliſts* were deſirous of advancing to the office of preſident Mr. Pinckney, who had lately been ambaſſador in England, and who had made the laſt treaty with Spain, which gave general ſatisfaction in America; and had given his ſanction, at leaſt nominally, to the treaty with England. He was a man of acknowledged merit, of a family exceedingly reſpected in South Carolina, and of a perſonal character greatly valued. His ſervices, however, did not procure him the firſt office in the Union. The vice-preſident, John Adams, ſeemed to be naturally called to that ſituation. Eight years exerciſe of the office of vice-preſident, old and important ſervices to the States, and a long life of eminent virtue, gave him a title that, in the opinion of perſons among the federaliſts uninfluenced by intrigue or perſonal conſiderations, was infinitely preferable to that of every other among nine candidates for that high office. The leaders of that party, notwithſtanding, conſidered Mr. Pinckney as a man more likely to be directed by their influence. They aſſociated his name in the votes with John Adams, profeſſing to the majority of their partiſans, only to raiſe him to the office of vice-preſident. They conſidered it as probable, that he would have the ſecond greateſt number of votes in the north; and that in the ſouth, eſpecially in Carolina and Georgia, where it was not expected John Adams would have any, he would have the majority, or at all events the ſecond number, if Mr. Jefferſon ſhould happen to have the majority; and that thus he would have a greater number of votes than any other candidate, and would conſequently be preſident.

The *anti-federaliſts* openly and unanimouſly ſupported Mr. Jefferſon; and his title to the office, founded on his eminent talents, on the ſhare he had in the declaration of independence, and on his ſervices as ſecretary of ſtate and as ambaſſador in France, could not be queſtioned, except by the prejudices of party, which are equal in power to more ſolid arguments.

The two parties ſtrained every nerve, and rejected no advantage that intrigue could furniſh. They mutually accuſed each other of unfair proceedings, and even of tricks to invalidate votes, and of frauds in the returns

turns. The leaders of the *federaliſts* were deceived in their expectation of ſecretely gaining a majority for Mr. Pinckney. John Adams had, however, but one vote more than the majority required by law. He was declared preſident, and Mr. Jefferſon vice-preſident.

The moſt recent ſhock of theſe parties, conſtantly and vehemently excited againſt each other, was occaſioned by an extraordinary ſitting of the congreſs, aſſembled by the preſident, to take into conſideration the refuſal of the French Directory to receive Mr. Pinckney as miniſter from the United States. Although the *federaliſts* had a majority in the congreſs, the opinions of their opponents frequently prevailed. Almoſt every propoſition for meaſures of hoſtility againſt France was rejected; and the ſending of three ambaſſadors, to demand an explanation from the French government, was ſcarcely followed by any preparations for a war. It is not a little remarkable, that in this conteſt the orators of the *federaliſts* held the ſame language which, three years before, had been employed againſt them by their opponents; when, on the queſtion of ſending Mr. Jay to England, the *anti-federaliſts* recommended vigorous meaſures, to reſtore the United States from the ruinous and humiliating condition to which they were reduced by England—and that the *anti-federaliſts*, to cruſh the hoſtile ſpirit which the other party expreſſed againſt France, advanced the ſame arguments which the governing party uſed on the former queſtion, to recommend conciliatory meaſures toward England. The members of the houſe of repreſentatives who, although generally voting with the *federaliſts*, were not in the ſecrets of the party, on this occaſion carried the votes of the congreſs toward conciliatory meaſures. The debates, however, were more violent than ever. They were more than ever filled with perſonal abuſe, eſpecially on the ſide of the *federaliſts*, who accuſed their adverſaries of having adviſed the inſults that the ſtates received from France, and of being engaged by the French government to ſacrifice the intereſts of their country, and by this accuſation endeavoured to ſubject their opponents to the odium of the people.

The temper of the two parties continues to be the ſame at this time; and ſo inveterate is their mutual hatred, their reſpective policy is ſo

widely aſunder and ſo rooted in their affections, and their reciprocal inſults are ſo many and ſo offenſive, that it is impoſſible to hope for a reconciliation. It is the buſineſs of the politician to enquire into the final iſſue of their ſtrife. I have here undertaken only to ſtate facts, in order to give an idea of the ſtate of theſe parties. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that the names of *federaliſt* and *anti-federaliſt*, by which they are moſt commmonly known, are as little conformable to the meaning of theſe words as the denominations *Engliſh adherents* and *French adherents*, which they mutually give to each other. Their ſeveral objects are, to give the conſtitution a monarchical or a republican tendency; and to find, in the ambiguity of parts of its text, an authority for their deſigns, as circumſtances happen to favour one or the other. Both the parties are attached to the union; and I am perſuaded that the *anti-federaliſts* cannot, with the leaſt juſtice, be reproached with being leſs ſo than their opponents. The one is the governing party, the other is in oppoſition; and we know that when parties have long combated with each other, their original objects become ſecondary. Their love of power, and their hatred of each other, are motives continually acting upon them; and every occaſion of gratifying their rage, jealouſy, and ambition, is mutually ſeized by them. It is to be ignorant of the paſſions of party, not to know, that they are as tumultuous as any that can agitate and torment individuals and ſociety. The imputation of being adherents of France or England, is as unfounded as the other. The leaders of one party look to England as the natural ſupport of their power, eſpecially ſince France became a republic; but they do not wiſh to ſubjugate America to Engliſh influence. It is ſaid, and not without the appearance of probability, that there are individuals among them who carry their attachment to England ſomething further than this; having in contemplation, either the re-union of America to England, or the eſtabliſhment of a monarchy with a houſe of peers, that ſhall be cloſely and permanently allied to Great Britain. But if there are ſuch, as will be readily enough believed, they are not the whole of thoſe leaders, and they do not admit the reſt into their ſecret; for in that caſe they would ſoon ſee the number of their adherents

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diminiſh. It is by exciting a hatred of ſome of the meaſures of France, and, by a common fraud, turning that hatred againſt France herſelf, that theſe perſons endeavour to execute that project, while they conceal from their partizans their real deſigns.

I cannot be perſuaded that the American government has entered into theſe deſigns, which appear to me to be too far removed from common ſenſe to be adopted by the government, and to be rather the views of individuals blinded by their intereſts and paſſions. Yet, if we look coolly at the conduct of the government from the time of concluding the treaty with England, if we conſider how little conciliatory meaſures towards France have been ſtudied in its public acts; how profuſely its miniſters have laviſhed inſults on the French in their public diſpatches, and how profound a reſpect the ſame miniſters, at the very ſame time, expreſſed for the government and the miniſters of England; and, finally, what rude language toward France, equally removed from prudence and decency, has been held by the immediate dependants of the government in both houſes of the legiſlature, we ſhall acknowledge, that it is not without appearance the American government is accuſed of a partiality for England, which is not the genuine reſult of an attention to the intereſts of the United States. On the other hand, if it be recollected, that there is a neceſſity, or, at leaſt, that there is the habit in politics, as well as in private tranſactions, of following one falſe ſtep by another ſtill more erroneous, to avoid an acknowledgment of miſtake, and, ſtill more, the giving an advantage to the oppoſite party—if we take into the account that Mr. Pickering, the American ſecretary of ſtate, who was the author of the diſpatches I have alluded to, and the principal actor in the ſcene, did not acquire his ſituation (for which no intelligent perſon of his party deemed him qualified, either by his talents, or his political experience) but in conſequence of its being refuſed by a more able man, to whom it had been offered by Mr. Waſhington, at that time preſident, and that the difficulty of finding another perſon to fill the office is as great now as it was then (for the offices of government are in little requeſt in America, which is unqueſtionably a misfortune, if it be not a vice proceeding from

the conſtitution), and that the machinations of a party are employed in making the difficulty of finding Mr. Pickering a ſucceſſor, appear greater than it really is—if we call to mind the reaſonable diſcontent of the American merchants at the piracies committed on their property by the privateers and the governments of the French iſlands, and the general indignation of the people, although not immediately affected by theſe acts of piracy, we ſhall perhaps give another interpretation to the preference which is given to England, than that of a determination to ſubjugate the American ſtates to Engliſh influence; a meaſure that would meet with the moſt active oppoſition among the *federaliſts* themſelves, and which never can be carried into effect, unleſs France becomes an unnatural accomplice in the ſcheme by acts toward America contrary to her intereſt, her juſtice, and the greatneſs of her character.

As to a party conſiſting of adherents of France, it can with leſs truth be ſaid to exiſt in the United States than a party devoted to England. I conſider it to be a natural thing, that men who have uniformly endeavoured to give a republican tendency to the American conſtitution ſhould look up to the preſent conſtitution of France as affording aid to their pretenſions; but I am perſuaded the *anti federaliſts* entertain no deſigns derogatory to the independence and intereſts of the ſtates. When the governing party affect to forget the ſervices rendered by France to America, and boaſt of it as part of their political ſyſtem, it is not ſurpriſing that their opponents more warmly cheriſh the remembrance of thoſe ſervices, and of the calamities inflicted by England, which latter ſeem to be forgotten by the government. The members of the legiſlature, who form the oppoſition, betray no criminal attachment to France; nor exhibit any ſigns of voting through the influence of the French government; nor have the appearance, in any reſpect, of looking toward France with any other feelings than thoſe that naturally ſpring from the intereſt the United States have in an alliance with her—chiefly to balance the Engliſh influence, which they imagine they have too much reaſon to fear. I am ſtill perſuaded I am warranted in ſtating, that there is really in America leſs of what may be called a French party than an Engliſh one.

one. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the miſconduct of France, or to the want of addreſs in her old or her new government, or to an indifference to the gaining a party here, but it is certain the French have no party in this country. Whoever will give himſelf the trouble to look ſteadily at the politics of the country, will be convinced with me that this is fact.

I am far from conſidering this as a ſubject of complaint; and I ſhould be glad that it could be aſcribed to the wiſdom of the French government. The object of a government that forms a party in a foreign nation, is to influence its public acts, and to controul it by intrigue. The object is as deſtitute of juſtice as of magnanimity; it undermines the independence of the foreign ſtate, and the rights of nations; and its means are of the moſt odious nature, being no other than the ſowing of corruption and domeſtic diſſenſions in the country. Where ſuch purpoſes can be obtained, by ſuch means, deteſtable as one and the other are, the ſucceſs can be but temporary. They are ſoon countermined by the uſe of the ſame means by the rival nation; and the only certain effect they leave behind is the depravity and conſequent misfortunes of the people among whom they are practiſed. Although I hazard the diſgrace of being deemed romantic in my ſentiments on this ſubject, I am not the leſs willing to declare, that I conſider generoſity, good faith, and ſound morals as the means of ſucceſs the moſt efficacious and eaſily applied, in politics as well as in private conduct. How much is the power of a nation augmented, in the character it acquires, that demands nothing that is not juſt, and that gives in its treaties with other nations even more than is demanded. The intrigues of a rival nation with any of its allies will be more readily and perfectly defeated by a frank and plain conduct, than by an imitation of thoſe intrigues, which, in truth, places the nation that employs them in a ſtate of real hoſtility with that to whom it is even then, by its miniſters, making profeſſions of friendſhip. The reputation and importance of moſt cabinets, and moſt ambaſſadors, no doubt, would be infinitely reduced, if they were compelled to renounce their intrigues; but the intereſts of ſtates, and the happineſs of the people would

would as certainly be greatly increaſed; and it is a matter that I cannot queſtion, that, if a regard to integrity is incapable of working a revolution in the policy of cabinets, ſuch a revolution will inevitably be brought about by the natural progreſs of knowledge, which cannot fail to prove its utility.

Although the elections for offices in the federal government, and thoſe in the ſeveral ſtates, are under the influence of party, my reader muſt not conclude that the inhabitants of the United States univerſally range themſelves on the ſide of one or other of the parties. Many are ignorant of their motives and objects; and a great number of others regard them with indifference, having no other intention than to return the candidate moſt proper for the office, and permitting themſelves to be directed in their votes by ſuch as they deem to be better informed on the ſubject than themſelves. The ſecurity of liberty, the independence of the United States, and the preſervation of the preſent form of government, are the objects of their attachment; and, in general, they live in the pleaſing perſuaſion that there can be no other ſentiment in public affairs. A painful recollection of the calamities inflicted by England, during their ſtruggles for independence, and a grateful remembrance of the ſervices rendered them by France at the ſame period, are the common ſentiments of the country; and the partiality for France is, no doubt, increaſed by the reflection that ſhe contends for liberty with the enemy that oppoſed their independence; and by a perſuaſion that it was in America that France was firſt taught to love liberty. This preference, however, for the intereſts of France is by no means ſo obſtinate as not to give way to a conviction, where it is excited, that France has deſigns upon the independence of the United States; and it is by engendering ſuſpicions of that nature, that the party in oppoſition to the French intereſts, and their writers, have endeavoured for a year paſt to ſhake the attachment of the people to the French cauſe. To this end calumnies on the French government, and falſe and inſidious conſtructions of their conduct, have been induſtriouſly ſpread through America.

Whatever has come within my own obſervation, or I have gathered from

from others, convinces me that I have given a faithful picture of the maſs of the inhabitants of the American States, and I cannot imagine that it will be ſaid--that an affectionate remembrance of the ſhare which France had in the eſtabliſhment of American independence, and the reſolution not to ſuffer herſelf to make the ſlighteſt breach in that great work, erected as it was with ſuch immenſe coſt, are, either one or the other, ſentiments diſcreditable to the American people.

NEW STATES FORMED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

At the time of the completion of the new conſtitution in 1787, and the firſt ſittings of the new congreſs in 1789, the Union conſiſted of no more than thirteen ſtates; but, ſince that period, three have been added in the manner preſcribed in ſuch caſes by the conſtitution. Kentucky, which was a diſtrict dependent on the State of Virginia, was raiſed into a ſtate by an act of congreſs, of the fourth of February 1791; and Vermont, which was a part of New Hampſhire, was erected into a ſtate on the 18th of June in the ſame year; and, on the 1ſt of June 1796, Tenneſſee, formerly part of North Carolina, and after the acceptance of the conſtitution voluntarily ceded by that ſtate to the Union, under the name of *The Government of the Territories on the South of the Ohio*, was alſo declared an independent ſtate.

The province of Maine, part of the State of Maſſachuſetts, has demanded to be erected into a ſeparate ſtate; and will probably be declared ſuch in the firſt or ſecond ſeſſion of the next congreſs, and it is to be expected that the Union, if it preſerves its independence, will at length conſiſt of a greater number of ſtates than at preſent, by portions of territory being diſmembered from the ſtates of the greateſt extent, and erected into independent ſtates.

Beſides the ſixteen ſtates which at preſent form the Union, there is an immenſe tract of land, bearing the name of *The Territory on the North-Weſt of the Ohio*, which is attached as a diſtrict to the ſovereignty of the Union, and

and is under the immediate jurisdiction of the congress. The act which formed this territory into a district under the old congress, on the 1st of July 1787, was afterwards modified by the new constitution. A governor, a secretary, and three judges, appointed by the president of the United States, the first for three years and the others for four, compose the provisional government of this territory; which, although it includes more than two hundred and fifty millions of acres, contains only four thousand white people. The Indians form the greater part of its population; but even their numbers are not great. By a law of the old congress, of the 13th of July 1787, this territory was authorised to chuse a legislative assembly when its population of white people should amount to fifty thousand. The same law included other liberal regulations, associating the *Territory on the North-West of the Ohio* with the rest of America in the rights granted by the constitution. It also enjoined the inhabitants to observe a just and friendly conduct towards the Indians. It prohibited the purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals without the express authority of congress; and declared that this territory should bear its share in the expences of the federal government, and in the payment of the debts of the Union.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT, OF THE UNITED STATES.

The election of the president of the United States being a subject of the most weighty importance in this country, and it having happened that I was in America when an election to that high office took place, I am persuaded there are many details relative to the subject that will be given here with advantage.

The constitution, in the article on the executive power, having determined the conditions required for the office of president, and the extent and duration of its powers, enjoins the mode of election to the respective offices of president and vice-president; but I will not again cite the text, which will be found in the first section of the second article of the constitution.

On

On the 13th of September 1788, the old congreſs, having received the ratification of the conſtitution from eleven ſtates, and the other forms preſcribed for its ratification being complied with, declared the conſtitution to be in force. It appointed the firſt Wedneſday of the following January, for the chooſing the electors in the different ſtates that had ratified the conſtitution, which electors were to nominate the preſident; and the firſt Wedneſday in the February following, for the aſſembling of the electors in the ſeveral ſtates, to chuſe the preſident; and the firſt Wedneſday of March, for the aſſembling of the new congreſs at New York, (at that time the ſeat of the government), when the ſeveral branches of the government were to commence their proceedings under the new conſtitution.

George Waſhington was elected preſident, on the firſt Wedneſday in February 1789; and entered on the exerciſe of his functions, with the other authorities, on the firſt Wedneſday of the following March. He had been preſident of the convention; his name had reſounded in every part of America; the gratitude and veneration of the public were not only his due, but eagerly accorded to him; and his election was without a diſſenting voice. John Adams was at the ſame time elected vice-preſident.

The conſtitution, in furniſhing the legiſlature with a general rule for the election of preſident and vice-preſident, had not provided for every kind of vacancy that might occur, but had committed that taſk to the legiſlature; and I think it neceſſary to give the law as it exiſts at preſent on that ſubject.

LAW RELATIVE TO THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PASSED IN CONGRESS ON THE FIRST OF MARCH 1792, IN VIRTUE OF AN ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Sect. 1ſt. The caſe of the election of preſident or vice-preſident of the United States before the uſual period of election, which caſe is

hereinafter provided for, being excepted, the electors for the chuſing the preſident and vice-preſident ſhall be named within thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December, 1792; and thenceforth, within thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December in the fourth year after the laſt election. The ſaid electors ſhall be equal in number to that of the ſenators and repreſentatives in congreſs, of which the ſeveral ſtates ſhall have a right to compoſe their deputation, at the time when the preſident and vice-preſident to be choſen ſhall enter into office: provided that, if the new apportioning of repreſentatives, in virtue of the new enumeration of the inhabitants, ſhall not take place before the period for chuſing the electors, then the number of electors ſhall be proportioned to the number of ſenators and repreſentatives of the preſent congreſs.

Sect. 2d. The electors ſhall aſſemble and vote on the firſt Wedneſday of December, in each ſtate, at ſuch place as ſhall be named by the legiſlature of the ſtate; and ſhall draw up and ſign three certificates of their reſpective votes, and ſhall fold up and ſeal the ſame ſeparately, and ſhall indorſe upon the cover of each packet a declaration, that it contains a liſt of the votes of the ſtate for the preſident and vice-preſident; and every elector, or the majority of electors, ſhall appoint by ballot the perſon to whom they will entruſt one of the ſaid certificates, to be by him conveyed to the preſident of the ſenate, at the place of reſidence of the government, before the firſt Wedneſday of the January following; and ſhall addreſs another of the ſaid certificates, by the poſt, to the preſident of the ſenate, at the place of reſidence of the government; and ſhall tranſmit the third of the ſaid certificates to the judge of the diſtrict in which their aſſembly ſhall be held.

Sect. 3d. The executive power in each ſtate ſhall cauſe to be drawn up, and properly certified, three liſts of the names of the electors of the ſtate, and ſhall tranſmit the ſame to the electors before the firſt Wedneſday of December; and the electors ſhall add one of the ſaid liſts to each of the before-mentioned liſts of their votes.

Sect. 4th. In the caſe of a liſt of the votes of a ſtate not arriving at the

the place of reſidence of the government on the firſt Wedneſday in January, the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall diſpatch an expreſs to the judge of the diſtrict of ſuch ſtate, in whoſe hands the third certificate ſhall have been depoſited, who ſhall tranſmit it by the ſame meſſenger to the place of reſidence of the government.

Sect. 5th. The congreſs ſhall commence its ſittings on the ſecond Wedneſday of February, 1793; and thenceforth, on the ſecond Wedneſday of the February following each aſſembly of electors; and the certificates, or as many of them as ſhall have arrived, ſhall be opened, the votes counted, and names of the perſons elected to fill the offices of preſident and vice-preſident declared and proclaimed, according to the forms of the conſtitution.

Sect. 6th. In the caſe of the preſident of the ſenate not being preſent at the place of reſidence of the government, on the arrival of perſons charged with the liſts of the votes of the electors, ſuch perſon ſhall deliver the liſts to the ſecretary of ſtate, who ſhall carefully preſerve them, and remit them as ſoon as poſſible to the preſident of the ſenate.

Sect. 7th. The perſons appointed by the electors to convey the liſts to the preſident of the ſenate, ſhall receive, at the time of delivering the ſaid liſts, fifteen pence per mile for the diſtance, by the high road, from the place of election to the reſidence of the government.

Sect. 8th. If any perſon, being appointed to convey the votes of the electors to the preſident of the ſenate, and having accepted that truſt, ſhall neglect to diſcharge the ſame, he ſhall incur a penalty of one thouſand dollars.

Sect. 9th. In the caſe of the removal, death, reſignation, or incapacity to fill his office, of the preſident or vice-preſident, the proviſional preſident of the ſenate, or, where no ſuch officer has been appointed, the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, ſhall fulfil the duties of preſident of the United States, or vice-preſident, until the preſident or vice-preſident ſhall reſume his functions, or a new election ſhall take place.

Sect. 10th. When the offices of preſident and vice-preſident ſhall become vacant at the ſame time, the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall give notice of

the ſame to the executive power of each ſtate; and ſhall publiſh the ſaid notice in one gazette at leaſt of each ſtate, in which it ſhall be declared that the electors for the preſident of the United States will be appointed or choſen in the ſeveral ſtates, within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of the month of December following, provided a ſpace of two months ſhall intervene between the date of ſuch notice, and the firſt Wedneſday of the December following; but when the ſaid ſpace of time ſhall not ſo intervene, or if the term for which the late preſident and vice-preſident were elected does not expire on the third day of March following, then the ſecretary of ſtate ſhall declare in ſuch notice that the electors are to be appointed or choſen within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the firſt Wedneſday of December in the following year; and the electors ſhall be appointed accordingly, and ſhall proceed as is provided in this act.

Sect. 11th. The only evidence that ſhall be required of the refuſal to accept the office of preſident or vice-preſident, or reſignation of either of the ſaid offices, ſhall be a declaration in writing to that effect, ſigned by the perſon refuſing to accept or reſigning ſuch office, which ſhall be tranſmitted to and depoſited in the office of the ſecretary of ſtate.

Sect. 12th. The term for which the preſident and vice-preſident ſhall be choſen ſhall be four years; commencing, in all caſes, on the 4th of March following the day of the election.

By the proviſions of this law, as well as thoſe of the conſtitution, the power of declaring the manner of nominating the electors who were to chooſe the preſident and vice-preſident, was left to the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates; and the reſult was, that a uniform mode was not adopted. In ſome of the ſtates the people were left to nominate *the electors*, in the ſame manner as they voted for other offices; in others, that power was confided to the legiſlatures themſelves. The following is a ſtatement ſhewing which of theſe modes was adopted by each ſtate reſpectively.

States in which the Electors for the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the United States are named by the People.	*States in which the Electors for the Preſident and Vice-preſident of the United States are named by the Legiſlature.*
Maſſachuſetts.	Vermont.
Pennſylvania.	New Hampſhire.
Virginia.	Connecticut.
Teneſſee.	Rhode Iſland.
Kentucky.	New York.
South Carolina.	Delaware.
Georgia.	New Jerſey.
	Maryland.
	North Carolina.

It is certainly a circumſtance at which one can ſcarcely expreſs too much ſurpriſe, that a public act, including an intereſt ſo weighty and general as that of the choice of preſident, ſhould not be conducted on uniform principles throughout the ſtates; and that the privilege of nominating *the electors* ſhould not univerſally reſide in the people. The advocates for its reſiding in the legiſlatures contend, that the legiſlatures, being choſen by the people, and for a ſhort period, their nomination of electors is, in fact, that of the people; and that the nomination of electors being always at a ſtated period, the people, when they chooſe the legiſlature, have it before their eyes that it has the electors to name, and therefore are called to vote for ſuch members as they imagine may be entruſted with that function. Their opponents maintain, that the election of the preſident and vice-preſident by the people, in an immediate and direct manner, is an inalienable right, and which it was the intention of the conſtitution to ratify; that the conſtitution, in leaving it to the ſeveral legiſlatures to declare the manner of nominating the electors, had in view only the place and time of their aſſembling, and never meant to intrench upon one of the moſt ſacred rights of the people; and that, although

though the legiſlatures are choſen for a ſhort period, and the time of nominating the electors is fixed, ſo that the people may always, in their choice of the members of the legiſlature, keep in mind that particular truſt; yet the functions of legiſlator and of elector are ſo abſolutely diſtinct, that the man who is the moſt proper for one may be extremely unfit for the other.

Mr. Waſhington was a ſecond time choſen preſident of the United States, on the firſt Wedneſday in December 1792, but not unanimouſly, as in the former inſtance, an oppoſition already beginning to ſhew itſelf in the Union. He had, however, a majority, which was the greater, becauſe many of thoſe in oppoſition perceiving that he would be choſen in deſpite of their efforts, did not declare openly againſt him, while ſome of that party even gave him their vote. John Adams was again elected vice-preſident, with a majority that greatly exceeded the votes of any of the other candidates.

In the month of October 1796, Mr. Waſhington publicly declared his reſolution of retiring, on account of infirmities of age, and requeſted his friends and adherents not to nominate him.

The ſcrutiny for preſident and vice-preſident was made in a ſitting held for that purpoſe, according to the terms of the law. The ſenate having come down to the chamber occupied by the repreſentatives, took their ſeats on the right, as is the cuſtom when the two houſes unite for particular objects. The vice-preſident, acting in his capacity of preſident of the ſenate, was ſeated in a chair on the right of that occupied by the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives. The chairs of the preſident of the ſenate, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives, ſtood upon a platform, elevated for the purpoſe. One commiſſioner, appointed by the ſenate, and two by the other houſe, ſat at a table at the foot of the platform; and the ſecretaries of the two houſes were reſpectively placed at tables, that of the ſenate on the right, and the other on the left of the platform, and immediately below it. The ſecretary of the ſenate having read the law regulating the mode of opening the ſcrutiny, and the inſtruments of the two houſes reſpectively appointing the commiſſioners, the

the vice-preſident ſucceſſively drew from two boxes, which ſtood before him, the votes from the ſeveral ſtates for the nomination of preſident and vice-preſident of the United States. The votes, together with papers relative to the election, were ſealed up in a packet from each ſtate, agreeable to the law of the 1ſt of March, 1792. The vice-preſident, having broken the ſeals, read the general return of the election of each ſtate, certifying its validity; after which, the ſecretary of the ſenate declared the ſeveral votes of the electors, and read their ſeveral ſignatures. All the papers were then, by order of the vice-preſident, handed to the commiſſioners, who mutually examined and checked the whole, and ſeverally made entries of the votes for each candidate. Mr. SEDGWICK, the commiſſioner of the ſenate, having compared and checked his liſt with thoſe of Mr. SITGREAVE and Mr. PARKER, the commiſſioners of the houſe of repreſentatives, read aloud the general ſummary of the returns, in the order in which the ſeveral packets had been opened by the preſident. The following is a copy of the ſummary.

Names

Names of the ſtates.	John Adams	Pinckney	Jefferſon	Burr	Sam. Adams	Patrick Henry	Jay	Clinton	G. Waſhington	J. Johnſon	H. Elſeworth
New Hampſhire	6										6
Maſſachuſetts	16	13								2	1
Rhode Iſland	4										4
Connecticut	9	4					5				
Vermont	4	4									
New York	12	12									
New Jerſey	7	7									
Pennſylvania	1	2	14	13							
Delaware	3	3									
Maryland	7	4	4	3		2					
Virginia	1	1	20	1	15			3	1		
Kentucky			4	4							
Teneſſee			3	3							
North Carolina	1	1	11	6					1		
South Carolina		8	8								
Georgia			4					4			
Total	71	59	68	30	15	2	5	7	2	2	11

The vice-president then declared, that in virtue of the conſtitution, the candidate having the greateſt number of votes above an abſolute majority of the electors, was the perſon appointed to be preſident; and that the total number of electors being one hundred and thirty-nine, the candidate having ſeventy-one votes was in the preſent caſe duly elected.

As

As the choice fell upon himſelf, and by his preſent office it became his duty to proclaim himſelf preſident, he betrayed evident ſigns of embarraſſment; and did not recover from his agitation till after ſome moments of ſilence; when he declared, that John Adams, having ſeventy-one votes, a number beyond an abſolute majority required by the conſtitution, and no candidate having more votes, John Adams was elected and proclaimed preſident of the United States for four years—and that Thomas Jefferſon, having ſixty-eight votes, and no other candidate having the ſame number, was elected and proclaimed vice-preſident, for the ſame term of four years. He concluded this conciſe proclamation, by beſeeching the Almighty to favour and protect the objects of the election.

The functions of the new preſident were not to commence till the 4th of March; and John Adams, in his quality of vice-preſident, continued to be preſident of the ſenate. Fifteen days afterwards, he requeſted that houſe to name a proviſional preſident, that he might employ the interval in preparing for the functions of his high office.

The ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe duty it was to inform Mr. Jefferſon of his nomination to the office of vice-preſident, ſent an expreſs to him for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time a duplicate of the diſpatch by the regular poſt. The precaution turned out to be neceſſary; for the extraordinary meſſenger fell ſo ſuddenly and extremely ill, at the diſtance of forty miles from Philadelphia, that he was not even able to declare the object of his diſpatches; and it was by the poſt that Mr. Jefferſon received the account of his nomination. Mr. Jefferſon proceeded to Philadelphia, and on the 4th of March the new members of the executive authority entered on their functions.

The houſe of repreſentatives, which by the conſtitution was diſſolved on the 3d of March of its ſecond year, no longer exiſted. The conſtitution, in preſcribing to the new preſident the neceſſity of taking the oath before he entered on the exerciſe of his functions, had not declared at what time, or in what manner, or before whom the oath was to be taken. John Adams followed the example of his predeceſſor; he re-

paired to the houſe of repreſentatives, preceded by the ſheriffs, marſhals, and other officers, and placed himſelf in the chair occupied by the ſpeaker during the ſittings of the houſe. Such members of the ſenate as remained in the town, took their ordinary ſeats; the other ſeats were filled with ſpectators, among whom were many ladies. Mr. Jefferſon, the new vice-preſident, placed himſelf at the foot of the platform on the right, and the late ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives on the left. In the front, and round a table, were four of the judges of the ſupreme court of the United States, among whom was Mr. ELSWORTH, the chief juſtice. The galleries and tribunes were crowded. The foreign miniſters, although not formally invited, attended without ceremony, and, with many others, ſtood behind the platform. The preſident, the ſimplicity of whoſe dreſs was not diſtinguiſhed by any thing but a black cockade and a ſword, pronounced a diſcourſe, in which he declared his political faith; after which, having deſcended from the platform, he repeated, in a loud voice, the uſual oath, after the chief-juſtice, and kiſſed the book of the evangeliſts, and then returned to the platform. In a ſhort time after, he retired, preceded by the officers who accompanied him on his entrance.

Nothing can be more ſimple than the ceremony of this inſtallation; but this very ſimplicity has ſomething in it ſo delightful, ſo noble, and ſo nearly reſembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and ſeizes upon our worthieſt affections. I ſpeak at leaſt of the effect it produced on my feelings. This change of the perſons exerciſing the moſt awful functions of the ſtate, with ſo little pomp, but with ſo great ſolemnity; and which places a man who, the evening before, was among the crowd of ſimple citizens, at the head of the government, while he who held the firſt office of the ſtate the preceding evening, is returned again to the claſs of ſimple citizens—is full of the qualities that conſtitute true greatneſs.

The preſence of the late preſident, who mingled with the other ſpectators of this ſcene, added to its intereſt, and compleated the greatneſs of its effect.

Mr.

Mr. Jefferſon, having returned to the chamber of the ſenate, took the oath, in preſence of the members and the ſecretary; having firſt pronounced a ſhort diſcourſe, full of talent and wiſdom, and which received the approbation of all who did not attend with a reſolution to be diſſatisfied with Mr. Jefferſon's conduct.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER, IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

There are three departments in the executive government—the department of ſtate, that of finances, and that of war. A perſon, who bears the title of ſecretary of the department, is at the head of each; they act under the authority of the preſident, who may avail himſelf of their councils when he thinks proper, but is not compelled to do ſo.

An attorney-general of the United States is attached to the executive government; whoſe functions are, to proſecute in the ſupreme court of the States, all ſuits in which the government of the Union is intereſted, and to give his opinion on matters relative to law to the preſident, when he demands it; and to the heads of the ſeveral departments, in law matters concerning the department, when it is required of him. Laws that have paſſed ſince the creation of the office of attorney-general of the United States, have appointed the perſon who fills that office, one of the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund, and for the reduction of the national debt.

He is permitted, in common with the attornies-general of the ſeveral ſtates, to purſue his profeſſion in the affairs of individuals.

JUDICATURE.

The judicature of the United States is compoſed of courts of diſtrict, courts of circuit, and a ſupreme court; and theſe have excluſive juriſdiction of all ſuits that affect the intereſts of the Union. The courts of diſtrict are held in every ſtate four times a year, by a judge appointed by the general government, and reſiding for that purpoſe in the ſtate.

They take cognizance of crimes and offences againſt the general laws of the Union, committed within the diſtrict, or on the ſea within its juriſdiction, when the penalty does not exceed thirty ſtripes with a whip, or the payment of a hundred dollars; and of all cauſes belonging to the admiralty, including ſeizures made in purſuance of the laws of the general government relative to imports, commerce, or navigation, when ſuch ſeizures are made within their juriſdiction. They have alſo cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the particular ſtate, and the courts of circuit, of cauſes in which foreigners complain of wrongs done in violation of the law of nations, or in violation of any treaty of the United States; and of all cauſes to be determined by the common law, in which the general government is the plaintiff, and when the objects in diſpute do not exceed the value of a hundred dollars. The courts of diſtrict have alſo excluſive cognizance of ſuits againſt conſuls and vice-conſuls. All cauſes determined by the courts of diſtrict, except thoſe concerning the admiralty, are tried by jury.

The courts of circuit are held by a judge of the ſupreme court, and judges of the diſtrict. The United States are divided into three circuits; the eaſtern circuit, compriſing the ſtates on the eaſt, extending to, but excluſive of New York; the midland circuit, compriſing the ſtates of New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and the ſouthern circuit, compriſing the ſtates to the ſouth of Virginia. Courts of circuit are held twice a year in each ſtate: they have cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the different ſtates, of all civil cauſes, where the matter in diſpute amounts to the value of five hundred dollars, independent of the expences of the ſuit, and in which the Union is intereſted, or a foreigner is a party, or the diſpute is between citizens of different ſtates; and an excluſive cognizance of all criminal matters committed againſt the Union. They are alſo courts of appeal from the judgment of the courts of diſtrict.

The ſupreme court of the Union is compoſed of a chief-juſtice, and five judges, which latter have rank among themſelves, according to the dates of their appointment; it holds its ſittings twice a year, at the place which

which is the ſeat of the government; it has excluſive juriſdiction over all civil cauſes where any one of the ſtates is a party, except where the adverſe party is a citizen of the ſame ſtate; and over all ſuits inſtituted againſt foreign ambaſſadors or envoys, or their domeſtics, conſiſtently with the law of nations. Its juriſdiction extends alſo, but not excluſively, to ſuits in which an ambaſſador or other foreign miniſter is plaintiff, or in which conſuls or vice-conſuls are intereſted. It is a general court of appeal from the judgment of the courts of circuit, or of the different tribunals of the ſeveral ſtates.

All the federal courts have authority to make rules to regulate proceedings before them, and to adminiſter oaths.

The attorney-general of the United States, who muſt reſide at the ſeat of government, conducts the cauſes of the government in the ſupreme court; and a counſel appointed by the general government reſides in each ſtate or diſtrict, to conduct in the courts of diſtrict and courts of circuit criminal and civil cauſes on behalf of the government.

The diſtance of the ſtates of Kentucky and Teneſſee, and of the province of Maine, from the ſeat of the federal government, making it inconvenient to hold courts of circuit in them, their courts of diſtrict are authoriſed to exerciſe the juriſdiction belonging to the courts of circuit, except in caſes of appeal, which are carried before the ſupreme federal court. The ſame authority is given to the courts of diſtrict in the territories of the north-weſt, which as yet are not formed into a ſtate.

The juries that ſerve in the federal courts are choſen according to the forms obſerved in the reſpective ſtates where theſe courts happen to be held.

CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.

The crimes and offences of which the federal tribunals take cognizance, are only ſuch as are committed againſt the Union, or committed in territories under the immediate juriſdiction of the Union. In the firſt claſs are—treaſons; rebellions; refuſal to pay impoſts enjoined by the Union; ſmuggling; frauds committed by officers of the revenue, in matters of revenue; in a word, every offence againſt laws paſſed by the congreſs.

congreſs. In the ſecond claſs are—crimes and offences committed on the ſeas, or in forts or arſenals belonging to the Union; and, in caſe of the ſeat of government being removed to Federal-city, all crimes and offences, of what nature ſoever, committed in that city, or in a diſtrict ſurrounding it of ten miles ſquare.

The crime of treaſon, as it is defined by the conſtitution; wilful murders, committed in forts, arſenals, &c. belonging to the Union, or committed on board of American veſſels in the open ſeas, or in the ſeveral roads; the treachery of maſters diſpoſing of veſſels or cargoes committed to their charge, for their own profit, or delivering ſuch veſſels to pirates; a conſpiracy of ſailors to prevent the maſter from defending himſelf againſt pirates; piracies committed by citizens of the United States, under foreign colours, on the veſſels or cargoes belonging to the Union, or to citizens of the Union; forging of national ſecurities; debaſing of money by officers of the mint, or theſts committed by them of gold or ſilver coin from the mint; theft of money or notes from letters, made by the letter-carriers of the poſt offices; and the robbery or opening of the mail on the highways, or the robbery of them in the poſt offices, or opening of them by perſons not authoriſed—are crimes puniſhed with death.

Robbery, and the receiving of ſtolen goods, are puniſhed with whipping, which is never to exceed thirty-nine ſtripes; and forging of bills of lading, ſhip's books, or regiſters, or other ſuch documents, are puniſhed with the pillory, and impriſonment not to exceed more than three years.

All other crimes and offences againſt the general government, including dealings in the ſlave trade, which the laws of the Union prohibit, are puniſhed by fines and impriſonment of various degrees.

Although the criminal juriſprudence of the Union cannot be charged with cruelty, when compared with that of moſt ſtates of Europe, eſpecially England, one is not the leſs ſurpriſed to ſee, in a code abounding with the puniſhments of whipping, the pillory, and death, that fine and impriſonment are the only puniſhments for the crimes of wilfully ſlitting the noſes, tongues, or ears of a human being.

I cannot prevail on myſelf to believe, that the congreſs will not, ere it be long, infuſe into its juriſprudence the benign temper of the legiſla-

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ture of Pennſylvania, whoſe example has been followed by many other of the ſtates. Independent of the great moral and political motives which recommend that conduct to the federal government, it muſt at length be moved by the hard and cruel contraſt of puniſhments inflicted in the ſame place, and for the ſame ſpecies of crime, according as the ſentence happens to be paſſed by the tribunals of the federal government, or thoſe of the reſpective ſtates—for the ſentence of a federal court is executed in the place where it is paſſed. This contraſt is painful in an uncommon degree at Philadelphia; where the Union having no priſon peculiar to itſelf, criminals ſentenced by the federal courts to impriſonment are confined in the ſame priſon with offenders ſentenced by the courts of Pennſylvania, but are not permitted to partake of the benefits of the humane and ſalutary regulations of that ſtate in its priſons.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

The laws of the Union in civil matters, like thoſe of the ſeveral ſtates, are for the moſt part the Engliſh laws, accompanied with all the delays and intricacies ariſing from complicated and difficult forms. It would be a great benefit conferred on the American people, to ſimplify the proceedings, and even many of the principles of the law; and it is a reform ſometimes talked of, but the undertaking is great and diſcouraging. The lawyers, educated in the principles of this embarraſſed code, and accuſtomed to its practices, would reluctantly change them for others; and it is to be ſuppoſed the greater part of them are ſo perſuaded of the ſuperior excellence of the ſyſtem, that they would oppoſe the introduction of any other; and it is to be remembered that law-ſuits, although ruinous to clients, are the harveſt of lawyers. This claſs of men compoſes much more than half of the legiſlature of the Union, as well as of the legiſlatures of the different ſtates; and theſe, I am afraid, are too powerful reaſons to permit us to hope for any ſpeedy reform in the law.

One of the moſt remarkable laws of the Union is that relative to ſlavery; but it may be conſidered as ſpringing from principles of policy, rather than enlightened reaſons of juriſprudence. We have ſeen that the conſtitution

conſtitution permitted, *till* 1808, *the importation, in the ſeveral ſtates, of ſuch perſons as, till that period, the ſeveral ſtates ſhould judge it expedient to permit to be imported*; and by this deſcription the conſtitution meant to deſignate *ſlaves*; which temporary countenance given to the ſlave trade the conſtitution could not openly acknowledge, without an abſurd contradiction of the liberal principles it had premiſed; nor could it openly prohibit the ſlave trade, without a certainty of the law being oppoſed by the ſouthern ſtates. By this vague deſignation the framers of the conſtitution crept out of this embarraſſment; and, however groſs the ſubterfuge may be, we can ſcarcely blame them; ſince, while they preſerved the exiſtence of the Union at the difficult period when the conſtitution was framed, they named a term not far diſtant for the extinction of that deteſtable traffic.

In 1796, the congreſs paſſed a law, prohibiting American veſſels to carry ſlaves, under the penalty of two thouſand dollars, and confiſcation of the ſlaves and veſſels; and this law, although ſometimes eluded, is for the greater part rigorouſly enforced, of which I have ſeen many inſtances during my ſtay in America. It is even difficult and expenſive to elude it; for the Quakers purſue offenders againſt this law with incredible activity and inveteracy. The merchants who make the attempt muſt provide falſe bills of lading, and make oath that the cargo is the property of foreign merchants, and employ others to take the ſame oath; and all this is attended with great expence.

A law of 1793, prohibits the giving of an aſylum to any perſon engaged to ſerve another, ordaining a fine to be levied upon all offenders in this caſe, and declaring, that the perſon who flies from his maſter ſhall be liable to be ſent back to him. In this law the congreſs avoided the uſe of the word *ſlaves*, although it was to provide againſt the flight or concealment of ſlaves that it was paſſed, there being little reaſon for apprehenſions about domeſtics engaged for a term. The juriſprudence of the Union relative to ſlaves, is confined to theſe two articles.

DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The department of ſtate is alſo that of foreign affairs, which indeed form its principal buſineſs. The ſecretary of ſtate, who is at the head of this department, is the keeper of the ſeals of the Union. It is his office to counterſign the laws, and to promulgate them; he has the cuſtody of the papers of the old congreſs, and has other functions; but his principal employment is to tranſact affairs with foreign powers. The expences incurred for foreign affairs amounted, for the four firſt years after the ratification of the new conſtitution, to no more than forty thouſand dollars annually. Since that period the number of the miniſters and conſuls of the Union in foreign countries being encreaſed, the ordinary annual expences for foreign affairs have amounted to ſixty thouſand dollars; and the expences attending the execution of the different treaties made by the Union during the laſt three years, have occaſioned the granting of extraordinaries greatly exceeding the amount of ordinary expences. The treaty with Algiers coſt the Union more than nine hundred thouſand dollars. The amount of expences, ordinary and extraordinary, for foreign affairs, from the year 1790 to this time, is more than two millions of dollars.

I am inclined to believe that the United States might have ſpared a great part of this expence, had their politics been directed with a little more wiſdom. Nor would the ſaving of money have been the greateſt advantage they would have reaped; it is probable they would have been able to ſhun the interior troubles, with which it is too plain they are now menaced; to avoid the very delicate and embarraſſing ſituations in which they have more than once been plunged, and are now more than ever involved; to preſerve the bleſſings of peace for many years; to ſecure the exiſtence of the Union, which is the ſource of their ſtrength, and which cannot be ſhaken but through their connection with foreign countries; in a word, to place out of the reach of danger that independence which they won with ſo much glory to themſelves, the right to which cannot be conteſted, but which has no longer any real exiſtence, except in the

mouths of their own declaimers. Proud with reaſon of having thrown off the oppreſſive yoke of England, the United States were too ready to play a part among the nations of Europe; and to involve themſelves in the intereſts of foreign powers, from which nature had moſt happily ſeparated them. They involved themſelves in thoſe foreign intereſts the moment they ſent miniſters to foreign courts, and received their miniſters in return; from that moment they expoſed themſelves to the dangers that the weak are placed in relative to the ſtrong, among nations as well as individuals; they reduced themſelves to the neceſſity of practiſing duplicity, an indiſpenſable condition, when he who is weak allies himſelf to him who is ſtrong; and the more indiſpenſable in politics, inaſmuch as juſtice has been hitherto contemned in that art, the will of the more powerful being the only law. In receiving foreign miniſters, they gave riſe to intrigues, the more dangerous, becauſe their maſters believed it to be their intereſt to diſturb their tranquillity, and check their growing proſperity. In a ſtate where political concerns are as yet little complicated, the reſidence of foreign miniſters is more miſchievous than in others, even when they have received no inſtructions from their courts to cultivate intrigues, which is a caſe difficult to imagine. They are ready enough to render themſelves of importance, and to give conſequence to their employments; if they ſucceed in ſome underhand practice, if they corrupt a ſecretary of ſtate, or ſome member of the government, if they pave the way for the influence and intereſts of their courts, or ſeem to do ſo, they are ſure to win the favour of their maſters, for courts will intrigue every where, and will have a party wherever they can; and thus they paſs for men of talents and induſtry; and while they ſow the ſeeds of diſcord in the countries where they reſide, they create a title to rewards, and gain a ſtep toward preferment. And theſe truths are the more alarming, in proportion as the cabinet that ſends the ambaſſador is ſtrong, and has an intereſt in leſſening the power of the ſtate where he reſides, and in proportion as that contains in it circumſtances dangerous to its unanimity; in a word, as it contains more or leſs of thoſe circumſtances whoſe combination forms the exiſtence of the United States.

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The ambaſſadors of leſs powerful ſtates act on the ſame principles; and the application of them ſolely is different. They flatter the opinions of their cabinets, and lull them with ſtatements in which truth is not ſtrictly conſulted; and thus they cultivate, in their reſpective governments, opinions and deſigns miſchievous to their ſubjects. If it happens that they belong to a party at home, their diſpatches take the colour of the party. It is a univerſal paſſion to be of importance in the world, but the agents of governments are the moſt infected by it. They fill their diſpatches with hearſays, converſations, ſuſpicions uttered of ſome, denunciations againſt others, and reports ſpringing from their prejudices only, from which they draw conclufions that fill the minds of their employers with perplexities, confirm them in their prejudices, and engage them in haſty and impolitic meaſures.

When a miniſter is charged with a negociation, the danger is ſtill more imminent. With whatever prudence and foreſight his cabinet may draw up his inſtructions, ſtill they muſt include ſome latitude. The ambaſſador's probity, his judgment, and his information, can be the only guarantees of his conforming himſelf to his inſtructions. He may even involuntarily exaggerate, in his correſpondence, the obſtacles he has to encounter; he may miſcalculate the overtures that are made to him, on the part of the ſtate with whom he treats; if he is to be corrupted, the miniſters with whom he has to deal will not fail to give him his price, and he will conſent to a treaty which ſacrifices ſome of the articles of his inſtructions, or includes articles not to be found in them. In a word, he will agree to ſomething contrary to the intentions of his court. How many more topics of the ſame kind might theſe obſervations include?—It is true the ratification of ſuch a treaty is not inevitable; but the government of a ſtate, already weak, is not in the ſame condition to refuſe the ratification of a treaty, ſigned by its ambaſſador, that a powerful ſtate is; and the danger that may be incurred by the refuſal gives great opportunity of intrigue for the ratification of ſuch a treaty.

A weak ſtate, which ſends and receives ambaſſadors, and would mingle in the concerns of powerful ſtates, can ſcarcely avoid being drawn into

a party; its ambition and vanity will often hurry it on in a direction contrary to its uſual policy; and it never belongs to ſuch a ſtate to take a part in the differences of other governments, by which it only hazards its own proſperity, and ſometimes endangers its exiſtence.

Had the United States, after the glorious war they had maintained for their independence, opened their ports to all nations with equal advantages, and permitted their merchants to trade wherever their intereſt led them, and had been wiſe enough to abſtain from all other foreign relations, they would have approached nearer than at preſent to the object they deſire, of being a powerful government. In the midſt of internal tranquillity, they might have filled their arſenals, fortified their harbours, collected timber for the building ſhips of war, which they need not have ſent from their ports till they were ſtrong enough to protect the American flag; they might have eſcaped from their preſent ſituation, in which they are torn by domeſtic diſſentions, ſwayed by foreign influence, and, in truth, leſs independent than they were on the 4th of July, 1776—which ſituation is the entire reſult of the politics of the government, for their population is doubled, their wealth increaſed, and their people induſtrious, enterpriſing, ſagacious, and honeſt.

My opinion will, no doubt, find many opponents, and more eſpecially in America; but if it be well examined, I believe it will find alſo many partizans. As to myſelf, I am ſo penetrated with the conviction of its ſolidity, ſince my reſidence here has given me ſome knowledge of the affairs of the country, that I do not heſitate to pronounce—that the independence of the ſtates, and the tranquillity and happineſs of the people (a people ſo worthy of repoſe, and ſo admirably placed by nature to poſſeſs a durable repoſe), will never be enſured till the day in which the government deſtroys all political ties with Europe. By that policy, it is not perhaps yet too late to ſecure the proſperity of America, although infinite miſchiefs have been occaſioned by the foreign connections the government has cultivated during the laſt fourteen years.

In expreſſing my opinion on the dangers incurred by feeble ſtates in their connections with powerful ones, it is America, and America in her preſent

preſent ſituation, that I have had in view. If ſmall ſtates, ſuch as Genoa or Geneva, ſend ambaſſadors to powerful nations, it is to ſolicit protection, and to acquire ſubſidies; they are deſtined to be inferior; they can never be a grain in the political balance; they may, therefore, without danger to themſelves, indulge in diplomatic vanity. Does it belong to the United States, invited by nature and a concurrence of circumſtances to become a powerful nation, but which can never ſtand in that rank except through the medium of a long continued peace, to endanger that important event by a narrow policy? Can they ever doubt, that they are objects of the hatred of their former maſters?---A paſſion that is not leſs real for being enveloped in the forms of amity. Do they doubt, that the high deſtiny to which nature and the period of their birth called them, is an object of the jealouſy of the political foreſight of Europe? Have they not to fear their being the aliment of rivalry among the European powers, in the midſt of whoſe conteſts they cannot remain neuter without entire paſſiveneſs? But, as if they had no knowledge of theſe truths, they have, without neceſſity, and even wilfully, ſtaked all their advantages, and engendered maladies which already have tainted the ſtate and threaten to ſpread to its vitals, to gratify the vanity of making a figure, while yet in infancy, on the political theatre, with the old and powerful ſtates of Europe! It is with nations as with individuals, the premature uſe of the genial powers is ſucceeded by a life of debility and early decrepitude.

FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES; THEIR HISTORY, AND PRESENT SITUATION; TAXES; REVENUES, &c.

The new conſtitution had been contemplated and was framed to give the federal government a degree of power, the want of which was daily experienced by the former congreſs. Its weakneſs was chiefly felt in the levying of taxes, and the contributions of the ſeveral ſtates toward the expences of the Union. The demands of the war, too greatly diſproportioned to the reſources of the United States, had not been completely ſatisfied

tisfied by the loans which France and their other allies furniſhed with a generoſity that now ſeems utterly forgotten. The congreſs, convinced as it was of the evils of a paper currency which had no exiſting funds for its foundation, was nevertheleſs forced into a prodigious emiſſion of that currency, having no guarantee but the faith of a public deſtitute of all means of repayment. The paper iſſued by the ſeveral ſtates was in ſimilar abundance; and throughout it was depreciated almoſt to nothing. This debt was to be univerſally provided for; funds were to be found for the expences of the general government; the neceſſity for the creating a ſyſtem of finance was apparent; and the old congreſs, feeling the importance of all theſe duties, by a direct declaration in 1783, pledged the honour of the United States for the payment of all the public creditors. The new congreſs, at the cloſe of its firſt ſeſſion, in September 1789, ordered the ſecretary of the treaſury of the Union to lay before the legiſlature, at the commencement of the enſuing ſeſſion, a plan for the reſtoring of public credit. Mr. HAMILTON, at that time the ſecretary of the treaſury, acquitted himſelf of this duty, in January 1790; and the congreſs, adopting the plan laid before them, paſſed a law, on the 4th of Auguſt in the ſame year, whoſe object was the payment of the national debt. This law funded the debt due to foreign nations, as well as to the creditors at home; adding to the debt, not only a long arrear of intereſt, but intereſt upon intereſt. The debt due to foreign nations amounted to eleven millions nine hundred and eight thouſand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars; and the domeſtic debt to forty millions nine hundred and five thouſand four hundred and eighty-five dollars; making together fifty-two millions eight hundred and thirteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-three dollars. The preſident of the United States was authorized to borrow twelve millions of dollars, on the beſt terms he could obtain, to pay the foreign debt. As to the loan to extinguiſh the domeſtic debt, the arrears of intereſt, and certificates of intereſt due, a paper then in circulation, were received as part of it, and funded at an intereſt of three per cent. The capital of the debt, compriſing the paper money then in circulation, was funded at an intereſt of ſix per cent; with a pro-

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viſion that a third of the debt thus funded ſhould not receive intereſt till the expiration of ten years, that is to ſay, till the year 1800, and this part of the debt was for that reaſon funded under the name of the *deferred ſtock*; while two other funds were created, one of three per cent, and one of ſix per cent, to fulfil engagements of the ſtate. The *deferred ſtock* was to be redeemed by the treaſury, in the proportion of eight per cent per annum, which proviſion was regarded as a kind of compenſation for the ſuſpenſion during ten years of the payment of the intereſt. The different funds were redeemable alſo by the congreſs by annuities for twenty-three years, at eight per cent per annum, but which could not in that caſe be afterwards redeemed by any other fund. The ſame law contained proviſions to make the Union reſponſible for the debts of the different ſtates. It authorized a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thouſand dollars; and permitted to be received, as ſubſcriptions to the loan, certificates of debts of the ſeveral ſtates for military ſervice, or furniſhing of proviſions during the war, limiting the ſums which each ſtate might ſubſcribe in this manner. A third of the debts thus funded bore an intereſt of three per cent; and the remaining two-thirds an intereſt of ſix per cent, but one-half of the ſix per cents was not to receive intereſt till after the year 1800. The ſubſcriptions to this loan were to be made within a certain time; but the period was afterwards extended. The ſame law appointed commiſſioners to reſide in each ſtate, to verify the titles of claimants, to give certificates, pay the intereſt; in a word, to tranſact all buſineſs relative to this loan under the authority of the ſecretary of the treaſury. The holders of certificates of debts due from any of the ſtates, who were unwilling to ſubſcribe to the loan, received an intereſt of three per cent on that paper.

The plan of transferring the reſponſibility for the debts of the ſeveral ſtates to the congreſs was not adopted without long debates. No oppoſition was made to the funding of the foreign debt, nor even that of the domeſtic debt, but what ſhould be admitted into the latter, and the manner of redeeming it, occaſioned great diſputes. Thoſe who oppoſed the funding of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates argued, that the claims were

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almoſt obſolete; that neither the intereſt, nor any part of the principal, had been paid; that they had fallen to an eighth of their original value; and that in all probability they would continue to fall till they ſhould be extinct. A large portion of theſe debts had been incurred for neceſſaries for the troops during the war, at a nominal price greatly above the value of the articles, owing to the ſcarcity of money in the hands of the congreſs, and the uncertainty of its future power of payment; and another conſiderable portion accrued from paper given to the military for pay. The perſons who originally held both theſe ſpecies of paper had ſold them at a very low rate, ſome being compelled to do ſo by their own neceſſities, and others having loſt all confidence in the paper. The preſent holders were ſpeculators, who had acquired them for little or nothing from thoſe who, by their real ſervices, were perſons truly entitled to the amount of the debts. The oppoſers of the plan therefore argued, that the diſcharge of thoſe debts in the hands of the preſent holders of that property, would be an injuſtice to the contractors and ſoldiers, to whom they were in fact due; an inſult to the diſtreſs that compelled them to transfer their claims for very inferior compenſations, and an open protection given to public rapacity and jobbing, whoſe ill effects were uniformly acknowledged.

The propoſition of the opponents of the ſecretary's plan was, that debts verified by the certificates of congreſs ſhould be paid at their original nominal value; but that the holders of ſuch certificates ſhould receive no more than a portion equivalent to the higheſt price they had borne in the market from the time of their purchaſe of them till the acceptance of the preſent conſtitution, and that the ſurplus ſhould be paid to the original creditors of the ſtate.

The partizans of the ſecretary's plan appealed to the declarations of the old congreſs in the creation of the titles to this ſpecies of debt. They had been given for claims of the original poſſeſſors, or perſons whom they had repreſented; the preſent holders had incurred the hazard of a ſtill greater fall in the value of theſe certificates, and even of their annihilation, a danger to which the original poſſeſſors had preferred a loſs by the

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ſale of them; the market was open, and the certificates ſold on the principle of other poſſeſſions, and the right of the preſent holders was not to be infringed without a public injuſtice. To theſe reaſonings it was added, that the difficulties and delays that would attend the plan of the other party would render it impracticable.

The two opinions were ſupported with a great deal of moderation; but with pertinacity and plauſibility on both ſides. Thoſe who contended for limiting the payment of the preſent holders of the certificates to the higheſt price they had borne in their poſſeſſion, and to pay the ſurplus to the original poſſeſſors, argued with moſt equity; for it was known that the greateſt bulk of the original poſſeſſors, moſt of whom were ſoldiers, had been driven to ſell their certificates, either by extreme diſtreſs, or by the artifices of jobbers to excite alarms for the validity of thoſe debts; and that the preſent poſſeſſors were ſpeculators, well informed of the intentions of leading men, and the real ſtate of things, and who diſburſed only inconſiderable ſums for thoſe certificates, the loſs of the whole of which would little affect their fortunes; and that the greater part of theſe were foreigners, who had entered into theſe ſpeculations for the purpoſes of plunder. The partizans of the plan that was adopted had reaſons of finance on their ſide, forming a morality by no means equitable, but politic, and abſolutely neceſſary to the reſtoration of credit, on which object the congreſs was immediately employed. And it is to be obſerved, that the confidence of the holders of certificates in the government for ſome liberal funding of the debt was ſuch, that this paper had riſen four hundred per cent, ſince the adoption of the new conſtitution.

The reſolution to which the congreſs came on the ſubject ſuddenly created immenſe fortunes. Speculators bought up the paper from one end of the United States to the other. At New York, where the congreſs then held its ſittings, its price roſe and fell daily, as the ſpeakers on one ſide or the other ſeemed to gain the advantage. Many members of both houſes entered into this traffic. Mr. Hamilton, the author of the plan adopted by congreſs, was univerſally acquitted of this diſhonourable conduct, and univerſally received the tribute due to his integrity.

The plan of the ſecretary of the treaſury for the adoption of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates by the Union, was not finally accepted without ſome modifications, nor till after it had been once rejected. The partizans of this plan argued, that the debts contracted by the ſeveral ſtates for their particular defence, was, notwithſtanding, for the common cauſe, and was in reality the debt of the Union—that the ſeveral ſtates would encounter greater difficulties in raiſing taxes to diſcharge their debts than the Union, the levying of various taxes, being prohibited them by the conſtitution; that ſuch taxes as they could levy would only have a partial and inadequate effect, and in one ſtate might be in prejudice to the means employed by other ſtates for the ſame purpoſe, while the Union might employ uniform means throughout the whole ſtates, without claſhing of intereſts, and with a ſaving to the particular ſtates, and with more perfect ſecurity to the public creditors, who would all by that means be placed on an equal footing; that the offices eſtabliſhed by the Union in the ſeveral ſtates for the liquidation of the debt of the congreſs, might be charged with the liquidations of theſe debts, and a great ſaving made in that heavy but neceſſary expence; and, laſtly, that this plan would tend to conſolidate the force of the federal government, by allying the creditors of the ſeveral ſtates to the intereſts of the Union.

Their opponents maintained, that theſe debts were neither known in their amount, nor their ſeveral kinds; that, previous to any diſcuſſion on the utility of the plan, the nature and value of theſe debts ſhould be aſcertained, and thoſe contracted for the defence of the ſeveral ſtates diſtinguiſhed from ſuch as were occaſioned by a neglect of levying the taxes, and a report made by the commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe of ſtating the balances of the ſums reſpectively due from the Union to the ſeveral ſtates, and from the ſtates to the Union; that from theſe balances would reſult the real debts of the ſeveral ſtates, which the Union might afterward, if it were found adviſeable, conſolidate with its own debts, which meaſure would otherwiſe be raſh, and without any knowledge of its extent and its operation; and that to augment the debt of the Union, by adding to it thoſe of the ſeveral ſtates, would depreſs the national credit,

dit, augment the paper in circulation, and cheriſh that ſpirit of public gambling, whoſe evil conſequences were already perceived and whoſe dangers were daily increaſing.

The partizans of the plan replied, that the national credit could never be firmly eſtabliſhed without the conſolidation of all the debts of the country; that all delay in the effecting ſuch conſolidation would intercept the benefits expected from the conſolidation of the proper debts of the congreſs, in the diminution of the intereſt of money, and the raiſing the value of the funds; and that returns of the balances between the ſeveral ſtates and the Union might be made with the ſame promptneſs and preciſion after ſuch conſolidation as before.

The reaſonings of this party, as I have ſaid, prevailed. The debts of the ſeveral ſtates were calculated at twenty-five millions of dollars, and a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thouſand dollars was authoriſed by the congreſs.

It is to be obſerved, that this financial operation was not effected without a ſecret agreement among the deputies of certain ſtates, relative to the intereſts of their conſtituents. The eaſtern ſtates, compriſing New York, were the principal debtors. Maſſachuſetts alone owed ſix millions of dollars. In 1787, an inſurrection took place in that ſtate, of which the levying of taxes was the cauſe, or at leaſt the pretext; and that ſtate was not willing again to hazard its tranquillity by the levying new taxes, which muſt take place if it had its own debt to diſcharge. Maſſachuſetts was therefore particularly intereſted in the adoption of the plan. The ſouthern ſtates, on the contrary, were all, with the exception of South Carolina, creditors of the Union; but it was a favourite project with them, to draw the ſeat of the federal government nearer to them; and Virginia was more eager in its proſecution than the reſt, becauſe the place deſigned for the future ſeat of the government was on its territories, and Virginia was the principal public creditor. On the other hand, the eaſtern ſtates had an intereſt in preſerving the ſeat of the government at New York; but this was not ſufficient to weigh with the intereſt they had in the conſolidation of the debts of the ſtate. Their deputies, there-

fore, made a compromiſe with thoſe of the ſouthern ſtates, agreeing to vote for the ſeat of the federal government being placed on the Potowmack, on condition of the others voting for the conſolidation of the debts. The ſtate of Pennſylvania, although among the debtors, was not embarraſſed with its debt, having ſufficient means of its extinction; but a promiſe was made to its deputies, that the provincial ſeat of the government ſhould be at Philadelphia for ten years, and they were not without hopes of preſerving it for a longer term, and therefore acceded to the ſecret treaty. Thus the plan of conſolidation paſſed.

It was provided, at the ſame time, that the ſums that appeared to be owing by the ſeveral ſtates ſhould be taken as ſuch by the Union, without previous examination, and ſhould be placed to the credit of ſuch ſtates in their accounts with the Union; and that the balance which ſhould appear, by the final accounts of the commiſſioners, due to any of the ſtates, ſhould be funded in their favour by the Union, which was to remain creditor of ſuch ſtates as by the final account appeared to be debtors.

The return of the commiſſioners, as we have already ſeen, makes the balances due to certain ſtates, namely, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New Jerſey, South Carolina, and Georgia, amount to three millions five hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; and thoſe due from the other ſtates, namely, New York, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the ſame ſum.

Mr. GALLATIN, in a work of great reputation on the finances of the United States, which he publiſhed in 1796, ſpeaks in the following manner of this meaſure. "The ſtates, whoſe debts amounted to the greateſt ſums, were, by the operation of this plan, found to be the moſt conſiderable creditors of the Union. And experience has ſhewn, that this great addition of debt with which the Union has charged itſelf, far from giving ſtrength to the federal government, has occaſioned more diſcontents than any other meaſure; not only by the impoſition of new taxes to pay the debts, but ſtill more by an apprehenſion, that perſons in power will ſeek rather to augment and perpetuate the debt of the Union than to extinguiſh

guiſh or diminiſh it; and from a general belief, that the ſpeculations and intereſts of individuals had more influence in the adoption of the plan than any other conſideration. And although it may ſeem indifferent, whether the ſums neceſſary to diſcharge theſe debts be levied on the people by the federal government or by the ſeveral ſtates, yet the difficulty the federal government finds in augmenting its revenues by the exciſe, licenſes, &c.—the rapid progreſs which individual ſtates have made for the extinction of their reſpective debts, and the ſituation of the ſtates whoſe debts were not adopted by the Union, becauſe they were on the final account its debtors, are ſufficient proofs, that a great part of the additional debt which now reſts on the Union would at this day have been extinguiſhed by the reſources of the ſeveral ſtates, if it had not been conſolidated with that of the Union."

This writer adds—"That, had the conſolidation of the debts of the ſeveral ſtates with thoſe of the Union been poſtponed till the final ſettlement of accounts by the commiſſioners, the debt of the federal government would have amounted to no more than eleven millions ſix hundred and nine thouſand two hundred and fifty-nine dollars, inſtead of twenty-two millions four hundred and ninety-two thouſand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars, which were acknowledged and funded by the Union; and that therefore the congreſs, by its precipitation, created an unneceſſary debt of ten millions eight hundred and eighty-three thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſix dollars."

The law that conſolidates theſe different ſpecies of debts, pledges the public faith for the eſtabliſhment of funds for the payment of intereſts granted on loans; and it ſets apart lands belonging to the Union, in the territories of the weſt, to be ſold, to create a ſinking fund for the extinction of the national debt.

A ſum of a hundred and ninety-eight thouſand dollars was due to foreign officers, who ſerved in the American army during the war; and it was deſtined to be paid out of the loans made in Europe, and has been faithfully diſcharged as far as claims have been made, which have amounted to a hundred and twenty-three thouſand dollars.

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Since the year 1790, the congreſs has erected an office for the reduction of the national debt, compoſed of the preſident of the ſenate, the chief-juſtice, the ſecretary of ſtate, the ſecretary of the treaſury, and the attorney-general of the Union. It authoriſed four different loans for the reduction of the debt, by the redemption of ſeveral funds; and, in 1796, authoriſed the commiſſioners of the ſinking fund further to borrow five millions of dollars, to pay certain ſums and their intereſts, which the government were engaged to diſcharge that year. The bank of the United States was authoriſed, by the ſame law, to furniſh this loan, or ſubſcribe to it in part. The funds already in exiſtence were received as ſubſcriptions to the loan; the commiſſioners had a power to ſell at their diſcretion, the ſeveral ſorts of funds (three per cents, ſix per cents, or *deferred ſtock*) which they had in their hands, to diſcharge the whole, or part of the ſums and intereſts that the loan was meant to extinguiſh, provided that they did not ſell more than one half of ſuch funds at a price below par; they were alſo authoriſed to ſell the ſhares of the bank which belonged to the Union. The new debt thus created by this loan, the receipts for which bore an intereſt of ſix per cent, was not to be redeemed till the commencement of the year 1819.

The congreſs had incorporated the bank of the United States; and that bank had afterwards advanced to the Union two millions of dollars, to which amount the Union had ſubſcribed in the formation of its capital, and theſe two millions were to be repaid in ten years, by equal payments. The congreſs afterwards authoriſed that bank to advance the Union three millions more; and again, five millions, in 1796, as I have before obſerved; and declared the revenues of the ſtate to be ſubject to the payment of the intereſt of theſe loans, in the ſame manner as to the other expences of the government; and deſtined all ſurplus of the revenues to be a fund for the repayment of ſuch loans.

The debt of the United States, in 1790, amounted to ſeventy-two millions ſix hundred and thirteen thouſand two hundred and fifty-four dollars; and in 1796, to ſeventy-eight millions ſix hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand four hundred and ten dollars. It has therefore increaſed

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by the ſum of ſix millions eighty-four thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſix dollars, although the office for the reduction of the national debt had extinguiſhed two millions three hundred and ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one dollars, and although the United States have in that period enjoyed a profound peace, and have been favoured with circumſtances which uſually enable a ſtate to reſtore order in its finances.

A greater economy in the public expenditure, the ſale of immenſe quantities of lands belonging to the Union in the territories of the weſt which is practicable, and a prudent increaſe of impoſts, are means that a wiſe adminiſtration would employ with effect to the ſpeedy extinction of the national debt if war or ſome great internal convulſion did not arreſt their progreſs. The national debt, according to engagements made with the public creditors, and plans preſented to the congreſs and adopted by it, is to be entirely extinguiſhed in 1823.

The office for the reduction of the public debt had, in its creation, like all ſuch meaſures, the object of raiſing the public credit, by a proſpect of the extinction of the debt. It was deſigned to be ſtrengthened by the eſtabliſhment of the bank of the United States, which made part of the general ſyſtem of finance propoſed by the ſecretary of the treaſury. This bank was incorporated in 1791, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, two millions of which were ſubſcribed by the United States, who were not, however, compelled to make good the ſubſcription at the period impoſed on the other ſubſcribers. The remaining eight millions were furniſhed by the ſubſcription of individuals; one-fourth part of which was payable in ſpecie, and the other in certificates of debt. The commiſſioners for the reduction of the national debt employed a million of dollars in the extinction of this paper. Thus certificates of debt amounting to ſeven millions of dollars diſappeared in the firſt year. The price of the remainder was naturally increaſed; but the artifices of ſpeculators carried them to a price which they could not long maintain.

The following are the principal articles in the conſtitution of the bank of the United States.

1ſt. The incorporation of the ſubſcribers, with certain privileges, till the year 1811.

2d. The power of extending their capital to ten millions of dollars.

3d. The power of holding poſſeſſions to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars, in perſonal or real eſtates, including their original capital.

4th. Of eſtabliſhing, within the United States, ſuch aſſiſtant banks as the directors ſhall judge expedient.

5th. The formation of an adminiſtration for the bank, conſiſting of a preſident, twenty-five directors, and a caſhier.

6th. A prohibition to carry on any buſineſs but that properly belonging to the bank, to purchaſe any part of the national debt, to take more than ſix per cent for their loans and diſcounts—but with the privilege of ſelling the original ſhares of the bank.

7th. A prohibition to contract, by loans, diſcounts, or the emiſſion of paper, a debt more than double the ſum exiſting in the coffers of the bank.

8th. A prohibition to lend, without an expreſs law of the United States, more than a hundred thouſand dollars to the federal government, or more than fifty thouſand to any one of the ſtates, or to any foreign prince or power.

9th. An obligation to lay before the ſecretary of the treaſury a ſtatement of the actual ſituation of the bank, whenever he ſhould demand ſuch ſtatement, with a power given to that officer to check ſuch accounts with the books of the bank.

10th. A proviſion to make the notes of the bank legal payment, in all the offices of the United States.

11th. The pledge of the public faith, to eſtabliſh no other bank in the United States, during the term of the charter granted to this bank.

Without entering into an examination of the nature of the ſecurity of ſhares in a bank, whoſe original capital ſhould be formed like that of the bank of the United States, and which, placed immediately under the influence of government, might, in times of neceſſity, be compelled, by a law

law of congreſs, to furniſh the loans that circumſtances rendered neceſſary, I ſhall only obſerve the danger to which it expoſes the finances of the Union, by the facility of the government to obtain large loans by a law of congreſs, and by the power veſted in the bank of lending a hundred thouſand dollars to the government, even without any new ſanction of the congreſs. The preſent ſtate of the national debt is attributed to this circumſtance; without which, it is probable, the loans would not have been ſo multiplied, and a greater economy would have been practiſed in the expenditure of the government. The congreſs, perceiving the public expenditure exceed the public revenues, would have endeavoured to balance them by taxes which they only poſtponed, and which at preſent they are obliged to levy in a degree that would not have been neceſſary had they been earlier convinced of the evils of loans—taxes which, however heavy, cannot even at preſent ſuperſede the neceſſity of new loans for the redemption of former ones provided to be redeemed at fixed periods; as, for example, thoſe of the bank, and thoſe for which the government was obliged to grant an enormous intereſt.

"It is not certainly without great heſitation that I hazard my opinion in matters of finance, reſpecting which my information is by no means extenſive: and the more ſo, as that opinion is in oppoſition to many perſons who are eſteemed able financiers. I ſhall at preſent confine myſelf to the obſerving, that, although I am perſuaded of the real and important utility of banks, when their affairs are adminiſtered with prudence and equity, in aiding the efforts of commerce, induſtry, and agriculture, and adding by the credit to the wealth of a ſtate, and conſequently to its cauſes of proſperity; and although I even acknowledge that theſe advantages have been derived from banks by the United States, yet the miſchiefs of the ſyſtem on which banks are conducted appear to me greatly to exceed their benefits. The facility with which abuſes creep into theſe eſtabliſhments is ſo great, and theſe abuſes are ſo powerfully protected and encouraged, both by the neceſſities of governments and the rapacity of individuals, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt upright of the perſons concerned in their management to exclude ſuch abuſes. Their

evils are the greater in a country where banks are numerous, ſpecie ſcarce, and the deſire of accumulation the common deſire of the inhabitants. Inſtead of creating a currency double the amount of their real capital, banks create one ten times, and even twenty times greater; and the illuſion which ſucceeds the firſt moments of commercial proſperity, that in a time of peace ſprings from the facility of extending individual capitals, is nothing more than a means of augmenting and precipitating the real calamities which muſt follow. The ruin of individuals, and even that of ſtates, muſt ſooner or later be the conſequence; inaſmuch as economy, and ſedate views of the nature of enterpriſes, are no longer things that can be attended to. The preſent ſyſtem of banking is upheld by an opinion, that a ſtate, far from being impoveriſhed by its debts, has in that medium a new cauſe of proſperity, reſulting from a new activity given to circulation, and an opportunity given to individuals to turn to profit the gradual ſavings of the ſmalleſt revenues. This theory is no better, I think, than an abuſe of ingenuity, employed in the aid of a deſperate ſtate of finance. It tends to augment, without bounds, that maſs of debt ſo ſingularly metamorphoſed, in the eyes of the vulgar, to the neceſſary aliment of public credit and proſperity. The moſt ordinary underſtanding is ſufficient to diſcover, that there muſt at leaſt be a point beyond which the debts of a ſtate ought not to extend;—and, where is the government who will thus confine itſelf when it can, almoſt ſecretly, and altogether without the murmurs of the people, increaſe the means of its expenditure? Where is the government that, intoxicated with this ſyſtem of indefinitely increaſing its debt, is not daily haſtening the nation it directs to inevitable ruin? The period of reckoning muſt at laſt arrive, when the people will not and cannot pay taxes which are neither employed in the defence nor any other ſervice of the nation, but are raiſed merely to pay intereſts of loans, which economy in the finances would have rendered unneceſſary; and when things have attained this criſis, the epoch is arrived which is the moſt dangerous to the tranquillity of the nation, the ſtability of its government, and the happineſs of individuals.

The bank of the United States, being by its charter empowered to eſtabliſh

eſtabliſh aſſiſtant banks in ſuch parts of the United States as it ſhould deem expedient, has already eſtabliſhed four—one at New York, one at Boſton, one at Baltimore, and one at Charleſton; but the capitals of theſe banks, known in America by the name of *branch-banks*, are not excluſive of its capital of ten millions of dollars. The following is a ſtatement of the affairs of the bank of the United States, on the 31ſt December 1796.

Debtor.	Dollars.	*Creditor.*	Dollars.
Capital - -	10,000,000	In the ſix per cents	3,524,331⅓
Dutch loan -	750,000	Diſcounted bills	2,080,641
Sums belonging to the government of the United States* -	431,242	Due from the government of the United States -	4,000,000
Sums belonging to individuals -	873,238	Specie -	521,415
Bank notes in circulation - -	795,901		
Poſt notes† -	607,600		
Balance of 1796 -	232,873		
Intereſt on loans made to the government	210,677		
Profits reſerved in hand, after payment of the dividends -	132,848		

The capitals of the ſeveral *branch-banks*, furniſhed by the bank of the United States, are as follow:

New York -	1,200,000 dollars.	Baltimore -	400,000 dollars.
Boſton -	700,000	Charleſton	500,000

The particular accounts of the *branch-banks* make part of the general account of the bank of the United States. This bank erected a new building in 1797, in which it has tranſacted buſineſs ſince the 1ſt of

* Government keeps its caſh in the bank of the United States.

† Bills drawn on the *branch-banks*.

July of the ſame year: the ground on which it ſtands coſt fourteen thouſand dollars; and the coſt of the building will exceed a hundred thouſand. The dividends of this bank are eight per cent; and its ſhares bear a premium from fifteen to eighteen per cent. The following is a ſtatement of the preſent price of the public funds.

Three per cents	-	50
Six per cents	-	82
Deferred ſtock	-	65

The public engagements are diſcharged in the United States with the greateſt punctuality; and the loan granted by France was repaid before the period of its being due, at the deſire of the French government.

The preſent revenues of the United States conſiſt of the following articles:—1ſt, Duties on tonnage, and on the importation of foreign articles. 2d. Duties on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the United States; on the manufacture of tobacco; on refining of ſugar; on public ſales; on the retailing of wine, and foreign ſpirituous liquors; and on carriages. 3d. A profit on the poſtage of letters. And 4th, Dividends of ſhares belonging to the government in the bank of the United States.

The duties on tonnage are about three pence halfpenny per ton on American veſſels, and half a dollar per ton on foreign veſſels.

The following is a table of the tonnage employed in the different ports of the United States, during the laſt ſeven years.

American Tonnage.		*Foreign Tonnage.*	
In 1790,	Tons.		Tons.
Coaſting veſſels -	113,181	Engliſh - -	228,631
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries - -	26,522	French - -	13,435
		Dutch - -	8,815
Veſſels employed in foreign trade -	362,823	Spaniſh - -	8,551
		Daniſh, Pruſſian, Hamburg, &c. -	5,131
	502,526		264,563

Total of American and foreign tonnage for the year, 767,089.

In

American Tonnage.		*Foreign Tonnage.*	
In 1791,	Tons.		Tons.
Coaſting veſſels -	106,494	Engliſh - -	210,618
Veſſels employed in the		French - -	8,988
fiſheries - -	32,542	Other nations -	18,860
Veſſels employed in fo-			
reign trade - -	363,854		238,466
	502,890		

Total for the year, 741,356.

In 1792,			
Coaſting veſſels -	120,997	Engliſh - -	206,065
Veſſels employed in the		French - -	24,343
fiſheries - -	32,062	Other nations -	13,870
Veſſels employed in fo-			
reign trade -	414,629		244,278
	567,688		

Total for the year, 811,966.

In 1793,			
Coaſting veſſels -	141,639	Engliſh - -	100,180
Veſſels employed in the		French - -	45,287
fiſheries - -	38,177	Other nations -	17,759
Veſſels employed in fo-			
reign trade - -	438,864		163,226
	618,680		

Total for the year, 781,906.

American

American Tonnage.		*Foreign Tonnage.*	
In 1794,	Tons.		Tons.
Coaſting veſſels -	192,686	Engliſh - -	37,058
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries - -	27,260	French - -	11,240
Veſſels employed in foreign trade - -	527,194	Other nations -	34,667
	747,140		82,974

Total for the year, 830,114.

In 1795,			
Coaſting veſſels -	171,918	Engliſh	I could not procure an exact ſtatement of the amount of each.
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries - -	34,102	French	
		Other nations	
Veſſels employed in foreign trade - -	580,277		62,000
	786,297		

Total for the year, 848,297.

In 1796,			
Coaſting veſſels -	200,372	Engliſh - -	10,669
Veſſels employed in the fiſheries - - -	38,920	French - -	2,055
Veſſels employed in foreign trade - -	675,046	Daniſh - -	10,430
		Swediſh - -	5,560
		Anſeatic Cities -	4,987
		Ports of Italy -	758
	913,338	Spain - -	2,449
		Portugueſe - -	637
		Dutch - -	301
			47,846

Total for the year, 962,184.

The

The quantity of tonnage in the preceding table is, with reſpect to American veſſels, the quantity that ſailed from the ſeveral ports; and, with reſpect to foreign veſſels, that which entered the ſeveral ports; therefore, as moſt of the veſſels would return, we may take the total quantity of tonnage at nearly double the quantity named in the table.

The duties on foreign articles imported into the United States vary according to the nature of the articles, from five to fifty-five per cent. Some are paid in proportion to the computed value of the articles; and others by the quantity. Foreign articles, imported in foreign veſſels, are ſubject, ſince the month of July 1792, to ten per cent more than when imported in American veſſels. The amount of theſe duties is always added to the duty on tonnage in the returns made by the ſecretary of the treaſury. The amount of theſe conſolidated duties, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1789, to the end of 1791, was ſix millions three hundred and thirty-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-three dollars. In 1792, they yielded four millions ſeven hundred and thirty-one thouſand and thirty-two dollars. In 1793, ſix millions one hundred and ſixty-two thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four dollars. In 1794, ſix millions ſeven hundred and twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars. In 1795, ſeven millions nine hundred and fifty-nine thouſand four hundred and nine dollars; and in 1796, ſix millions five hundred and ſixty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven dollars.

Theſe ſums are the net amount of theſe duties after the following deductions—firſt, drawbacks on foreign goods re-exported of the whole duty, except one per cent. Second, drawbacks on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled, ſugars refined, and tobacco manufactured in the ſtates, when theſe articles are exported to foreign countries. Third, bounties given to the fiſheries, which vary from a dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per ton, according to the ſize of the veſſel employed in them. There is alſo a bounty on every barrel of fiſh ſalted or ſmoked, of about four pence halfpenny. Fourth, the expence of collection of the duties, which amounts to about five per cent.

Fines for ſmuggling foreign articles into the ſtates, or attempts to de-

fraud

fraud the revenue, are alſo thrown into the maſs of theſe receipts. But ſmuggling is far from conſiderable in the United States, the duties in general being moderate. It is however to be obſerved, that the produce of the duties on tea is decreaſed nearly half within the two laſt years, although the uſe of tea is far from being diminiſhed. The ſmuggling of this article, for it muſt be acknowledged to be ſuch, is attributed to the increaſe of the tax, which is from eighteen to thirty per cent for teas coming from China, and higher ſtill for thoſe imported from Europe; and alſo to the facility of ſecretly landing that article.

There are a few ſmall veſſels belonging to the United States whoſe employment it is to prevent veſſels, coming from foreign countries, unloading in places where there is no cuſtom-houſe.

The various expences of the revenue are paid by the collectors of each diſtrict, and deducted from the general account of their receipts.

The duties on ſome articles of importation were augmented in the laſt ſeſſion, which ended in the month of March 1797. The duties on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the United States, were firſt impoſed in 1794. At that time they were ſix pence halfpenny per gallon on ſpirituous liquors made from molaſſes, and five pence per gallon on thoſe made from fruit or grain, the production of the country. In 1794 they were reduced to ſix pence per gallon on the former, and four pence on the latter; but this reduction was only on liquors of inferior quality, the duties on thoſe of the firſt quality being raiſed to fifteen pence per gallon when made from molaſſes, and ten pence halfpenny when made from productions of the country. This tax, eſpecially that part of it impoſed on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from home produce, has always been very unpopular. The law gave the option to the diſtiller to pay either the preciſe duty for each gallon, or a compoſition of two ſhillings and eight pence per annum for every gallon the ſtills employed could contain. The diſtillers generally preferred the firſt mode, becauſe they were uncertain of occupying their ſtills the whole year, and becauſe there was greater opportunity to elude the payment of the duties in that mode, the diſtilleries being ſcattered at great diſtances throughout the ſtates, and not very vigi-

lantly

lantly watched by the officers of the exciſe. The public opinion being averſe to this tax, it never was univerſally collected. Many parts of ſome of the ſtates, and even entire ſtates, have refuſed to this day to ſubmit to this tax. Congreſs therefore, in the laſt ſeſſion, thought proper to deprive the diſtiller of the option the law formerly gave him as to the mode of paying the tax, and enjoined every diſtiller to pay a compoſition in proportion to the ſize of his ſtills. The diſtiller is, however, permitted to make the compoſition only for two weeks, or for any term between that and ſix months; the compoſition for two weeks is three pence halfpenny per gallon, for ſix months two ſhillings and one penny halfpenny per gallon, and the compoſitions between theſe two terms are in the ſame proportion, giving the advantage to thoſe who ſubſcribe for the longer term. By this regulation the number of exciſemen is diminiſhed, the receipt is more productive, and the inquiſition attached to that ſpecies of tax is narrowed as much as poſſible. The tax is, notwithſtanding, a burthen on the agriculture and induſtry of the country, and upon a branch of its induſtry calculated to diminiſh the employment of foreign induſtry and the conſumption of foreign produce.

The diſtilleries that make ſpirituous liquors from molaſſes being chiefly in ſea ports, and but few in number, it is not eaſy to elude the duty. Mr. GALLATIN, in his examination of the receipts and expences of collection of the various taxes of the United States, calculates the expence of collection on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from the produce of the country to amount to nearly thirty-four per cent, while thoſe on ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from molaſſes, known in America by the name of continental rum, amount only to fourteen and a half per cent.

The quantity of molaſſes imported into the United States for diſtillation amounted, in the years 1790 and 1791, on an average of the two years, to ſix millions ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand gallons per annum. In 1796, it amounted only to three millions ſix hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſix gallons.

The joint net produce of the duties on theſe two ſorts of ſpirituous liquors in the laſt ſix months of 1791, was one hundred and ſixty-four

thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven dollars; in 1792, four hundred and forty-ſix thouſand four hundred and eighty-three dollars; in 1793, five hundred and thirty-nine thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-five dollars; in 1794, three hundred fifty-three thouſand two hundred and twenty-five dollars; in 1795, one hundred and ninety-nine thouſand dollars; and 1796, two hundred and thirty-eight thouſand dollars.

It is neceſſary to obſerve here, that the importation of foreign ſpirituous liquors conſiderably encreaſed from the year 1790 to the year 1795. In 1790, it amounted to three millions ſix hundred ſeventy-eight thouſand one hundred and ninety-nine gallons; and in 1794, to five millions ſix hundred and ninety-nine thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine gallons.

The importation of wine, excluſive of Madeira, in 1790, amounted to ſix hundred ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one gallons; and in 1795, to four millions three hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand and ſeventy-ſix gallons. The importation of ale and porter in 1790, amounted to ſeventy thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four gallons; and in 1794, to three hundred and thirty-one thouſand three hundred and fifty-eight gallons.

The great increaſe in theſe importations is in part to be aſcribed to the preſent war, which has increaſed the commerce of the United States; but if we conſider that a ſmall portion of theſe articles is re-exported from America, part of the encreaſe will be aſcribed to other cauſes—one of which is, a great decreaſe in the importation of molaſſes; the quantity imported in 1795 being no more than half the importation of that article in 1790, and the ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from molaſſes in the United States was reduced from two millions to one million of gallons, between the year 1790 and the year 1795—another cauſe is the riſe in the price of grain, which has been ſo great, that the diſtilleries that uſe that article have been ſcarcely able to maintain their ground. The following table will put this matter out of queſtion.

Duties

Duties paid for the Importation of Wines, ſpirituous Liquors, and malt Liquors, into the United States, during the Years 1793, 1794, and 1795; and the Drawbacks for the Re-exportation of the ſame Articles, during the ſame Period.

Years—	1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties.	Drawbacks.	Duties.	Drawbacks.	Duties.	Drawbacks.
Madeira wines	121,752	4,692	166,623	14,258	196,842	5,952
Other wines	243,910	4,235	233,460	4,012	464,893	11,433
Spirituous liquors	1,034,564	31,320	1,618,364	38,117	1,492,492	59,181
Ale, porter, &c.	22,572		25,961	165	29,375	288

The drawbacks for the exportation of ſpirituous liquors diſtilled in the ſtates, are a halfpenny per gallon for thoſe made from the produce of the country; and two pence per gallon for thoſe made from molaſſes, which difference is a compenſation for the duties paid on the importation of molaſſes into the ſtates.

The law that impoſes theſe taxes was paſſed in March 1791; and their produce is appropriated to the payment of the intereſts and capital of loans made and to be made for the extinction of the national debt; and it is provided, that theſe taxes ſhall be continued to be levied till that event takes place.

The duties on the importation of molaſſes was increaſed one halfpenny per gallon in the ſeſſion before laſt; and the drawback for the exportation of continental rum increaſed in the ſame proportion.

The mode of collecting the duties on manufactured tobacco has undergone ſeveral alterations ſince its eſtabliſhment, which was in 1794. At firſt the duty was laid on the article at the rate of four pence halfpenny per pound, but the ſmallneſs of the receipts being attributed to frauds from the difficulty of knowing the quantity manufactured, the congreſs laid the tax on the mills, it being varied from one hundred and forty to two hundred and forty dollars, according to the ſize and kind of mill; and the produce of this tax amounts now to more than three times the former receipts. The drawback, however, of three pence halfpenny per pound on

the exportation of that article having exceeded the produce of the tax, it was plain there was immenſe fraud in theſe exports; and the legiſlature entirely ſuſpended that tax for one year, in the ſeſſion of 1796. In the laſt ſeſſion but one they re-eſtabliſhed the tax; but its produce, which ſhould it even continue to exiſt, will never be conſiderable, cannot at preſent be placed on the ſide of the receipts of the revenue.

The law which laid a duty on the refining of ſugars in the United States, paſſed in the beginning of 1794; but the duty did not take place till the 1ſt of October in the ſame year. It is one penny per pound on the ſugar, when it is refined; and a drawback is allowed of two pence halfpenny per pound when it is exported, the additional one penny halfpenny being the amount of the duty impoſed on raw ſugars. The ſame law, with a view to encourage this branch of American commerce, impoſes a duty of two pence per pound on foreign refined ſugars imported into the ſtates, and no drawback is allowed on the re-exportation of ſuch ſugars. An addition of a farthing per pound has been lately laid on the importation of raw ſugars, and an additional halfpenny per pound allowed for the exportation of raw ſugars refined in the ſtates. In 1795, this duty produced thirty-one thouſand nine hundred and fifteen dollars; and in 1796, thirty-eight thouſand dollars—the expences of collection, which amount to five per cent, being deducted.

The law impoſing a duty on public ſales alſo paſſed in 1794. This duty varies from a quarter of a dollar to half a dollar on effects ſold to the amount of a hundred dollars; in 1795 it produced thirty thouſand four hundred and fifteen dollars; and in 1796, thirty-three thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five dollars—the expences of collection, which amount to two and a half per cent, being deducted. Notwithſtanding the proviſions made by the law for the payment of this duty, the integrity of the auctioneers, who are obliged to take out a licence, is its only guarantee.

The tax on retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors was alſo impoſed by a law of 1794; it is five dollars per annum for every retailer of wine in leſs quantities than thirty gallons, and of ſpirituous liquors in leſs quantities

ties than twenty gallons. Public houſes are exempt from this tax. In 1795 it produced fifty-three thouſand five hundred and forty-ſeven dollars; and in 1796, more than fifty-eight thouſand dollars—independent of the expences of collection, which are two and a half per cent.

The duty on carriages was alſo firſt impoſed in the ſame year; it is from two to fifteen dollars per annum on each carriage, according to its kind; in 1795 it produced forty-one thouſand four hundred and twenty-one dollars; and in 1796, fifty-three thouſand two hundred dollars. The expences of collection amount to five per cent.

In 1796 a cauſe was determined in the ſupreme court of the United States, on a queſtion ariſing out of this tax. The conſtitution ſays—*that no capitation tax, nor direct tax, ſhall be impoſed by congreſs, except ſuch as may be impoſed on the different ſtates in proportion to their federal number.* A perſon reſiding in Maryland refuſed to pay the tax on carriages, on the ground that it was *a direct tax*, becauſe it was levied directly on the article in the poſſeſſion of the conſumer; whereas to be indirect, it ought to be laid on the perſons dealing in that article. The counſel for the perſon appealing from the tax were Mr. INGOLSON, attorney-general of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and Mr. CAMPBELL, a barriſter of Virginia; and the counſel for the government were, Mr. HAMILTON, and Mr. LEE, attorney-general of the United States. The latter gentlemen maintained, that the tax was indirect, inaſmuch as it was levied upon an article of the appellant's expenditure, and not on his revenue.

The term *direct*, uſed as it is in the paſſage of the conſtitution above cited, is ſo vague, and the writers on this ſubject have given the term ſuch oppoſite interpretations, that the arguments on both ſides were allowed to be of equal force. The ſupreme court, being empowered by the conſtitution to determine upon principles of equity as well as law, in all caſes reſulting from different conſtructions of the conſtitution or the laws, gave judgment in favour of the tax, declaring the tax on carriages to be an indirect tax; and it was certainly reaſonable, in the great doubt the judges muſt feel on this nice queſtion, they ſhould be determined by the

the neceſſity of making this branch of the revenue productive, eſpecially as the tax affects only an article of luxury.

The five laſt of theſe taxes were impoſed by laws that paſſed nearly at the ſame period, and are to ceaſe in Auguſt 1801.

It is ſaid that the taxes on public ſales, and on retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors, would be diſplaced with advantage to the country by a ſmall increaſe of the duties on importation, and on wine, and on the diſtilleries. It is maintained that the receipt would be greater, would be without additional coſt, would be leſs vexatious, and would, notwithſtanding, affect the perſons who pay the two taxes objected to.

Theſe five taxes are known by the name of *the five new taxes*, and are placed under the ſame heads in the returns of the ſecretary of the treaſury.

The poſt office is in the hands of the government, and its profits form a branch of the revenue. It was in 1794 the laſt law was paſſed relative to the adminiſtration of this department. From the 1ſt of October, 1789, to the 30th of June, 1791, the revenue produced by the poſt office amounted to four thouſand one hundred and eighty-two dollars, from the 1ſt of July 1791 to the 31ſt of December 1792, to ſixteen thouſand four hundred and one dollars; for the whole of the year 1793, to twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-two dollars; for 1794, to thirty-three thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight dollars; for 1795, to thirty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-five dollars; and for 1796, to ſeventy-two thouſand nine hundred and nine dollars. This branch of the revenue is ſtill increaſing; but the government, prudently extending the benefits of the poſt to places at preſent very little inhabited, the receipt in ſuch places does not even pay the expences of conveying the letters to and from them.

Letters are carried here, as in England, in coaches or diligences, which are at the ſame time public carriages; ſo that the government pays leſs for the conveyance of the letters. In roads where ſtage-coaches are not eſtabliſhed, the letters are conveyed on horſeback.

The

The price of letters is three pence halfpenny for a diſtance of thirty miles, and one and three pence for a diſtance of four hundred and fifty miles. Double letters, and covers encloſing more than one letter, pay at the ſame rate for every letter. Packets weighing one ounce pay the price of four letters. Letters coming from abroad, and put into the poſt office at the port where the veſſel lands, pay two pence over and above the poſtage, if ſent to any other part of the United States.

The number of ſhares of the bank of the United States belonging to the federal government was five thouſand, whoſe dividends produced a hundred and ſixty thouſand dollars half yearly. Two thouſand two hundred and forty were ſold during the laſt ſix months of 1796, towards the diſcharge of loans, whoſe period of repayment was arrived. The return of the ſecretary of the treaſury makes the amount of the dividends for the laſt half year of 1796, forty-five thouſand dollars.

Patents granted by the government for new inventions, and privileges to authors for an excluſive right on their works, alſo produce a revenue to the United States, but the amount has never exceeded ſixteen hundred dollars, and in 1796 was no more than twelve hundred and ſixty.

The return of the ſecretary of the treaſury alſo contains the receipts, from the mint, of the coin of the United States; but the expences of that eſtabliſhment are placed on the other ſide, and greatly exceed the receipts.

The produce of all the duties, of which I have given the detail, amounted, in 1796, to ſeven millions one hundred and eighty-eight thouſand and one dollars. The following is a ſtatement of their reſpective produce:

	Dollars.
Tonnage and imports	6,567,987
Diſtilleries	238,000
Refining of ſugars	38,000
Public ſales	33,045
Carried over	6,877,032

	Dollars.
Brought forward	6,877,032
Retailers of wine and ſpirituous liquors - -	58,000
Carriages - -	53,800
Poſt office - -	72,909
Dividends on the ſhares of the bank - -	125,000
Patents - -	1,260
	7,188,001*

Although it is probable that, at the concluſion of the preſent war, the importation of the produce of the Weſt India iſlands, deſtined for re-exportation, will be reduced, and conſequently the duties on tonnage diminiſhed, it is nevertheleſs to be expected that the total amount of the revenue will not be leſs, but that the encreaſe of population will add to the importation a quantity at leaſt equal to what it will loſe by other circumſtances. But in the ſtatement already made of the ſituation of the finances of the United States, it appears that the revenues fall ſhort of the expenditure, and that according to the loweſt eſtimation, it will require an annual augmentation of the revenues to balance the expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars—that is to ſay, if even the preſent duties do not fall off in their produce, and a war with an European power might reduce them almoſt to nothing. New ſources of revenue muſt therefore be explored, as well as rigid economy practiſed; and no doubt the aid of the latter would be conſiderable, if it was the reſult of an enlightened and comprehenſive ſyſtem.

The congreſs, in the ſeſſion which ended in the month of March laſt, laid new duties, as I have before obſerved, on the importation of raw ſugars, bohea teas, molaſſes, cottons, ſugar-candy, and cocoa, with an addition of ten per cent on all theſe articles when imported in foreign

* The ſum of 7,188,001 dollars is the actual receipt of the year 1796; but the ſecretary of the treaſury and the committee of finances in the houſe of repreſentatives, compute the annual revenue at no more than 6,200,600 dollars.

veſſels.

veſſels. It does not appear that theſe new duties are calculated to produce more than one hundred and thirty thouſand dollars, and they may be expected to fall ſhort of that ſum; for it is well known that the increaſe of this ſort of taxes at once diminiſhes conſumption, and gives encouragement to ſmuggling. A duty on ſtamps, which was calculated to produce two hundred thouſand dollars, was impoſed in the laſt ſeſſion, and a loan of eight hundred thouſand dollars authorized.

In the ſeſſion before the laſt, warm debates aroſe on a propoſition for laying a direct tax upon lands. Independent of the neceſſity there is at preſent of augmenting the revenues of the United States, nothing is more evident than the propriety of adopting a mode of taxation which reſts upon ſolid foundations, whoſe produce is capable of being extended according to the demands of the ſtate, and is independent of the fluctuations to which merchandize is ſubject; and no tax poſſeſſes theſe qualities in the ſame degree as a tax on land. The ſeſſion, however, paſſed away without any thing being done in this important ſubject.

To judge of the obſtacles to which ſuch a ſcheme would be ſubject, it is neceſſary to take a view of the direct taxes which at preſent exiſt in America. The ſecretary of the treaſury, in a report made to the houſe of repreſentatives, at the cloſe of the year 1796, on the practicability of raiſing a direct tax throughout the extent of the United States, gives the following ſtatement of the different modes of levying taxes in uſe in the ſeveral ſtates:

"1ſt. A uniform capitation tax, or a direct tax on perſons, without diſcrimination of their property, profeſſion, or employment, is impoſed in the ſtates of Vermont, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Georgia.

"The amount of theſe taxes in Vermont and Georgia is not known. In the five other ſtates it is from two-ninths to four-ninths of the total produce of the taxes of thoſe ſtates.

"In none of the other ſtates is this ſpecies of tax in uſe; for the taxes on profeſſions, on certain claſſes of people, and on ſlaves, cannot be deemed of that kind.

"2d. In the ſtates of Vermont, New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, Connecticut, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, and Kentucky, horſes and cattle are taxed, but with variations and exceptions. In Virginia horſes only are taxed. In the ſtates of Rhode Iſland, New York, Delaware, and Maryland, capitals and farms are compriſed in the general computation of taxable property; in other ſtates theſe are not ſubject to any tax.

"3d. In the ſtates of New York, Rhode Iſland, Delaware, and Maryland, taxes are impoſed on the general maſs of property, real or perſonal, with particular exceptions in each of theſe ſtates; in the other ſtates, taxes are impoſed only upon ſpecific articles of property.

"4th. In all the ſtates, excepting Vermont and Delaware, land is taxed, compriſing the lands unincloſed and uncultivated; and there is reaſon to believe that the ſame meaſure will be adopted in the two latter ſtates.

"In North Carolina lands are taxed by the quantity, without regard to their nature or ſpecies of culture. In Kentucky they are divided into three claſſes, according to their quality, but each claſs is taxed uniformly. In South Carolina and Georgia the land is taxed uniformly by diſtricts, cultivated or otherwiſe. In Virginia it is taxed according to a permanent computation. In Maryland and New Jerſey the relative value of the lands in the different counties and diſtricts is determined by the law; and in theſe diſtricts the land is taxed according to its value, never exceeding a certain rate. In Pennſylvania the land is taxed according to a valuation made every three years. In Connecticut all the lands, with the exception of ſome in two of the counties, are taxed according to the nature of their culture, or the kind of ſtate they are in, and that uniformly, without regard to their reſpective value. In Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire land is taxed according to its produce, or the annual rent or profit it is ſuppoſed to bring. In the ſtate of Vermont lands incloſed and cultivated, with ſome exceptions, are taxed uniformly, without regard to their value or produce.

"5th. Capitals employed in commerce or manufacture are taxed in different ſtates according to the principles of each ſtate, but in ſome ſtates they are not taxed.

"6th.

"6th. Taxes at the diſcretion of the aſſeſſors on the computed property or revenues of individuals, are permitted in different degrees and modifications in ſome of the ſtates; in others, all the taxes are impoſed upon preciſe objects, and at a certain rate."

This ſketch may give an idea of the difficulties which the Union would have to encounter, as well as the greater part of the individual ſtates, in laying a tax on land with equity and with ſteadineſs in its collection. The impoſition of it would give offence, like all new taxes, eſpecially of a direct nature; but more eſpecially among a people accutomed to pay very little in taxes. Different ſtates having different modes of taxing the land, and ſome having no territorial impoſition, the legiſlature of the Union is placed between theſe two difficulties—either to adopt for its collection in each ſtate accuſtomed to the tax the mode eſtabliſhed in that ſtate, and to eſtabliſh a new mode for thoſe ſtates which at preſent have no ſuch tax, which would make the tax bear unequally; or to eſtabliſh a uniform mode for all the ſtates, which being contrary to the habits and prejudices of many of them, would add to its unpopularity, and render its produce ſtill more uncertain. To which difficulties it is to be added, that the tax being deſtined to the ſervices of the general government, muſt be collected by the officers of the Union, which mode of collection would be attended with great expence. The committee of finances in the houſe of repreſentatives, who laid before the houſe the propoſition for this tax, eſtimates the expences of collection at twenty-ſeven and a half per cent.

It is to be obſerved, that the popular party, that is to ſay, the *anti-federaliſts*, in the houſe, gave their ſupport to the meaſure, perceiving that the eſtabliſhment of a direct tax whoſe weight ſhould be immediately felt by every citizen of the United States, would probably furniſh ſome check on the diſpoſition they aſcribe to the government of ſquandering money in uſeleſs expences. The *federaliſts* oppoſed the plan, and perhaps were not uninfluenced by the ſame reaſons. All the adherents, however, of the reſpective parties did not vote with their leaders on this occaſion. Many members of the houſe were guided by their own opinions of the tax; and thoſe opinions, which, no doubt, flowed princi-

pally from a regard to the public welfare, were in ſome inſtances aſcribed to private conſiderations, according to the circumſtances of the perſons voting.

Before I conclude this article on the finances of the United States, I cannot forbear to touch on a point, connected with the opinion I have already expreſſed—that the ſtates in their general legiſlation are rather occupied with the means of forcing themſelves into the rank of great and powerful nations than thoſe of conſolidating their ſtrength and increaſing their real power. Perhaps this error in their policy is the natural reſult of the combination of circumſtances which ſurround them; but whatever be the cauſe, it retards their progreſs as a nation, which can be ſecured only by their effectual independence. I have, in view chiefly the duties on articles of importation, which I think were not calculated for the ſituation in which America was at the time of their being eſtabliſhed, nor are politic in her preſent ſituation; and their ill effects are, I believe, already evident. If we look, without prejudice and with ſufficient reflection, at the nature of thoſe duties, we ſee they are rather contrived to increaſe the revenues of the general government—no doubt a legitimate object of the taxes---than to add to the real welfare, or to cultivate the morals of the people, and conſequently to add to the ſecurity of the independence of the Union—objects ſurely not leſs neceſſary than a tax. The ſyſtem of theſe taxes is evidently deſigned to give encouragement to the commerce and navigation of the United States; and for that object merely it is combined with foreſight. But commerce is only a ſecondary object in an extenſive continental nation, abounding with uncultivated lands. The more important objects of its attention are—the cultivation of its lands, the increaſe of its own raw produce, and the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, to make it independent of other nations for all the articles of the firſt neceſſity. Commerce is no more than the means of exchanging a ſurplus of produce for articles that a nation cannot produce or manufacture. If it proceeds beyond that point, eſpecially in a nation in its infancy, it collects in the places where it is carried on the population which would otherwiſe

ſpread

ſpread generally, and which ought to be employed in making the country generally productive; while it tends to fill the country with foreign goods, and for a long time retards the eſtabliſhment of manufactures at home. Fortunes may be made by individuals in this courſe; but it is a courſe that impedes the progreſs of a nation to independence and proſperity. The duties on importation in the United States appear to me to place them in this ſituation. They are no doubt very high; but as there are few manufactures in the United States, the duties do not at all prevent the introduction of foreign merchandiſe, which turns all the diſpoſable labour, or the greater part of it, to navigation, for the introduction of foreign merchandiſe is the ſupport of navigation, and enables it to afford wages for labour greatly exceeding what can be given by agriculture. The dearneſs of labour alſo oppoſes itſelf to the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, which are attended with difficulties and hazard, even in countries where labour is cheap. The money of the United States, and the produce of their lands, enriches foreign nations, eſpecially England, with whom their commerce is the moſt conſiderable, and indeed to whom it is almoſt wholly confined. It is a real tax paid by America to England. Part of this money, indeed, remains in the hands of the American merchants, and conſequently returns to the cultivator of the lands, but the greater part enriches a foreign country.

The reader will be enabled to judge of the truth of theſe obſervations by the following comparative view of the amount of the importation of the produce of the United States into England, and the importation of Engliſh merchandiſe into the United States, preſented in 1790, to the houſe of commons in England.

Imports

Imports of the ſeveral United States into England.

States.	Years. 1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. ſterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	101,616	88,701	40,401	154,013
New York	156,769	149,975	92,947	165,861
Pennſylvania	42,620	168,798	35,809	485,310
Maryland	118,490	102,198	35,388	78,741
Virginia	309,482	262,681	294,219	189,467
North Carolina	44,656	28,000	8,012	19,340
South Carolina	219,839	167,625	104,055	230,849
Georgia	45,232	36,059	14,898	28,548
	1,038,707	904,040	625,733	1,352,130

Imports of England into the ſeveral United States.

States.	Years. 1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. ſterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	614,363	435,825	517,445	672,837
New York	834,041	763,980	1,021,997	1,346,634
Pennſylvania	781,074	855,206	768,832	1,307,736
Maryland	505,119	547,583	640,129	656,148
Virginia	846,517	549,032	662,160	771,487
North Carolina	38,157	25,512	9,293	15,768
South Carolina	575,266	311,274	227,588	570,429
Georgia	76,877	26,260	12,423	13,573
	4,271,418	3,514,681	3,859,871	5,254,114

COMMERCE

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, EXPORTATION, TONNAGE, &c.

The preceding article gives a good idea of the commerce of the United States, as far as a judgment can be formed from the entries made in the cuſtom-houſe books.

Another way of judging of the advantage of a commercial intercourſe between two ſtates, is the value of bills of exchange. Thoſe of the United States drawn upon London, at ſixty days ſight, have always been at two per cent at leaſt above par, except in the month of November 1792 only, when they were at par; and ſince they have been at ſix, and even as much as nine per cent above par.

The balance of trade may be ſomewhat in favour of the United States in their dealings with other nations; but that is a very inſufficient compenſation for the diſadvantage they labour under in their commercial intercourſe with England, and that ſolely on account of the manufactured articles which they take from that country.

This ſyſtem, ſo ruinous to the fortunes of the American people, is ſtill more prejudicial to its morals. The merchant in the ports of America, who receives manufactured goods from abroad, naturally endeavours to increaſe the conſumption of them, ſince it increaſes his profit. He therefore diffuſes them in the interior, and as far as he can hope to find a ſale; and a taſte for foreign commodities accompanies their introduction into the moſt diſtant provinces.

There is no point of the United States, however remote, even in the woods, in which one ſtore, and frequently more, may not be found. There are eſtabliſhed warehouſes for foreign goods, which are emptied and filled again twice in the year, and of which the proprietors make a rapid fortune.

The home manufactures do not ſuffice alone to ſatisfy the taſte for luxury, which is inſpired by the ſight of articles more elegant, more ſhowy, and more in faſhion in the great towns.

A woman,

A woman, or a young lad, would be aſhamed to appear on a Sunday at church, without a gown, a waiſtcoat, or a hat, manufactured in Europe, for which they pay as much as ſixty per cent dearer than in the ſhops of Philadelphia or New York.

A taſte for luxury leads to expenſive habits, and conſequently to imprudence. It is therefore an obſtacle to the complete happineſs which this nation ſeems deſtined by nature to enjoy. The introduction of theſe foreign commodities into the back-ſettlements may be compared to the introduction of rum and whiſky among the Indians. The motive is the ſame, and produces the ſame effects.

The abundant importation of merchandiſe manufactured in England into the United States, naturally proceeds from thoſe ſtates having been habituated, while Engliſh colonies, to receive them from the mother country, of which it was the intereſt to keep its manufactories conſtantly at work, and which, from its being the ſeat of power, poſſeſſed all the means of forcing that importation.

It may be eaſily conceived that, after the revolution, the opulent inhabitants of the American cities, muſt naturally have retained their taſte for Engliſh ſtuffs and furniture, and the habit of uſing them; and that it was the intereſt of the Engliſh merchants to encourage that habit; and this it was the more eaſy for them to do, as the old American houſes having been almoſt all diſperſed by the revolution, the American merchants were in general little elſe at that time than the agents of Engliſh houſes. This ſtate of things is then what it could not fail to be, ſince the legiſlature has oppoſed no obſtacle to the prevalence of habit and individual intereſt.

With more wiſdom and foreſight, it ſeems that the government of the United States would have prohibited all articles of luxury manufactured abroad, or at leaſt would have taxed them as high as circumſtances would have permitted, without giving too great encouragement to ſmuggling.

Public ſpirit effectually prohibited them, during the revolution; and yet every one was then clothed, although many hands were taken away from

from the loom by military ſervice, and by the uneaſineſs and misfortunes always attendant upon war; and the population is now nearly double what it then was. Neceſſity would immediately have extended domeſtic manufactories, and would have led to the ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of national ones.

At the outſet their productions would have been of a coarſe quality. People too nice to be contented with them, might then have procured foreign merchandize, by paying double or treble their real value; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the inhabitants would ſoon have accuſtomed themſelves to the manufactures of the country, ſince it would not have been eaſy for them to procure the produce of other peoples' labour. The home manufactories would conſequently have made a rapid advance towards perfection.

Navigation employing fewer hands, agriculture would have had more at its diſpoſal. The increaſe of cattle, now very ſcarce in America, would have been one of the conſequences of keeping up the national, domeſtic, and other manufactures.

The Engliſh, French, and other artiſans, now working in Europe upon the merchandize exported to America, would have brought their induſtry into the United States, where they would have obtained a more comfortable livelihood.

The United States would have reaſon to fear, that the prohibition of foreign merchandize in their ports would have prevented their own produce from finding an outlet. The productions of the United States are articles of the firſt neceſſity; and ſeveral of them are to be found only within their territory.

As to their navigation, their fiſheries alone would have been a nurſery for more ſeamen than they will ſoon have occaſion for, it is to be hoped, in order to man their veſſels of war; and their commerce would not have been therefore annihilated. No doubt, it would have been leſs brilliant than we have ſeen it for ſome years, but it would have been more ſolid.

America would have had leſs credit abroad; but that credit is her

ruin. She would have had leſs fictitious riches; but would have poſſeſſed more real wealth. Fewer emigrants from other countries would have come to her with a view of making fortunes; but ſhe would have received a much greater proportion of the laborious claſſes of the community. Thoſe fortunes which give ſuch fallacious indications of proſperity, are all made at the expence of America; they carry away the money, and leave there nothing but European habits, I had almoſt ſaid vices.

The real balance of trade would have been in her favour; and it has been ſeen how much it is againſt her. She would have had fewer ſpeculations and ſpeculators, but better morals; a leſs ſplendid diſplay of luxury, but more republican inſtitutions. The intercourſe with foreign nations would have been leſs expenſive; but finding within herſelf the means of ſupplying all her wants, ſhe would have been more independent. In a word, ſhe would have acquired every year an increaſe of ſubſtantial *embonpoint*; whereas, that on which ſhe boaſts, and on which ſhe is congratulated, is nothing but a bloated appearance of corpulence.

No doubt the cuſtomhouſe would have produced leſs to the national treaſury, but direct taxes would eaſily have ſupplied the deficiency; and if the United States had followed this ſyſtem from the time of the revolution, their own induſtry would have been almoſt adequate to their wants; whereas at preſent they cannot do without the aſſiſtance of foreigners, except in the manufacturing of hats and leather, of which the raw materials are the produce of their own country.

They are dependent; and that dependence which ariſes from their wants, and which will always increaſe in proportion as luxury, already at a great height in America, ſhall be carried higher ſtill, may have an influence upon the political determinations of the United States; and may lead them into great errors, and to the adoption of meaſures ſooner or later prejudicial to their intereſt.

Several manufactories of ſail-cloth have been eſtabliſhed in the United States with tolerable ſucceſs, but have been carried to no great extent. Every year alſo ſome ſpinning eſtabliſhments, and even cotton manufactories,

factories, are attempted to be ſet on foot; but the following year they are ſure to fall; for no other reaſon than the high price of labour, which is itſelf a conſequence of the general ſyſtem of taxation.

I have ſpoken of the exports of the different ſtates of the federal union, in proportion as my travels have carried me into thoſe different ſtates, and more or leſs in detail, according to the nature of the information that I was able to procure. The exports of the general commerce of America are the reſult of thoſe of the particular ſtates. Here follow the totals, as preſented annually to the congreſs by the ſecretary of the treaſury.

It was only from the 1ſt of September 1789, that an exact amount was taken of them, that of the preceding years being imperfect. In accounts of this ſort, the year begins on the 1ſt of October, and ends on the 30th of September following.

Amount of the Exports of the United States.

1791, — 19,012,040 dollars.
1792, — 20,753,097
1793, — 26,109,572
1794, — 33,026,233
1795, — 47,989,472
1796, — 67,064,097

This ſtatement exhibits a progreſſive augmentation, ſuch perhaps as never exiſted in any country in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. But this is the place to repeat what I have ſaid as often as I have had an opportunity of ſpeaking of the exports of different ſtates, that any one would be groſsly deceived who ſhould judge of the increaſe of the produce and reſources of the United States by this enormous augmentation of their exports.

The exports conſiſt,

1. Of the productions of the country, which, although increaſed in quantity to a certain degree, have riſen much more in value; ſome forty per cent, others a hundred, two hundred, and even more. This is

owing to the wants of Europe, exhauſted by the war in which it has been engaged. The value then of theſe exports is far from being an exact repreſentation of the real wealth of the country, which can only be the reſult of an increaſe in the quantity of its produce.

2. The war, in which all the commercial powers have been engaged for five years more or leſs, keeps their trade in a ſtate of almoſt total ſtagnation. The United States are a kind of temporary *depot* of the produce of all countries, and of many of their colonies, where, before the war, American veſſels had not, by a great deal, ſo extenſive a permiſſion to trade. Foreign produce is therefore brought into the ports of the United States in much greater quantities than their conſumption requires, and in much greater quantities alſo than it would be if Europe were at peace.

The commodities over and above the conſumption of the United States are re-exported, and ſupply the different ſtates of Europe and their colonies.

This increaſed exportation is then, in this point of view, a very uncertain indication of the real increaſe of the wealth of the United States, ſince it does not depend upon the produce of their ſoil, and neither is nor can be laſting. A compariſon of the quantity of the produce of the ſoil of the United States exported annually, during ſix years, will furniſh an inconteſtible proof of the truth of the foregoing obſervations.

It is, again, from the accounts preſented to congreſs by the ſecretary of the treaſury, that I have made out this ſtatement.

Account

Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of the Produce of the United States, for the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

MERCHANDIZE.		YEARS.					
		1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Potash and pearlash	Tons.	6,354	7,824	6,117	7,191	4,990	5,084
Fish, dried and smoked,	Barrels.	383,237	364,899	372,825	418,907	400,818	377,713
Ditto, salt	Barrels, from 50 to 60 pounds.	57,424	48,277	45,440	36,809	55,999	87,558
Whale and other fish oil	Gallons, reckoned at 4 quarts.	447,323	406,423	512,780	970,628	810,524	1,176,650
Spermaceti oil	Gallons.	134,595	63,385	140,056	82,493	80,856	164,045
Whalebone	Pounds.	124,829	154,407	202,620	313,467	410,664	308,314
Spermaceti candles	Boxes, from 30 to 60 pounds.	4,560	3,938	5,875	5,162	5,997	4,438
Leaf tobacco	Casks, from 1,000 to 1,200 pounds.	.....	112,428	509,947	89,158	61,050	69,018
Manufactured tobacco	Pounds.	96,811	127,916	173,343	56,785	149,699	296,227
Linseed	Tons.	58,492	52,381	51,708	38,620	58,552	51,100
Wheat	Bushels of 64 pounds.	1,018,339	853,790	1,450,575	696,797	141,273	31,226
Corn of other kinds	Barrels of 180 pounds.	2,046,419	2,291,465	1,354,570	1,727,648	2,187,831	1,349,216
Flour	Barrels of 196 pounds.	619,687	824,464	1,074,639	828,405	687,369	725,194
Ditto of rye, maize, and buck-wheat	Barrels of 180 pounds.	101,313	73,252	97,815	53,782	108,191	90,807
Sea biscuit	Barrels.	100,279	86,986	76,653	68,479	71,331	181,065
Ditto	Kegs.	15,346	37,645	43,306	40,916	37,462	27,102
Rice	Tierces of 600 pounds.	.....	141,702	134,611	102,026	138,526	131,039
Beef, pork, bacon	Barrels of 180 pounds	94,621	120,017	120,056	156,072	201,133	167,526
Butter	Firkins, from 50 to 100 pounds.	16,666	11,761	9,190	30,932	28,389	34,065
Cheese	Quintals.	1,209	1,259	1,462	5,769	23,431	17,352
Onions and potatoes	Barrels.	64,683	131,841	289,747	786,192	695,559	657,000
Horned cattle	Numbers.	4,627	4,551	3,728	3,495	2,510	4,625
Horses and Mules	Ditto.	7,419	6,557	5,718	3,445	4,025	7,001
Pigs and sheep	Ditto.	27,180	33,444	21,998	14,990	11,416	12,993
Ox hides, calf and sheep skins	———	704	1,602	978	53,146	26,865	16,064
Leather	Pounds.	5,424	19,536	.....	740,853	1,819,224	127,044
Shoes and boots	Pairs.	7,528	9,254	16,269	99,009	160,327	220,724
Tallow	Pounds.	317,195	152,622	309,366	130,012	49,515	187,403
Candles	Boxes from 30 to 60 pounds.	2,745	3,997	9,852	20,381	28,695	66,579
Naval stores, pitch, turpentine, rosin, tar, &c. &c.	Barrels of 300 pounds.	.....	146,909	114,971	72,552	132,870	138,346
Iron	Tons of 2,200 pounds.	4,553	3,633	2,879	2,926	3,572	3,301
*Indigo	Pounds.	.....	858,996	693,299	391,997	771,776	915,635
*Cotton	Ditto.	189,316	138,328	1,706,600	5,055,400	10,111,921	6,106,729

* These two last articles are also imported in considerable quantities since the war. The accounts of the Customhouse do not distinguish the quantity of the produce of the United States from that which is the result of foreign produce. It is only known that the culture of indigo is now almost reduced to nothing in Carolina and in Georgia, and that that of cotton is very much increased there.

Upon examining this ſtatement with attention, it will be ſeen,

1. That the quantity of wheat exported from the United States is diminiſhed, and that the increaſe in the exportation of flour, proceeding from the great number of mills that have been ſucceſſively erected, and in that of ſea-biſcuit, does not by a great deal compenſate the decreaſe in the exportation of wheat. This decreaſe, for which I have met with no one who could give me a reaſon completely ſatisfactory, is owing, in part, to the ravages committed in ſeveral ſtates by the Heſſian fly, which has made it neceſſary to abandon the cultivation of wheat, and in part to the great quantity of land laid down in paſture. But I muſt again repeat, that the difference in the exportation of wheat is too great to be explained in this manner, eſpecially as in many new ſettlements, corn is cultivated at leaſt during the firſt years; and as in many parts of Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland, the cultivation of wheat has very generally ſuperſeded that of tobacco and indigo.

The conſumption may be increaſed in the great towns by the increaſe of their population; and alſo in ſome of the back ſettlements, where, owing to a want of corn-mills, the uſe of wheat-flour was formerly almoſt unknown. But this increaſe of conſumption cannot be very great; for in almoſt every part of the United States where wheat is cultivated, the inhabitants live upon rye-bread, and ſtill more commonly upon maize or Indian-corn.

2. That the exportation of other corn, that is to ſay, rye, barley, &c. is alſo diminiſhed. This is owing to the increaſed conſumption of the diſtilleries, which, though checked of late by the high price of grain, has nevertheleſs been very conſiderable during the laſt ſix years.

3. It will be ſeen that the exportation of leaf tobacco is very much diminiſhed, and that this diminution is not compenſated by the great increaſe of manufactured tobacco; becauſe it is true, as I have obſerved in my account of the ſouthern ſtates, that the cultivation of tobacco is exceedingly decreaſed.

4. That the increaſe of culture has been directed to that of vegetables, onions, and potatoes, and that it is conſiderable; and that it has taken a ſtill greater turn towards artificial meadows, or what are called

grazing

grazing farms. The enormous difference between the progreſſive exports from 1791 to 1796, of cheeſe, butter, tallow, candles, and manufactured ſhoes, is a proof of it; although it is true that the tanneries of the United States import a great quantity of raw hides from that part of St. Domingo which formerly belonged to the Spaniards.

5. It will alſo be remarked, that the produce of the fiſheries is much increaſed in the laſt ſix years; but the greater part of this produce, ſo conſiderably augmented in quantity, is in itſelf of little value, excepting the whale fiſhery; and although the amount of its whole value exceeds that of the value of produce diminiſhed in quantity, the increaſe is hardly of any account in the immenſe progreſſion of the general value of the exports, which was eſtimated at nineteen millions twelve thouſand and forty dollars in 1791, and at ſixty-ſeven millions ſixty four thouſand and ninety ſeven dollars in 1796.

The following account of the exportation of foreign produce will prove how much of the increaſe in the exports of the United States is owing to that branch of commerce.

Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of Foreign Produce.

Merchandize.	YEARS.					
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Coffee lbs.	962,977	2,336,742	- - -	- - -	- - -	62,385,117
Cocoa lbs.	8,322	6,600	200,691	1,141,802	525,442	928,107
Unrefined ſugar lbs.	74,304	1,176,156	4,539,809	17,563,811	21,999,889	34,848,644
Pimento and pepper, lbs.	142,193	351,675	128,616	60,959	543,664	939,358
Merchandize known by the name of dry-goods, ſhifts of all ſorts, ſtockings, paper, &c. valued in dollars.	29,367	- - -	- - -	- - -	2,879,198	6,554,346
Nankeens pieces	7,072	12,340	10,972	40,754	186,526	349,000

I ſhall

I ſhall add to this an amount of the drawback upon the re-exportation of foreign produce imported into the United States in the courſe of the years 1793, 1794, 1795; I was not able to procure one of the two preceding years, nor of the year 1796.

I do not pretend to give, by this ſtatement, a preciſe idea of the conſumption of foreign produce in the United States; becauſe goods being intitled to the right of a drawback for a whole year after they have been entered in the cuſtomhouſe books, it ſometimes happens that articles which have paid the duties in one year, and which are included in the receipts of that year, are not re-exported till the year after.

The following account, however, will afford an idea generally true, of the conſumption of that produce; and it will ſhew, that the conſumption of colonial commodities is little augmented in the United States, while that of articles manufactured in England is conſiderably increaſed.

Account of the Duties paid upon certain Articles of foreign Produce, and of the Drawbacks paid upon their re-exportation, for the years 1793, 1794, *and* 1795.

Merchandize.	YEARS.					
	1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.
Dry goods, &c.*	1,823,442	9,065	2,339,323	19,506	3,563,441	85,780
Coffee	1,396,652	169,928	1,680,163	1,141,523	2,694,902	1,946,226
Cocoa	29,182	6,201	54,542	19,246	73,576	46,884
Unrefined ſugar	660,350	13,634	727,332	155,760	970,880	365,423
Pimento and pepper	32,740	3,814	68,768	5,362	70,240	32,134

* Nankeens, which pay a duty of thirteen per cent upon importation, are included in this article.

No

No doubt this increaſe in the exports gives a great increaſe of activity to trade: no doubt, alſo the riſe of the price of commodities is another augmentation of wealth; but it can only be conſidered as temporary. This, perhaps, is the place to ſay a few words concerning the nature and poſition of the commerce of the United States.

As long as the United States were Engliſh colonies, their trade was regulated by the intereſt and ambition of the mother country, and could only be conſidered as a branch of the Engliſh commerce. This is nearly the caſe with Ireland at preſent.

The accounts preſented to the Engliſh Parliament, which will be found hereto annexed, of the imports and exports of the ſtates of America, during the laſt twelve years that they were Engliſh colonies, will prove how great has been the increaſe of the commerce of the United States ſince that period.

Yet if they be compared with an account of the commerce carried on between the United States and England, from 1792 to 1795, inſerted in the preceding part of this volume, it will alſo prove how much the imports of the Engliſh manufactures into the United States have augmented, ſince the latter became independent.

Hence it appears, that the augmentation in the commerce of the United States, and conſequently their independence, which may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of it, have been exceedingly advantageous to England, who nevertheleſs conſiders their emancipation as an injury, and would not be ſorry to have an opportunity of taking her revenge.

I am far from thinking, however, that France, on being made ſenſible of this truth, ought to regret for a moment the efforts ſhe made to aſſiſt North America in obtaining the acknowledgment of her independence. Thoſe efforts, even though the United States may be in general forgetful of them at this moment, are nevertheleſs one of the moſt honourable traits of French generoſity. Beſides, France has had a ſhare in the trade of the United States, which ſhe would never have had, if they had re-

mained ſubject to England; a ſhare which, with better conduct, ſhe might have rendered much greater ſtill, and which, with rational principles, ſhe may no doubt hereafter increaſe. In a word, theſe great ſervices rendered by France will, as long as there is any gratitude in the United States, leave in the minds of their inhabitants an inclination for the friendſhip and alliance of France, which all the intrigues of England can only ſuſpend for a time.

Account

Account of the Value of the Imports, from America into England, for eleven Years, as presented to the British Parliament.

COLONIES.	YEARS. 1763.	1764.	1765.	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
New England	71,253	92,593	150,690	146,318	132,694	150,898	133,788	154,398	158,218	132,082	128,003
New York	53,988	53,697	54,959	67,020	61,422	87,115	70,466	69,882	95,875	82,707	76,246
Pennsylvania	38,228	36,258	25,148	26,851	37,641	59,406	26,111	28,109	31,615	29,133	36,652
Virginia and Maryland.	642,294	559,408	505,671	460,754	437,926	406,048	361,892	435,094	577,848	528,404	589,803
Carolina	382,366	341,727	385,918	291,519	395,027	508,108	387,114	278,907	420,311	425,923	456,513
Totals	1,188,129	1,083,683	1,122,386	992,462	1,064,710	1,211,575	979,371	966,390	1,283,867	1,198,249	1,287,217

Account of the Value of the Exports from England to America for the same eleven Years.

COLONIES.	YEARS. 1763.	1764.	1765.	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
New England	258,854	462,573	455,526	424,727	421,067	426,549	214,675	400,511	1,420,119	826,394	529,184
New York	238,560	515,416	382,349	330,829	417,957	482,930	74,918	475,991	653,621	343,970	289,214
Pennsylvania	284,152	435,191	363,368	327,314	371,830	432,107	199,909	134,881	728,744	507,909	426,448
Virginia and Maryland.	555,391	515,192	383,224	372,548	437,628	475,954	488,362	717,782	920,326	793,910	328,904
Carolina	256,132	305,808	334,709	296,732	244,093	289,868	306,600	146,273	409,169	449,610	344,159
Totals	1,587,089	2,234,180	1,919,176	1,752,150	1,892,575	2,107,408	1,284,464	1,875,438	4,131,979	2,921,793	1,917,912

	£.
Total of the Imports for 11 Years,	12,291,039
Freight, Insurance and Profit at 12 per cent	1,474,924
	13,765,963
Average for a Year	1,251,451 = 5,563,004 dollars.

	£.
Total of the Exports	23,734,164
Freight, Insurance and Profit, at 12 per cent	2,848,099
	26,582,263
Average for a Year	2,416,569 = 10,745,306⅔ dol.

It was at the peace by which England acknowledged their independence, that the United States began to trade under their own colours. But the great diſtreſs in which they were left by the war, and the weakneſs of the confederacy, rendered their commerce ſtill very precarious.

Each ſtate had its particular laws, prohibitions, and regulations.

Some of them ſhut their ports againſt certain foreign merchandize, to which others opened theirs.

The laws and the cuſtomhouſe rates changed every year, according to momentary conſiderations; and the moſt natural reſult of this order of things was, an active rivality and jealouſy between the different ſtates. It is then, properly ſpeaking, ſince the adoption of the new conſtitution, that the name of the commerce of the United States may be given to the commerce of the different ſtates of North America.

The firſt cauſe, however, of the increaſed commerce of the United States, may be carried as far back as the end of the year 1784. At that period, an order of the king of France in council, opened to their ſhips three ports in St. Domingo, whither they were allowed to carry ſalt fiſh, upon paying a ſmall duty. This order alſo authoriſed the adminiſtrators of the iſland to permit the importation of their flour, whenever occaſion might require it. The American ſhips, till then, had only had permiſſion to carry timber and live ſtock to St. Domingo, and that only into a ſingle port. They were reſtricted by the new order, as they were before, from taking any thing in exchange except ſyrups and molaſſes. According, then, to the letter of the edict, their returns could be of no great value; but the admiſſion of American ſhips into three ports of St. Domingo, gave a greater facility to ſmuggling, of which they did not fail to avail themſelves.

The Engliſh, it is true, carried Jamaica ſugar and coffee into the ports of the United States; but they were without competitors, and ſold them at a high price.

The wants of the United States required a much greater quantity than they received from England, and their intereſt ſtimulated them to procure it in a direct way.

Flour

Flour and dry goods were fraudulently introduced into the iſland. Raw ſugar and coffee were fraudulently exported; and the returns began to be of ſome importance though ſtill much reſtricted in quantity, by the illegality of the means made uſe of to obtain them.

But this traffic ſoon ceaſed to be illicit. The violent ſhock which the revolution gave to the manufactures and commerce of France, forced her to open the ports of her colonies to the veſſels of neutral powers.

From that moment the Americans engroſſed all the commerce of the French colonies, which they were ſo well ſituated to carry on, and which promiſed them ſuch conſiderable profits.

The others powers of Europe which had alſo colonies in the Weſt Indies, being almoſt all ſucceſſively engaged in the war, opened the ports of their colonies in like manner to the Americans, or at leaſt conſiderably diminiſhed their prohibitive regulations.

Thus the commerce of the United States had the victualling of the Weſt India iſlands, as well as an excluſive trade with the French and Dutch colonies, not only in proviſions, but alſo in commodities of every kind. Their ſhips were freighted to carry Weſt India produce to Europe, and to bring back in return the articles neceſſary for the conſumption both of the United States, and of thoſe ſame colonies.

The new conſtitution of the United States was eſtabliſhed at the moment when the French revolution began, and ſhortly after the new ſyſtem of American finances was adopted. The conſequent creation of ſtock of different kinds, the putting up of land to ſale, and the eſtabliſhment of banks, opened a vaſt field to ſpeculation, and to commercial enterpriſe. The ſtate of Europe favoured thoſe enterpriſes; they were extended, and the commerce of the United States ſoon reached the Eaſt Indies, China, and every part of the known world. Its profits have been conſiderable.

Such is the brief hiſtory of the rapid and enormous increaſe of the trade of the United States; but it is preciſely from the rapidity of that immenſe increaſe, that we may prognoſticate the ſhortneſs of its duration.

The

The proſperity of a nation's commerce cannot be durable, unleſs it be founded upon a ſolid baſis; and the ſolid baſis of a nation's commerce is the produce of its ſoil, of its manufactures, and of its colonies, when it has any. Theſe are its only permanent riches, thoſe of which it alone can diſpoſe; its produce, and the commodities it receives in exchange, are the natural limits of its trade.

If a nation by extraordinary circumſtances, unconnected with its internal proſperity, ſuch, for inſtance, as thoſe occaſioned by the troubles and tranſient misfortunes of other nations, take a flight far beyond its natural means, and much above the ſituation in which it is placed by its own reſources, its proſperity cannot be of long duration. A change in external circumſtances muſt ſpeedily bring it back to the ſtate aſſigned to it by the extent or the mediocrity of its wealth. Such is the ſituation of the trade of the United States of America, which the troubles of Europe have rendered flouriſhing, but which the return of tranquillity will reduce to its priſtine ſtate.

If the European powers, engaged in a terrible war, forced to devote all their means to it, incapable of going themſelves to fetch the articles they ſtand in need of from foreign ports, nay, even incapable of victualling their colonies, and of receiving the produce of them in a direct way; if the European powers have been under the neceſſity of leaving to neutral flags the trade which they could not undertake themſelves, does it follow that they have abandoned it to them entirely? Is it not certain that they will haſten to reſume, as ſoon as they are able, the trade which naturally belongs to them, ſince they have within themſelves the means of carrying it on?

In matters of commerce a nation gives up to others only what it cannot undertake itſelf, and even ſuppoſing that it grants them momentary advantages, it is ſolely with a view to its own intereſt; it will withhold them, as ſoon as it perceives that its intereſt is injured by this conceſſion. Political conſiderations, or a friendly alliance can alone induce them to act otherwiſe.

We are not yet arrived at the period when nations, diſcovering their own

own intereſt in a greater generoſity of principles, will by general conſent give abſolute and entire liberty to trade. That period, if ever it ſhould arrive, is not yet at hand. It therefore cannot be doubted but that the European powers, according to their accuſtomed ſyſtem, will lay prohitory reſtrictions upon all trade that is not their own, and will thus reduce the United States of America to the limited commerce which they carried on before the troubles of Europe.

I do not mean, however, that the United States are not ſuſceptible of an increaſe in their commerce. I am far from thinking ſo. The extent of their territory, the fertility of their ſoil, the induſtry of their inhabitants, their bold and enterpriſing diſpoſition, their rapidly increaſing population, the great bays that penetrate into the country, the number of fine rivers that water it, the facility of cutting canals, in order to open a communication between them, and this to connect the great lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico; all theſe circumſtances promiſe them a degree of proſperity, which muſt in future ages render this part of the world the rival, and perhaps the fortunate rival, of Europe.

But then the United States will have a rich produce from their ſoil, extenſive manufactures, a great abundance of reſources within themſelves, and all this can only take place in conſequence of a ſucceſſive progreſſion of thoſe reſources, and after a long ſeries of years of peace and internal tranquillity; in a word, by the gradual operation of time. But it is of the preſent moment and of the exiſting circumſtances of the United States that I am ſpeaking, when I apply to the ſudden increaſe of their commerce this inconteſtable political truth, that all proſperity which is not the reſult of natural reſources, and which depends ſolely on extraordinary and foreign cauſes, can only be conſidered as tranſient, and rather oppoſes than favours an increaſe of wealth in the country that experiences it.

This truth, which holds good in regard to all nations, has a ſtill ſtronger application to nations abſolutely new, whoſe commercial houſes are hardly eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, when theſe uncommonly favourable circumſtances enable them to give a conſiderable extenſion to their ſpeculations. The misfortunes of individual traders, from which they can only eſcape by a degree of prudence, almoſt ſupernatural, adds much in ſuch times to the danger which the nation itſelf runs from the temporary inflation of its trade.

Before the French revolution the capitals which kept alive the trade of the United States were inconſiderable, their commerce being very much confined; and even part of thoſe capitals were Engliſh property, either directly, or in the ſhape of credit, given by the Engliſh houſes to the American ones. If the American merchants had been prudent enough to take, out of the enormous quantity of buſineſs which a ſudden combination of circumſtances preſented to them, only ſuch a part as was proportioned to their capitals, their enterpriſes would have been much leſs extenſive, and the appearance of their proſperity leſs brilliant; but their ſucceſs would have been more ſolid and more certain.

They ſet, on the contrary, no bounds to their ambition, and only conſidered commercial affairs with a view to the enormous profits they ſeemed to afford. Speculations in land held out a new lure to their avidity; and independently of the gain they promiſed themſelves from a reſale highly advantageous, they found in them alſo a ſource of credit, becauſe they had, for a long time, nothing to pay for their acquiſitions, and becauſe they hoped ſpeedily to receive ſome ready money from new purchaſers loaded with capitals, whom they expected to ſee driven in crowds acroſs the Atlantic by the ſtate of affairs in Europe.

Laſtly, the eſtabliſhment of banks, and the quantity of paper in circulation, afforded them alſo new means of obtaining credit. Truſting in all theſe hopes, they ventured, without reſerve, upon every ſpeculation which held out the ſmalleſt proſpect of gain. A ſpirit of enterpriſe, and a boldneſs in the execution of their plans, which ſets all danger at defiance, are two remarkable characteriſtics of the American people, in almoſt all the ſituations of life. Theſe are, no doubt, the germ of great qualities, and may be the means of great ſucceſs; but if this ſpirit of enterpriſe,

terprise, and this boldness were directed by prudence, they would lead to a much safer result; whereas without it they tend to consequences so much the more ruinous and inevitable, as they have not been foreseen.

What happened to the American merchants?

1. Delays natural to be expected in the dispatching of their orders, and often tardy returns, which though not hurtful to commerce in general, are highly prejudicial to merchants, when far from reckoning upon them, they think that they cannot take place; and enter into engagements in consequence of that flattering opinion.

2. The taking of a great number of their ships, first by England, who, independently of her hostile views towards France, gratified, by seizing them, the jealousy which she felt at the commercial prosperity of a nation, that she has never ceased to consider as an assemblage of rebellious subjects, and afterwards by France, who was desirous, above all, of injuring the English commerce; and, at the same time, expressed her discontent at the advantage given to England by her old ally America.

3. The speculations in land proved erroneous. The number of those who presented themselves as purchasers bore no proportion to the number of those who wished to sell, and who were hard pressed by want.

4. The banks, numerous as they became, could not answer the demands of discount, which came to them from all quarters, consequently they did not discount all the bills which were presented to them, and the longest date of those they received did not exceed sixty days.

5, and lastly, the prices of commodities fell speedily in Europe very much below what the American speculators had paid for the same articles in the territory of the United States; and, in the mean time, the day of fulfilling the engagements they had contracted, in order to send their ships to sea, was constantly coming round; the period of those entered into upon the purchase of land, though it might sometimes experience a little delay, was sure also to come at last; the commodities, which were prevented from being sent to Europe by the low prices they bore there, were also to be paid for; and if any merchant had received

ſums of money in truſt, which had enabled him to extend his concerns with a little more ſolidity, he was obliged to refund thoſe ſums upon the firſt demand; which was neceſſarily accelerated by the precarious and dangerous ſtate of commerce.

Such is the diſagreeable ſituation in which the American merchants were involved, and in which they are ſtill more deeply involved every day; ſuch of them, at leaſt, as in their enterpriſes were rather led away by their avidity than guided by prudence and reflection, and theſe are the greater numbers.

It may be eaſily conceived that the means by which they endeavour to extricate themſelves from theſe embarraſſments are very difficult, and require great ſacrifices.

Thoſe in general employed are as follows:

Firſt, a requeſt made to ſome friend for his credit for thirty or ſixty days.

But it ſeldom happens that an American merchant does not find his friend in the ſame neceſſity. They therefore accommodate each other with notes at ſixty days ſight, and endeavour to get them diſcounted at ſome bank, which is often obliged to refuſe, on account of the great diſproportion between its means and the great number of ſimilar applications.

Theſe notes are then given to an exchange broker, who, according to the ſtate of the money market, and the name of the indorſer, ſells them at two, and three, and ſometimes four and five per cent per month diſcount.

Theſe notes are afterwards depoſited at the bank by the purchaſer, and it then becomes highly neceſſary to pay them when due; for there is no more credit, no more poſſibility of diſcount, for a merchant, whoſe bill has been proteſted after once being depoſited at the bank.

They alſo endeavour to obtain others, of which they avail themſelves in the ſame manner.

But it will not do to put too many notes into circulation. Their renewal, too often repeated, might have a bad effect upon their credit, which

which it is important for them not entirely to loſe. They then buy bills of exchange upon London at a long date, and ſell them for ready money below par. This is a frequent means of procuring caſh.

Sometimes goods are taken upon the longeſt credit that can be obtained, and ſhipped for a foreign market; and, in this caſe, the American merchant draws according to his neceſſities, the London merchants engaging to accept the conſignee's notes for two-thirds of the amount of the conſignment, upon tranſmitting to them the bill of lading, and empowering them to make the inſurance.

If theſe means fail, the merchant whoſe wants are urgent, ſends his merchandiſe, if he have any, to a public auction, or elſe he procures dry goods at a high price, and at five or ſix months credit, and has them publicly ſold, very often with the loſs of twenty-five or thirty per cent.

Sometimes he endeavours by building houſes, or by ſome other oſtentatious expenſe, to create a falſe opinion of the ſtate of his affairs, which are thereby rendered much worſe.

Such are, in part, the burdenſome means which the merchant, deceived in his ſpeculations, takes in order to prolong his commercial exiſtence. But thoſe means only ſerve to render his ruin more inevitable. At length he can no longer uphold his credit; and it often happens that a houſe which in the evening was thought worth three or four hundred thouſand dollars, offers in the morning four or five ſhillings in the pound to its creditors.

It is true that examples are not wanting of merchants, who, before they declared their bankruptcy, robbed their creditors of a great part of their money, by donations made to their wives and children, and by concealing paper in their pocket-books. There are alſo inſtances of others, who, upon loſing their credit, ſecretly buy upon 'change, with money kept in reſerve, their own bills, when at a diſcount of perhaps fifty and ſixty per cent.

The latter, though real bankrupts, and even fraudulent ones, avoid the name, and do buſineſs the next day with more certain credit, in propor-

tion as their manœuvre is better known, for they are then ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of property.

As to him who has declared his bankruptcy, as ſoon as he has delivered the remains of his fortune to his creditors he is free by law; and though in ſome ſtates the law gives his creditors a claim upon his future fortune, equal to the amount of the loſs upon their debts, he eaſily evades the regulation, by not diſcovering the profits he may derive from the ſums he has withheld, or by carrying on his new commercial operations under another name.

All theſe fatal and ſhameful tranſactions are the natural conſequences of ſpeculations undertaken and carried on without a proportionate capital. And theſe are not the only ones. An American merchant's want of punctuality in his payments, no doubt, inſpires thoſe who may have occaſion to deal with him with diſtruſt; but it does not produce in himſelf any ſentiment of ſhame, and affects his reputation very little, even if it affect it at all.

The merchant who has ſuſpended his payments, and whoſe bills are proteſted, is equally well received upon 'change, in ſociety, and even obtains the moſt diſtinguiſhed public employments. He is generally conſidered as a man who has played his game ill, or who has met with a bad run of luck.

The frequency of theſe examples, common intereſt, and the opinion generally entertained in America, that no one can have any thing more eſſential to do than to endeavour to get money, produce, I will not ſay this toleration, but this total indifference in the public mind.

Thus, while the merchant in Europe is guided in his commercial conduct by his perſonal integrity and the preſervation of his honour, of his credit, and of the reputation of his name, the American merchant has no other reſtraint than his own honeſty, his ſelf-eſteem, and his conſcience, and though that reſtraint is doubtleſs the moſt powerful when it exiſts, it muſt unfortunately be acknowledged that it is not the moſt common.

It may therefore be ſaid that the merchants of America, who, in conſequence of their prudence and caution in their operations, and a mode-

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rate uſe of their credit, have conſtantly been exact in their payments, and honourable in their tranſactions, are, on that account, deſerving of particular eſteem, ſince they are an exception to the general depravity.

It muſt not, however, be thought that this exception is very uncommon. There are in America a great number of houſes, either American, Engliſh, or French, which for ſolidity, prudence, punctuality, and delicacy in carrying on buſineſs, do not yield to any of the ſo juſtly famed houſes of Europe. If in this number I name that of Mr. PHILIP NIKLYN, I do not pretend to give it a ſuperiority over the others, by which that merchant's modeſty, and that of Mr. GRIFFITH his partner, would be hurt; but I ſhall be excuſed for ſeeking, by the mention of their names, to gratify a feeling of affection and gratitude for the conſtant marks of friendſhip and kindneſs which I received from them during my ſtay in America, and none of thoſe who are acquainted with Philadelphia will reproach me with having indulged my feelings at the expenſe of truth.

I muſt once more repeat, that there are a great number of houſes of this kind in the United States, but it is not the greater number; and it is the greater number that I am bound to conſider, when I am ſpeaking of the ſtate of commerce in America. Theſe good and ſcrupulous houſes are afflicted at the ſituation of the American trade, by which their own intereſt is often greatly a ſufferer, notwithſtanding their prudent conduct. Their delicacy, as well as their intereſt, is hurt by it; but all they can do is to be upon their guard againſt the ſuſpicious houſes, and to keep a watchful eye over all the others; the moſt honourable merchants being obliged to meet upon 'change, and in almoſt every houſe, and often to ſee in confidential employs, men whom private intereſt, and public honour, ought to devote to reprobation.

This deplorable ſtate of things cannot be natural; but I muſt repeat it again, it is the neceſſary reſult of enterpriſes, and of ſpeculations raſhly hazarded, which are themſelves the reſult of a multiplicity of buſineſs of all kinds, that the ſituation of Europe and the Weſt Indies has produced, and of the dangerous facility afforded by the great number of banks.

In almoſt all the great towns of the United States, and particularly of

thoſe to the northward of Baltimore, every body is a merchant; that is to ſay, every body ſpeculates, trades, and jobs in the ſtocks. The judge, the advocate, the phyſician, and the miniſter of divine worſhip, are all, or almoſt all, more or leſs intereſted in the ſale of land, in the purchaſe of goods, in that of bills of exchange, and in lending money at two or three per cent per month: few of them are contented with what they have.

The merit of a man is rather too much eſtimated in America by the fortune which he is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs; and no body lands in this new world without the project of making an ample and rapid fortune; examples of ſucceſs being ſo frequent, that they hold out a great encouragement to theſe projects. The means of executing them were alſo for a long while great; but they are leſs ſo at preſent, at leaſt in this way; and avidity does not diminiſh in the ſame proportion.

Here then are a great many ſnares laid for delicacy; a great many reaſons explanatory of the ſtate of commerce in the United States, and the faithful account that I have juſt given of it, will leave no doubt of the truth of my aſſertion, that the brilliant appearance of the trade of the United States, and the increaſe of its activity and of its exports, are no more than a tranſient gleam of proſperity, rather pernicious than uſeful to real wealth, and to true national proſperity.

No doubt, in the midſt of all theſe evils, conſiderable fortunes have ſtarted up. Some of them have been made by prudence and induſtry; others are the offspring of good fortune. The cities are grown infinitely larger, which, in my opinion, is of itſelf a great evil: they are embelliſhed; but luxury has made its way from every quarter into the United States; and when the commerce of Europe reſumes its level, and when peace ſhall have reſtored to every power the enjoyment of its rights, it is much to be feared that nothing will remain to the United States of the aſtoniſhing and momentaneous increaſe of their commercial activity, but a love of luxury, and the impoſſibility of ſatisfying it.

That epoch will probably be alſo the moment of new misfortunes to more than one American houſe; but, as a friend to America, I beg leave

to

to ſay, that if ſhe profit by experience, it may alſo be the epoch of her certain improvement, of her real proſperity, and of a ſolid increaſe of her commerce. She is deſtined by nature for a ſtate of ſtrength and greatneſs, which nothing can prevent her from attaining, but too haſty a pace, which might attempt to conduct her thither without paſſing through the neceſſary gradations.

Before I terminate this article concerning the trade of America, it remains to be ſaid, that all commercial cauſes are ſubmitted, in the United States, to the judgment of the ordinary tribunals, conſequently to a courſe of law which the leaſt ſkilful advocate can protract to the length of eighteen months; and with a little more ability he may ſpin it out to two or three years. This inconvenience is very great in commercial affairs, in which a diſhoneſt man may avail himſelf of the delay, to keep for a long time in his hands a capital, really the property of another, which, by remaining unproductive the whole of that time, occaſions a loſs not likely to be compenſated by the damages that may be awarded to him.

This inconvenience, however great it may be in regard to the merchants ſettled in America, is much greater ſtill with reſpect to the foreign traders, who ſend or carry cargoes, or make conſignments thither. The alternative of a merchant's remaining ſeveral years in America, in order to enforce his claims, at a great expence, and of being thus kept at a diſtance from the centre of his affairs; or of being obliged to entruſt the management of his cauſe to another, adds much to the misfortune of ſeeing himſelf deprived, during a tedious law-ſuit, of the uſe of his money, notwithſtanding the clearneſs of his caſe. It is then, that he ſeverely feels the want of thoſe commercial tribunals, of thoſe conſular juriſdictories ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed in France, where the moſt honourable and beſt informed merchants are annually elected as judges; where the proceedings are free from all poſſibility of chicane, and do not coſt more than ſix dollars in expences; where the cauſes apparently the moſt complicated are decided in the ſpace of three weeks; and where there are, I will not ſay none, but very few examples at leaſt, of judges accuſed of partiality in their judgments, or of careleſſneſs in the inveſtigation of

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facts; and where, in case of an appeal to the superior courts, the party in whose favour sentence has been pronounced, can obtain possession of the sum awarded him, or of the effects which he claims, upon giving security to return them, in case of a contrary judgment being pronounced by the court of appeal.

DEALINGS IN LAND.

In speaking generally of the trade of the United States, I mentioned the traffic that is carried on in land as one of its elements. This kind of commerce is so peculiar to North America, that it is deserving to be made known, at least in a succinct manner.

The traffic in land, is founded upon the considerable mass of land in the territory of the United States, in comparison with their present population, and upon the probability of the augmentation of that population, either by its own means of reproduction, or by foreign emigrations. This traffic is, like all the other branches of trade, and more than any other, a traffic of speculation.

The waste lands, and they amounted to more than four-fifths of America, were found, at the end of the revolution, to belong to different states, which, as sovereigns, have inherited this property from the sovereignty of the crown of England. Many of these lands were still occupied by Indian nations; but a part of those nations had, during the war, joined the English troops against the United States. It was necessary then to drive them back, or rather it was necessary to drive back all the Indians, whose vicinage the United States bore with impatience. Here it may be proper to remark, that the Indian nations, who were formerly the sole proprietors of the American continent, and to whose hospitality the establishment of the Europeans is solely due, are considered by the descendants of the first colonists, as usurpers of the land which they still possess, and as only holding it by virtue of their good will and pleasure.

The lands granted by the kings of England before 1776, have, with some exceptions, remained in the possession of those to whom the grant was made; but the quantity of these was infinitely small, in proportion

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to the maſs of the uncultivated land. The proportion of the quantities of theſe lands was not even in the *ratio* of the extent of territory of each ſtate. The ſmall ſtates, particularly thoſe that lie near the ſea, having been longer inhabited, poſſeſſed but a ſmall portion; and ſome had none at all; while the great ſtates, thoſe particularly whoſe territory extended far into the interior of America, ſuch as Georgia, the two Carolinas, Virginia, Pennſylvania, the ſtate of New York, Maſſachuſetts and New Hampſhire, were in poſſeſſion of immenſe quantities. It was neceſſary for theſe ſtates to ſell the waſte lands, in order both to afford their growing population eaſier means of acquiring property, and to hold out a bait to foreign emigration.

Laſtly, the ſtates had debts reſulting from the war, which it was neceſſary to liquidate, without burdening the nation with new taxes. For at firſt it was little able to bear them, and it was even the intereſt of the ſtates to diminiſh the exiſting taxes as much as poſſible, in order to render ſettling in their territory more advantageous and attractive.

In the lands to be ſold were compriſed the confiſcated eſtates of the Tories, who had ſerved the Engliſh during the revolution. The ſtates cannot be accuſed of having enforced this law of confiſcation with too great ſeverity.

In order to bring theſe lands to ſale, the ſtates opened land-offices, where perſons who meant to purchaſe received warrants or commiſſions to have the lands they pointed out ſurveyed, by the ſurveyor of the ſtate; but they were not put in poſſeſſion of them, till it appeared that they had not yet been granted to any one, and were not to receive the title-deeds till they had paid the ſtipulated price, and fulfilled the conditions impoſed by the law.

The lands occupied by the Indians were not immediately ſold; but the ſtates ſold the right of pre-emption, that is to ſay, the excluſive privilege of purchaſing thoſe lands, as ſoon as the Indians ſhould conſent to ſell them; and the ſtate undertook the negotiation, as ſoon as it ſhould deem it poſſible to ſet it on foot.

It is not my intention to enter into a detail of the frequent alterations made by the ſtates in their laws concerning the ſale of land, and of the ſtill more frequent departure from them by the land-offices themſelves; of their conſtant negligence in the examination of the meaſurement, and of the greater or leſs validity of the titles; in a word, of the great abuſes of every kind which have taken place in this branch of the adminiſtation. To do ſo, it would be neceſſary to write a particular hiſtory of the laws and land-offices of each ſtate. Suffice it to ſay, that there are few which have acted with the neceſſary punctuality, few which have dealt fairly and honourably, and few which have ſhewn the attention which we have a right to expect from every public adminiſtration.

The lands were offered to ſale to any one who wiſhed to purchaſe them.

A certain quantity was given to the troops employed during the war.

Several other large portions were put up to ſale by the commiſſioners.

Families, either foreigners or Americans, bought ſmall parcels, with a view of ſettling.

But the ſtates, more taken up with the deſire of obtaining the money, of which they ſtood in need, than of that of ſpeedily covering thoſe lands with cultivators; and thinking, beſides, that great proprietors would be excited by their intereſt to parcel them out with more promptitude than a ſtate could do, readily conſented to ſell them in large maſſes, in oppoſition to the law which, in many of the ſtates, limited the number of acres that would be ſold to any one perſon to five or ſix hundred.

This regulation has been evaded in the ſtates in which it exiſted, by ſelling great quantities of land to the ſame perſons under different names, and by making out as many contracts of ſale, under theſe fictitious names, as the quantity of land ſold contained lots of the extent ſpecified in the law.

Almoſt all theſe contracts of ſale alſo contained a clauſe, by which the purchaſer was required to cultivate, or cauſe to be cultivated, a certain quantity of acres per lot, within a given time; and the penalty of diſ-

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion was pronounced againſt any one who ſhould neglect to fulfil this condition. It is eaſy to conceive that this condition, ſo difficult to comply with in great bargains has been frequently evaded.

It was then that the great ſpeculations began, land being purchaſable of all the ſtates at a very low price. The ſtates were inundated with paper-money, peculiar to each, and all in a ſtate of depreciation. The periods of payment occurred at diſtant intervals. The increaſe of population, emigration, and the clearing of the land, promiſed a great and ſpeedy riſe in the value of theſe lands. The ſpirit of ſpeculation then laid hold of every claſs of the inhabitants of America. This was at the time of the new ſyſtem of finance, when ſo many conſiderable fortunes were made by jobbing in the certificates of the American debt. The legiſlatures of the ſtate, ſome of them at leaſt, gave ſtill greater encouragement to the ſale of their lands, by ordering that certain kinds of the depreciated paper ſhould be taken in payment of the purchaſe; a regulation which gave riſe to conſiderable malverſations. The members who compoſe theſe legiſlatures, were often ſeen to conſult their private intereſts in theſe operations of finance.

At that time, as I have juſt ſaid, the ſtates were inundated with paper money of different kinds, the fruit of the misfortunes of the war, and of the diſtreſs which had been its conſequence. They were all of them at a diſcount. One day, for inſtance, the legiſlature declared, that after a certain delay, generally very ſhort, ſuch paper would not be received in payment; and ſome time after, a little before the expiration of that delay, it announced the ſale of a certain quantity of land, in payment of which the proſcribed paper would have a right to be preſented. The members who were in the ſecret of this manœuvre, or their friends, bought up this paper-money at the time of its proſcription, that is to ſay, at its loweſt price. They then preſented themſelves at the ſale as ſoon as it began, and very often in twenty-four hours the purchaſe was completed.

By theſe means many ſpeculators acquired land, with a real value of two or three *cents* or hundredth parts of a dollar per acre, payable in ſix or

eight years, with a diſcount from the treaſury of the ſtate, according to the value at which the land was rated by the law, in caſe the payments were made before they became due.

Theſe malverſations did not take place in all the ſtates; but in all, the purchaſe of land, and of rights of pre-emptions, was made at a very low price, from the very firſt moments of the opening of the land-offices.

Theſe lands then became an article of trade. Agents were ſent to Europe to propoſe the ſale of them; and Europe was filled with the moſt pompous deſcriptions and the moſt complete maps of lands which were often unknown to their proprietor, and even to every one elſe.

Several great ſales, effected in England, upon advantageous terms, raiſed the price of theſe lands, increaſed the confidence of the ſpeculators, added to their numbers, and extended their ſpeculations. The opinion of an immenſe migration, to which the French revolution, and the ſituation of Europe, gave riſe, conſpired to give confidence to theſe ſpeculators; and every one engaged the more eagerly in this kind of ſpeculation, as the periods of the payments to be made to the ſtates were always long; as ſtill longer delays were obtained without much difficulty; and as the lands in queſtion were as yet exempt from all taxes.

The ſecond ſellers frequently granted very advantageous conditions of payment, and yet ſold at a tolerably low price. In the ſtate of Pennſylvania, and in that of Maryland, every foreigner could buy and poſſeſs land as well as a citizen.

In ſome others, in which the law did not allow this privilege to foreigners, it gave the legiſlature the right of permitting it; and that permiſſion was eaſily obtained.

In all, a foreigner might hold land in the name of an inhabitant; and the great intereſt that the ſtates had in ſelling, and in bringing foreign capitals into their territory, gave great ſecurity to this borrowed right of poſſeſſion.

The United States were in the enjoyment of great commercial proſperity. Nothing ſeemed likely to diſturb their tranquillity: and a great number of Europeans, ſeduced by the ſudden increaſe of the value of

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American lands, ſaw, in the ſacrifice which they made of a few thouſand dollars in the purchaſe of thoſe lands, a four-fold or ten-fold augmentation of their capitals in a very ſmall number of years.

The ſpeculators in land who hold a great quantity, have different means of turning them to account.

1. By ſelling them in large parcels to men of fortune in Europe, or America.

2. By ſelling them in ſmall parcels to families, who mean to ſettle upon them.

3. By preſerving them, till time, and a diminution of the quantity of this ſort of merchandize, have raiſed the value of it to a price anſwerable to their expectations.

The firſt of theſe means is that which is moſt generally deſired: it is that on account of which ſo many agents were ſent to Europe; ſuch great advantages held out to thoſe who ſhould procure purchaſers; and ſo many fictions invented. A great quantity of land was ſold in this manner. In making bargains of this kind, as well as in all others, the buyer and ſeller endeavoured to make the moſt advantageous conditions. The periods of payment are generally ſhort; at leaſt a large part of the purchaſe-money is paid down at the concluſion of the bargain. The conditions impoſed by the ſtates in the contracts of ſale are binding upon the new purchaſer; but very often the old purchaſer remains reſponſible, in caſe of their not being fulfilled by the new one. The new purchaſers become ſpeculators themſelves; and in order to turn their new property to account, have recourſe to the ſame means that were employed by thoſe of whom they bought it.

Land is ſold in ſmall parcels in ſeveral ways.

Either out and out for ready money; although this mode of ſale is not unfrequent, it is not the moſt common.

Or out and out, but to be paid for by inſtalments; in which caſe the latter does not deliver the title-deeds till after the purchaſe-money is entirely paid; and retains a right of ejecting the new ſettler from his land, if the conditions of payment, and all others appertaining to the bargain,

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(which generally conſiſts of an obligation to clear a certain number of acres) be not fulfilled. Sometimes the ſeller only requires a ſmall part of the price of the land in ready money; and the land remains ſubject to a perpetual rent, payable in money or in produce, which the purchaſer is not always at liberty to redeem.

Sometimes he ſells, or rather he alienates, only for a certain number of years—for inſtance, twelve or fifteen; and in moſt of theſe bargains the purchaſer binds himſelf to perform a certain number of days' work in perſon, at the requeſt of the ſeller; to clear annually a certain number of acres, or to build houſes; and all theſe improvements revert to the ſeller, when the term of years for which the bargain was made is expired. I ſhall here remark, by the way, that this kind of ſale for a limited time, or for an annual rent, may give great proprietors an influence in the elections of the legiſlature, in a country as yet not very rich, and where every body is an elector. It is accordingly acknowledged that it does give ſuch influence, and it is known that ſuch or ſuch a perſon can diſpoſe of ſo many ſeats in the legiſlature of his ſtate.

As yet, however, theſe examples are not frequent. Almoſt all the great landed proprietors endeavour to get ſome purchaſers of ſmall lots to ſettle upon their eſtates; becauſe, by clearing ſome portions of it they enhance the value of the reſt.

The third mean, that of waiting till time has raiſed the price of land, is the reſource of great proprietors, who have not been able to employ the two others. With ſome, however, it is a mere calculation; a calculation ſo much the more dangerous, as the ambition of the proprietor increaſes with the riſe in the price, in caſe ſuch a riſe take place; and as that riſe is far from being certain, and as there is already a number of examples of proprietors who, in the following year, would have been glad to ſell at the price that they had refuſed the year, before. They are, however, not the more inclined to take the price that is then offered them, becauſe it is lower; they rather wiſh to wait for the price which they have refuſed. This is the way in which every kind of ſpeculation is in general conducted. A great profit does not ſuffice, when we flatter ourſelves that

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we ſhall obtain a greater ſtill. We are but too apt to flatter ourſelves; and it ſometimes happens that at laſt we obtain nothing at all.

Speculations in land have been the means of making great fortunes in America; but they have alſo occaſioned more diſtreſs, total ruin, and great and diſaſtrous bankruptcies, than any other kind. Of this there are ſome remarkable examples, among an infinite number of others of leſs note, but not leſs certain. For prudence has no more been the guide of theſe ſpeculators than of others; nor are there any which have been more generally adopted, nor which have been a greater ſource of deception. The lands in America are alſo the branch of trade which has given occaſion to the greateſt number of law-ſuits; as well on account of the titles as of the limits, and of the fulfilment of the conditions of ſale.

The moſt certain, as well as the moſt advantageous means of deriving profit from a great extent of new land in America, is, for the purchaſer to begin clearing it of himſelf; to attract inhabitants as ſpeedily as poſſible, by giving them, at a low rate, and even for nothing, if neceſſary, a number of acres ſufficient for the maintenance of their family; to erect mills, make bridges and roads; to build houſes even; and to encourage, in every way, the efforts of the new ſettlers; in ſhort, to make conſiderable ſacrifices in the firſt inſtance.

There is no example of theſe firſt ſacrifices, when made with intelligence, and to a ſuitable extent, not having rapidly increaſed the value of the land reſerved by the proprietor, and ſpeedily enriched him, by attracting great numbers of emigrants from other countries. Many of theſe brilliant ſucceſſes may be quoted; and among them that of the Dutch company, which is ſkilfully directed by a Mr. CASENORE; but no one's ſucceſs has been more complete than that of Captain Williamſon in the Geneſſee.

This honourable and ſafe manner of deriving advantage from the poſſeſſion of a great quantity of new land, requires indeed a command of money; and there are very few ſpeculators in land who have any. Thoſe who have, are not inclined to withdraw it from the buſineſs of ſtock-jobbing, from which they get a return three or four times a year, with great

great profits; but more commonly they have none. Very often, indeed, theſe ſpeculations are carried on without the ſmalleſt capital; or elſe by merchants, ſhopkeepers, and workmen, who have occaſion for their money in trade; for, as I ſaid before, every body deals in land.

Theſe means are, however, becoming more neceſſary than they have been hitherto. The buying of land is no longer ſo much the faſhion; and the commodity abounds the more in the market, in proportion as commercial operations are leſs ſucceſsful, and as private fortunes are decayed. The numerous deceptions which the Europeans have experienced in the purchaſe of American lands, have brought them into great diſcredit in Europe. France advances much more rapidly than was ſuppoſed to be poſſible, towards a ſtate of complete tranquillity, which muſt make it once more a comfortable abode. The derangement of many French fortunes by means of the revolution, will bring a great number of eſtates to ſale. Commerce and the manufactures will alſo afford great and advantageous room for foreign capitals. It will be the ſame ſucceſſively, with the other European States, if they are doomed to experience the miſchiefs of a revolution; and if ſome European capitaliſts ſhould think that a part of their fortune would be laid out with more ſafety beyond the Atlantic than elſewhere, they would probably prefer the veſting of it in the American funds to the purchaſe of diſtant lands. For every one in Europe muſt now be aware, that no man ſhould now buy land in America till it has been inſpected by himſelf, or by ſome of his particular friends.

The quantity of land upon ſale in the United States is immenſe. Tranquillity is not ſo completely eſtabliſhed there as it appeared to be two years ago. It is threatened on more ſides than one. The ſpirit of democracy has made as great and as rapid progreſs in the country, as the ſpirit of ariſtocracy has in the towns. Although the proportion of proprietors is incomparably greater there than in any part of Europe, there exiſts a certain number of non-proprietors; and every body thinks he has a right to have an eſtate. The murmurs againſt the poſſeſſors of a great number of acres of land, which they keep in their own hands,

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till they think they can get a ſufficient price, and thus put the purchaſe of it beyond the reach of theſe non-proprietors, begin to be ſomewhat violent; for every body knows the low price which theſe poſſeſſors of great maſſes of land originally paid for them. Many families ſettle without title or permiſſion upon theſe large properties, and their number ſometimes renders it very difficult to eject them. The judgments of the tribunals which orders them off the land, cannot often be put in execution, becauſe public opinion begins to be very ſtrong againſt the holding of ſuch large tracts of land, which is already called a monopoly. I could quote ſeveral examples of this; but it is not my purpoſe here to enter into particulars. Although many members of the legiſlature are themſelves great landholders, the legiſlatures can no longer prolong the periods of payment, and alter the conditions of ſale. In many ſtates, the uncultivated land begins to be already ſubject to taxes; as yet indeed they are taxed very low; but the time approaches when thoſe taxes will increaſe, and when the legiſlatures, perceiving that it is the intereſt of their ſtate to attract thither a greater population, will find, perhaps, that it is good policy to raiſe the taxes even higher than that of the cultivated land, till a certain proportion of their extent at leaſt is cleared, in order to render the poſſeſſion of theſe lands burthenſome to thoſe who keep too great a quantity in their hands, and thus to make it their own intereſt ſpeedily to parcel them out. All theſe circumſtances render it more neceſſary than ever for the great holders of land to take the ſpeedieſt means of turning it to account, and muſt conſequently tend to diſcourage this kind of ſpeculation.

This ſtate of things is, no doubt, an unfortunate one for the ſpeculators in land, and for thoſe who poſſeſs great maſſes of it. Hence probably many of them will find themſelves deceived in their calculations, and many of their fortunes will be deranged. But this is nothing in compariſon with the national proſperity that will reſult from the clearing and occupying of the uncultivated and deſert lands, whether the ſettlers have bought them of the proprietors, or whether they have uſurped the poſſeſſion of them.

The land in America is in general good, and only requires to be tilled to afford an ample produce. The population increaſes, as has already been ſeen, in an almoſt incredible proportion; and the people in America are not deterred from the clearing of waſte land, either by attachment to their natal ſoil, by the greatneſs of the diſtance, or, in ſhort, by any difficulty whatever. The federal government of the United States, or, more properly ſpeaking, the Union, poſſeſſes alſo in the Weſtern Territory, north of the Ohio, a quantity of land which is ſuppoſed to amount to ten or twelve millions of acres. The congreſs, in May 1796, ordered theſe lands to be ſurveyed, and divided into townſhips of ſix miles ſquare each. One half of theſe townſhips are to be alternately divided into ſections, containing each about ſix hundred and forty acres; and then the whole is to be ſold by townſhips or by ſections. This ſale is to be ſuperintended by the governor and ſecretary of the weſtern territory.

Seven rows of townſhips at a little diſtance from Pittſburgh, in the ſame territory, had been ſurveyed by order of the old congreſs, which had alſo ordered the ſale of them; but it had only been effected in part. The congreſs by the ſame law of 1796, ordered this land alſo to be ſold, under the direction of the ſecretary of the treaſury; who fixed the loweſt price at two dollars per acre. It was to be ſold by auction; a depoſit of fifty per cent was to be made within thirty days after the purchaſe, and the other fifty a year after, under the penalty of diſpoſſeſſion, in regard to ſuch purchaſers as did not fulfil theſe conditions. In requiring ſo ſpeedy a payment for theſe lands, and in keeping them at ſo high a price, the intentions of the congreſs were to render great ſpeculations more difficult. But, by a report the ſecretary of the treaſury made at the end of laſt January, it appears that this condition, and the price fixed by the congreſs, kept away a great many purchaſers, ſince no more than forty-nine thouſand acres, out of about ſix hundred and eighty thouſand, had been ſold, and the ſeven rows of townſhips, with the ſale of which he was charged. The congreſs, however, made no change in the law of the preceding year, except by allowing ſtock to be taken in payment of

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theſe lands at its current value at the time of the purchaſe. But it did not diminiſh the fixed price, nor enlarge the time of payment; and it acted wiſely. The fineneſs of the country, the goodneſs of the land, the mildneſs of the climate, and the facility of communication, leave no doubt but that they will be ſettled in no great ſpace of time. The natural emigration from the northern ſtates, which are the moſt populous of all, conſtantly take a weſtern direction. It is impoſſible to aſcertain what is the annual number of emigrants who paſs the Alleghany Mountains; in ſome years it had amounted to thirty thouſand ſouls; and I have heard it eſtimated at an average at fifteen thouſand a year, but without any certain *data* being aſſigned. However this may be, it is conſiderable, and will become much more ſo, in proportion to the increaſing population of the United States.

The greater number of theſe emigrants have hitherto directed their ſteps to Kentucky, and to the Tenneſſee country; but ſome always remain in Pennſylvania, and a great many already proceed to the Weſtern Territory, where the land will increaſe, in proportion as the Indians are obliged, by the approach of the whites, to abandon the territory which they ſtill occupy, and which the United States will not fail to purchaſe.

It is poſſible, and even probable, that the congreſs will be obliged to give the purchaſers of theſe lands more time for payment. It will be a reſource of great importance for the diminution of the national debt, to which it is irrevocably deſtined; and perhaps at a period not very diſtant, the Weſtern Territory will be the moſt populous, the beſt cultivated, and one of the moſt important ſtates of the Union.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The inſtitution which gives the preſident of the United States the chief command of the forces by land and ſea, as well as of the militia of the different ſtates, when employed in the ſervice of the confederacy, reſerves to the congreſs the power of making laws for the adminiſtration

and diſcipline of the forces by land and ſea; that of employing the neceſſary means for the embodying of the militia; for the purpoſe of putting in execution the laws of the Union; repreſſing inſurrections, and repelling incurſions; has alſo the power of regulating the organization, arming, and diſcipline of the militia, and the conduct of ſuch part of the militia as is employed in the ſervice of the United States, leaving to each of the ſtates the appointment of officers, and the training of this militia, in conformity to the rules of diſcipline preſcribed by the congreſs.

A law of the 18th of May 1796 has fixed the military eſtabliſhment of the United States, and revoked all thoſe previouſly made upon that ſubject.

It is compoſed of a body of artillery and engineers, of two companies of light dragoons, who are to ſerve on foot or on horſeback, according to the will of the preſident, and of four regiments of infantry.

The corps of artillery and of engineers, conſiſting of ſeven hundred and ſixty-four men, is divided into four battalions, and each battalion into four companies. Each company is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and two cadets; each battalion by a major; and the whole corps by a lieutenant-colonel, who has an adjutant-general under him.

Each company of dragoons is compoſed of fifty-two privates, eleven ſerjeants, corporals, ſaddlers, farriers, and trumpeters; and is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and a cornet.

The ſtaff of each regiment of infantry is compoſed of a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, an adjutant, a pay-maſter, a quarter-maſter, a ſurgeon, and two aſſiſtant-ſurgeons.

Each company is commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, and an enſign, and is compoſed of ſixty-two ſerjeants, corporals, ſoldiers, and muſicians.

The army conſequently conſiſts of two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four ſerjeants, muſicians, ſoldiers, dragoons, and artillery-men.

According to the above law, the ſtaff of the army was compoſed of a major-general, with two *aides-de-camp*, a brigadier-general, and a major of brigade; but this part of the law was repealed on the 3d of May 1797.

1797, and the ſtaff is reduced to a brigadier-general, a major of brigade, and an inſpector, both choſen by the brigadier-general from among the captains, and other officers of the army; a judge-advocate; a quarter-maſter, and a paymaſter-general; which laſt, as well as the aids-de-camp, is choſen by the brigadier-general from among the officers of the army.

The pay of the army conſiſts of money and proviſions.

The brigadier-general receives a hundred and four dollars per month, and twelve rations a day.

The brigade-major, the inſpector, the judge-advocate, the quarter-maſter, the treaſurer, and the aids-de-camp, twenty-four dollars and four rations, beſides their pay as officers in the line.

The lieutenant-colonels commandant, ſixty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of artillery, fifty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of infantry, fifty dollars and five rations.

The captains, forty dollars and three rations.

The lieutenants, thirty dollars; the enſigns and cornets, twenty-five dollars; and each three rations.

The ſurgeons, forty-five dollars and three rations.

The aſſiſtant ſurgeons, thirty dollars and two rations.

The paymaſters, quartermaſters, and adjutants of regiments, who may alſo be taken from among the officers of the line, receive, independently of their pay as officers of the line, ten dollars a month.

The brigadier-general, when he is commander in chief, and all the officers detached on particular commands, receive double the rations which are allowed for their rank when they are not in command.

The ſerjeant-major, and the quartermaſter-ſerjeant, receive eight dollars per month.

The maſter of the band, and the other ſerjeants, ſeven dollars.

The corporals, ſix.

The muſicians, five.

The privates, four.

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The workmen attached to the regiment, nine.

The nurſes to the hoſpital, eight.

All receive only one ration.

The ration conſiſts of a pound of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, a pound of bread or flour, half a gill of rum, brandy, or whiſky; and of a quarter of a pound of ſalt, a quart of vinegar, two pounds of ſoap, and a pound of candles, to be divided between every hundred rations.

The rations are either furniſhed in kind, or paid in money, according to the common price of the articles in the country where the troops are quartered.

Forage is alſo paid in money to thoſe officers who are entitled to it by law; but at a fixed price, which is ſixteen dollars per month for the brigadier-general; twelve for the quartermaſter, inſpector, treaſurer, and lieutenant-colonels; ten for the majors and aides-de-camp; eight for the captains of dragoons; ſix for the lieutenants and cornets; ten for the ſurgeon; ſix for the aſſiſtant-ſurgeons, adjutants, and quartermaſter of the regiment.

The ſerjeants, corporals, muſicians, and privates, are, independently of their pay and of the ration, each to be furniſhed annually with a hat, a waiſtcoat, four pair of pantaloons (two of woollen, two of linen), four pair of ſhoes, four ſhirts, four pair of half ſtockings, a blanket, a ſtock with a claſp, and a pair of ſhoe-buckles.

They are enliſted for five years, and they receive a bounty of ſixteen dollars, four of which only are paid them till they join the regiment.

Officers employed on the recruiting ſervice receive two dollars for every man they enliſt.

Deſerters are puniſhed by a fine of twenty dollars, and condemned to ſerve a new and complete term of enliſtment from the day of their ſentence. Perſons who either conceal or aſſiſt them in deſerting, are puniſhable by a fine of thirty dollars, and brought to trial before the common courts of juſtice.

The military are tried by courts-martial, the ſentence of which muſt

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be approved by the preſident of the United States. Every officer or ſoldier, on entering into the ſervice, takes and ſigns the oath of allegiance to the United States, and of obedience to the preſident, and to his officers, according to the rules and diſcipline of war.

The law, having for its object to eſtabliſh an uniform militia throughout the whole extent of the United States, was enacted in the month of May 1792. It declared every male and free inhabitant of the United States, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, liable to ſerve; excepting all public officers; all perſons employed in the ſervice of the poſt-office, and in that of the ferries acroſs the rivers; ſeamen in active ſervice, and all thoſe who may be exempted by the laws of particular ſtates.

The ſame law directs the militia to be formed into diviſions, brigades, regiments, and companies. It regulates the number of officers in each of theſe diviſions; preſcribes the formation of a company of grenadiers *per* battalion, and of one of artillery and another of cavalry *per* diviſion. Theſe two companies are to be compoſed of volunteers, clothed and mounted at their own expence. Each militia-man muſt alſo be armed at his own coſt.

An adjutant-general for every county muſt keep a roll of this militia, and of the ſtate of its equipment.

An inſpector for every brigade is charged with the diſcipline of the militia at the time it is embodied; but the whole is ſubordinate to the governor of the ſtate.

A law, of January 1795, fixes the pay of the militia called out for the ſervice of the ſtate. It includes the expence of cloathing, with which the militia-men are ſuppoſed to have provided themſelves. A ſerjeant-major has nine dollars a month; a corporal, muſician, or drummer, eight dollars thirty-three *cents*; a workman, eight dollars; and a private, ſix dollars ſixty-ſix *cents*. The officers, ſerjeants, and privates of the cavalry, receive forty cents per day for the remount of their horſe, and twenty-five cents for its keep. The rations of the militia are the ſame

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as thoſe of the troops of the line. The officers of the militia receive the ſame quantity, and have alſo the ſame pay as officers in the line.

Another law, of the 28th of February of the ſame year, authoriſes the preſident of the United States, in caſe of a threatened invaſion on the part of any foreign power, or of the Indians; or in caſe of an inſurrection in the territory of the United States, or of a concerted diſobedience to the laws of the Union, to call out the militia of one or more ſtates, in ſuch proportion and number as he ſhall think proper. In the firſt of theſe caſes, the preſident ſends his orders directly to the ſuperior officers or individuals commanding the militia corps that he wiſhes to march. In the others, he muſt addreſs himſelf to the legiſlature of the ſtates, if they are aſſembled; or, if not, to their executive power.

The militia called out into actual ſervice on account of the United States, are ſubject to the ſame regulations as the army; but no individual can be compelled to ſerve longer than three months from the day on which he preſented himſelf at the place of aſſembly.

Courts-martial to try officers or ſoldiers of the militia muſt be compoſed of their own officers. Among the offences of which a militia-man may be guilty, is diſobedience to the orders of the preſident, which is puniſhed by a fine, not exceeding a year of the delinquent's pay, nor leſs than a month's. Confinement is the puniſhment of non-payment of fines, which are the only penalties of breaches of diſcipline.

Although all the militia are bound by the law to provide themſelves with arms at their own expence, and though they are ſubject to a fine if they do not, the greater number is generally unprovided when the militia is to be aſſembled, and particularly when called out ſuddenly upon actual ſervice. The different ſtates, therefore, are now taking meaſures to have arms in ſtore for ſuch men as want them at the moment when the ſtate has occaſion for their ſervices. But in ſome ſtates they have hardly begun to procure a ſupply; in all they are tardy in doing ſo; and in none is the number complete. The Union has alſo arſenals to ſupply the deficiency of thoſe of the ſtates, when the militia is called out upon its

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ſervice. Theſe arſenals ought to contain one hundred thouſand ſtands of arms, but do not contain fifteen thouſand fit for ſervice. Every year new ones are purchaſed; but every time alſo that theſe arms are given to the militia-men, who ought to return them as ſoon as the time of their ſervice is expired, as well as the reſt of their accoutrements, under penalty of a fine equal to the value of their arms, or of ſuch part of them as may have been left, not a third of them is brought back to the arſenal.

The fortifications are another branch of the war department; that is to ſay, thoſe erected by the Union; but it never erects any, except in places where the land is entirely given up to it by the ſtate to which it belongs. Many of the ſtates, as has already been ſeen, are averſe to this ceſſion; and in that caſe, if they wiſh for fortifications, they can only have them at their own expence. Thoſe which the Union erects and keeps up are few, and almoſt all incomplete. Good engineers being ſcarce, the Americans are obliged to employ ſuch as they can get, who are generally foreigners who do not half underſtand their buſineſs, and who are generally more attentive to their own intereſt than that of the United States. Great plans are drawn; the works are begun at great expence; there is a want of money the following year; and the fortifications are either entirely relinquiſhed, or reduced to ſo ſmall a ſcale, that they are either good for nothing or at leaſt defective, ſo that the money ſpent the preceding year may be ſaid to be thrown away.

Portland, in the province of Main; Portſmouth, in New Hampſhire; Glouceſter, Salem, Marblehead, in the Maſſachuſets; Newport, in Rhode Iſland; New York, in the ſtate of New York; Mud-Iſland, near Philadelphia; Baltimore, in Maryland; Norfolk, in Virginia; Octecock and Wilmington, in North Carolina; George-town, in South Carolina; Savannah and St. Mary, in Georgia, are the only places to be found in the liſt of the fortifications of the United States; and he who has ſeen them all with his own eyes, knows that very few of them are to remain there.

Governor's Iſland, near New York; Sullivan's Iſland, near Charleſton; and Caſtle Iſland, near Boſton, were to have been fortified by the Union; but the ſtates to which they belong refuſe to give up the ſove-

reignty of the land; whence it happens that places which it is of ſo much conſequence to fortify, are not fortified, or at leaſt very incompletely. This is attended with danger, not only to the ſtate which refuſes the ceſſion of its land, but alſo to the Union in general, ſince the entrance of a principal point not being completely defended, its territory is laid open; and ſince it is evident that there are no ſure means of defending a country, except thoſe which are the reſult of a whole ſyſtem, calculated to embrace its totality as well as its ſeparate parts; now no ſuch a ſyſtem exiſts in the United States.

The navy is alſo with them a branch of the war department. This navy has as yet no exiſtence. In 1794, the commerce of the United States being attacked by the Algerines, the congreſs paſſed a law, authorizing the preſident to purchaſe or cauſe to be built, four frigates of forty-four guns, and two of thirty-ſix. It regulated the number of officers, ſailors and ſoldiers, with which theſe frigates were to be manned, and the pay of their crews. That of the ſailors, ſays the law, is not to exceed twenty-ſeven dollars a month, independently of their allowance, and this high pay was neceſſary on account of the ſtill higher wages given at that time to ſailors employed in the merchant ſervice. The congreſs granted the preſident ſix hundred and eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars for the expences of the conſtruction or purchaſe of theſe ſhips. The ſame law enacted, that if the United States made peace with the Algerines, the armament was to inſtantly ceaſe.

In 1796, peace being made with this piratical power, another law of the congreſs authorized the preſident to complete the conſtruction only of two frigates of forty-four guns, and of one of thirty-ſix, directing that the materials in ſtore, which had been deſtined for the conſtruction of the three others, ſhould be preſerved, if it could be done without fear of their decaying, or otherwiſe, that they ſhould be ſold.

It applied to the completion of theſe three frigates, part of the ſix hundred and eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars voted for the conſtruction of the ſix, and which had not yet been expended, and eighty thouſand dollars more, alſo voted in 1796, at the

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time when America was apprehenſive of war with England, in order to purchaſe and equip ten ſmall veſſels, for the defence of the coaſts of the United States.

In the laſt ſeſſion but one, and at the beginning of 1797, the congreſs again granted for this ſame ſervice one hundred and ſeventy-two thouſand dollars, and ten thouſand dollars more for the pay of the captains.

In the laſt ſeſſion, in May 1797, one hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſix dollars were demanded, and granted, in order to complete this armament.

According to the eſtimate of the ſecretary at war, the value of the materials preſerved of the frigates that had been begun, and countermanded, as well as of thoſe in ſtore, amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-four dollars; which makes the total expence of the conſtruction and equipment of theſe three frigates one million twelve thouſand ſix hundred and fifty dollars, or eight thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix dollars *per* gun.

This enormous price is owing:

To the neceſſity of going as far as Georgia to fell the timber, for which purpoſe the government thought it adviſable to ſend carpenters from the northern ſtates.

To the tardineſs with which ſupplies of it were provided, inſomuch that the frigates being laid down, materials were wanting to go on with them. They were expected from day to day, and it was often neceſſary to pay the ſhipwrights for whole months, without their having any work; for it would have been difficult to procure others, had theſe been diſmiſſed.

And above all, to the want of economy in the uſe of the materials, to the want of ſuperintendance and foreſight, which every where prevails in the expences of the war department of the United States; for it is evident, that with more care and regularity, and better management, the frigates might have been built at more than a third leſs expence. The pay, the victualling and annual repairs of theſe three frigates are eſtimated at three hundred and fifty thouſand dollars. It muſt be confeſſed that it

is a very expenſive piece of parade. For what kind of a navy of the Union of ſixteen ſtates is that which is compoſed of only three frigates?

In this enormous expence, of upwards of a million of dollars, for the conſtruction of theſe three frigates, the expence occaſioned by that which the United States give to the Dey of Algiers, by a ſecret article of the treaty, is not included. She will coſt about a hundred thouſand dollars, being only of thirty-two guns, not being built of cedar and live oak like the other three, and being better attended to during her conſtruction.

The department of the Indians is alſo one of the branches of the war department. It is with the ſecretary at war, that the agents employed among the Indians correſpond, and it is by him that are tranſmitted the aid granted them, by virtue of a treaty with the United States, or the preſents made them by the Union. Theſe expences, annually, amount to a hundred thouſand dollars.

The expences of the war department are defrayed by ſums which the congreſs votes every year for that purpoſe, according to the eſtimate that is preſented to them by the ſecretary of the treaſury, who himſelf receives it from the ſecretary at war.

Sometimes the grant of money for the expences of the war department, is made by a particular aid; ſometimes it is included in the ſame act which grants all the ſums deemed neceſſary for the total expence of the government. But the ſums appropriated to the war department are always diſtinctly ſpecified for each article of which they are compoſed; the pay of the troops, proviſions, forage, clothing, equipment of the cavalry, purchaſe of horſes, hoſpitals, artillery, expence of offices, Indians, expence of the frontiers, ſalaries, military penſions, ſupply of magazines, purchaſe of ammunition, naval armaments, &c. &c.

The ſums deſtined to this department were, in 1789, one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand dollars; in 1790, one hundred and ninety-four thouſand one hundred and forty-four; in 1791, ſix hundred and fifteen thouſand four hundred and twenty-one; in 1792, one million one hundred and ſeventeen thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſix; in 1793, one million one hundred

hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-five; in 1794, two million three hundred and ſixty-two thouſand one hundred and three; in 1795, two million ſix hundred and thirty-five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty; in 1796, one million four hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand one hundred; and in 1797, one million five hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and thirty-two dollars.

The great increaſe of the war expences for the years 1794 and 1795, reſulted from the Pittſburg expedition, of which I ſhall ſay a few words, and which coſt near twelve hundred thouſand dollars.

In this application of fifteen hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand nine hundred and thirty-one dollars to the expences of the war department, in 1797, upwards of a million were deſtined for the real and effective expences of the army, that is to ſay, pay, proviſions, forage, purchaſe of horſes, and hoſpitals. The fortifications are eſtimated at only twenty-four thouſand dollars, and yet the army is compoſed of only two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four men. There are no corps of militia to be ſupported; for the ſums voted in the laſt May ſeſſion, in conſequence of the fears that were entertained of a war, are not comprehended in this eſtimate; nor even the ſalaries of the ſecretary at war, and of his clerks, which are always included among the expences of the civil liſt.

The known probity of thoſe who have been placed at the head of this department, renders all ſuſpicion of their infidelity impoſſible; and beſides, the manner in which the diſburſements are made, the formalities obſerved in the iſſue of the public money, which can only be drawn for by bills expreſſive of the caſe to which it is to be applied, preclude all means of malverſation, at leaſt to any conſiderable amount. But upon comparing the exceſſive expences of the war department with the weakneſs of the army, the bad ſtate of the fortifications, and the ſmall reſult of theſe great diſburſements, we cannot be aſtoniſhed at often hearing a great want of intelligence and order imputed to the war department.

In congreſs the ſecretaries of war have often been reproached with conſidering the ſums allotted to their department as a total of which they might diſpoſe for the different articles of expenditure, without limiting

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the expences of each of them to the ſums ſpecially voted for that purpoſe; with expending, for inſtance, more or leſs for the fortifications than the ſum particularly deſtined for their erection or repair; with applying to the hoſpitals, clothing, victualling, or any other article of this department, the ſurplus ariſing from the ſavings made in the fortifications, or with retrenching from thoſe different articles the ſums applied to the fortifications beyond thoſe preſcribed by the law.

This reproach was particularly made with reſpect to the expences of the Pittſburg expedition, for which the ſecretary at war furniſhed the ſums granted by congreſs for the particular expences of his department, without being able to do ſo, otherwiſe than by ſuſpending the different payments to which the ſums voted were meant to be applied.

It ſeems that this reproach, though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, not unfounded, is nevertheleſs unjuſt. If the expedition to Pittſburg were neceſſary, if it were indiſpenſable to conduct it with celerity, and to carry it to ſo great an extent, and if there were a real danger in ſuſpending it, the ſums devoted to it were conſequently the moſt urgent part of the expenditure of the United States, ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of public order depended upon that expedition. Every delay would then have been a great evil; and there was at that time no other means of finding money for it, either legal or even poſſible. Beſides, the ſecretary at war and the preſident remained reſponſible, in caſe the meaſures they deemed indiſpenſable were diſapproved by the congreſs.

Here I am naturally led to ſpeak of this expedition, concerning which opinions were, and continue to be, much divided. It was at an end before I arrived in America, and my travels never carried me into that part of Pennſylvania where the inſurrection took place. I can then have no other information than that which is to be obtained by converſing with the two parties, and reading every thing that has been printed upon the ſubject.

Nobody can doubt that there was then in the counties of Weſtmoreland, La Fayette, Waſhington, and of the Alleghanies, a formal oppoſition to the collection of the tax upon diſtilleries; an oppoſition which was of ancient

ancient date, and ſupported by force of arms; a combination and conſpiracy to prevent the payment of that exciſe duty; a known reſolution to employ force againſt all thoſe who ſhould either demand that tax, or even ſubmit to pay it; every thing, in ſhort, which characterizes an inſurrection. It has been ſaid that Mr. Hamilton, then ſecretary of the treaſury, might have prevented this inſurrection without prejudice to the revenue, by not keeping in place, contrary to the will of the country, exciſe officers, whoſe characters, harſhneſs, and conduct were reprehenſible; and by inſtituting in the early ſtage of the buſineſs a legal proſecution againſt the oppoſers of the collection of the tax. His enemies attribute this fault to his deſire of provoking a reſiſtance ſo ſtrong, that its repreſſion might give more force to this impoſt, of which he was the promoter, which congreſs had conſented to with great reluctance, and which was generally diſliked: they even aſcribed to him the intention of gratifying his particular hatred againſt ſome of his perſonal enemies.

Knowing the diſpoſition of Mr. Hamilton, as I think I know it, I cannot admit the poſſibility of ſuch a reproach; but even were it founded, it would not have been a ſufficient reaſon againſt the expedition at the moment it was ordered, when the inſurrection was unequivocal, extenſive, and might become formidable. It is only its neceſſity, or its inutility, at that time, that is in queſtion here.

A few years before, an inſurrection, which was alſo cauſed by the non-payment of taxes, had taken place in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts.

It was important to put a ſtop to this ſpirit of reſiſtance, fatal to the public treaſury, ſtill more fatal to the conſtitution, and for all the bleſſings which, in a well regulated government, reſult from the exact obſervation of the laws. It was therefore neceſſary to act againſt this inſurrection, and to act with means ſufficient to inſure its repreſſion, and to act ſpeedily; for the courſe of juſtice began to be ſuſpended in theſe cantons; the heat of men's minds was daily increaſing; the number of the inſurgents was augmenting, and the commiſſioners ſent to them by the preſident had returned without producing the deſired effect; and yet they were men highly eſteemed.

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If the diſorder had not then been ſtifled at its birth, it was not improbable that it would have found imitators in other parts of the United States; and that the Pittſburg inſurrection itſelf would have grown more formidable, and have been in the end the germ of ſerious inteſtine diſſentions, which might, perhaps, have occaſioned a great effuſion of blood before they could have been terminated.

To what degree did Mr. Hamilton, for every body concurs in opinion that he directed this operation, to what degree, I ſay, did he proportion the means to the neceſſity? This is a point upon which I will not undertake to decide, for the neceſſity was in this caſe a compound of different elements.

In the firſt place it was neceſſary to quiet the inſurrection, it was alſo neceſſary to intereſt the public opinion in the annihilation of this diſorder, and by that means to prevent its future reproduction. That important object could not be better attained than by the calling out of the militia of the different ſtates. To employ the different militia of the counties of Pennſylvania adjacent to the ſcene of inſurrection, even had they all been unanimouſly diſpoſed to ſerve in this cauſe, a thing of which doubts might reaſonably have been entertained; to employ them alone would have been to riſk the ſowing the ſeeds of diſcord and of hatred in this ſtate; this danger was averted by calling out upon this ſervice the militia of the other ſtates.

It was beſides a favourable opportunity of trying that part of the conſtitution, which authorizes the preſident of the United States to embody the militia, and of proving the attachment of the American people to that conſtitution. Such a trial could not have been made under better auſpices than the preſidency of George Waſhington, who at that time was highly popular.

That the private animoſity of Mr. Hamilton had any ſhare in this buſineſs, as has been ſaid, is what I ſhall never prevail upon myſelf to believe; his character oppoſes ſuch an opinion, and the powerful reaſons which were the motive of this expedition are alone a ſufficient evidence of its neceſſity.

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It is poſſible, and I am inclined to believe, that this expedition, in which fifteen thouſand men were employed, would have been in every reſpect equally ſucceſsful with one-third of the force; and that, conſequently, the immenſe expence which reſulted from the march of this army acroſs a country very little inhabited, and from the ſupplies of proviſions which it was neceſſary to procure from Philadelphia, might have been conſiderably diminiſhed. The exceſs of expences beyond exact neceſſity is, no doubt, a great evil in every government. But ſtill it may be ſaid, that the diſplay of this great force, that the order given to the militia that did not march, to hold themſelves in readineſs to do ſo, to the number of eighty thouſand men, rendered the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents more prompt and more complete.

But whatever may have been the exceſs in the expences, or the hidden views of men of influence, the expedition had a deſirable effect in regard to all good citizens; an adherence to the meaſures of government, and an attachment to the conſtitution, were generally expreſſed; they were manifeſted ſtrongly and ſincerely by the federaliſts and anti-federaliſts; and although the oppoſite party accuſed ſome of the latter with being the promoters of the inſurrection, not one among them could be found that was in the ſmalleſt degree implicated in it. Men of different political opinions marched as volunteers in the militia of their ſtate, leaving their buſineſs and their families, in order to promote the public welfare. All proved that the maintenance of order and a reſpect for the laws were unanimouſly conſidered as the duty, as the intereſt of every good citizen. Not a ſingle drop of blood was ſpilt, and the general good wiſhes of the different parties in the United States, attended this expedition throughout its whole duration of four months.

I had been a few days at Philadelphia, when the militia of that city marched in from this expedition; and I find in a journal that I then kept of the impreſſions I received from all the new objects which ſtruck me, that which was cauſed by the arrival of this militia. I inſert it here.

"The battalions did not come back from this expedition till the be-

ginning of December; their return was a real *fête* for the city; not one of thoſe *fêtes* which we have often ſeen ordered in Europe by the governments, and which are ſure to be attended with great expence, tumult, and diſorder; but of thoſe which the public mind can alone give and receive, and perhaps only on a ſimilar occaſion.

"The day of their arrival was announced; their brother ſoldiers, who had remained at Philadelphia, or had already returned from the expedition, went in a body to meet them, three miles without the city; almoſt all the inhabitants came out of their houſes, either to go and meet the troops, or to place themſelves where they were to paſs; moſt of them had to ſee a ſon, a brother, a couſin, a friend, or ſome intereſting perſon: all ſaw in them the defenders of the law, the object of public gratitude. The militia that had left the city, in meeting the others, formed their advanced and rear guards; thoſe who were coming back continued their march. The crowd that preſſed upon them did not diſturb their order; their battalions marched by columns in ranks at five or ſix paces aſunder. The men who compoſed them were moſtly young, had a good appearance and marched well: they were clothed alike, and carried a large knapſack, with which none of them ſeemed fatigued. Their looks ſought and received with ſatisfaction thoſe which affection and joy ſent them from all quarters; but they did not quit their ranks, and the regularity of their march was not interrupted. In this manner they croſſed the city amidſt the acclamations of the public.

"The preſident, whoſe houſe lay in their way, came out, received their ſalutes, and joined his applauſe to that of the other citizens; and this applauſe alone was more gratifying to the battalions than that of all the others. Being arrived before the ſtate-houſe, they returned their colours, and were diſbanded.

"Then their relations and friends, both male and female, got hold of theſe ſoldiers who were reſtored to them. The recollection of the fear that was entertained at their departure of the dangers they were about to run, augmented the pleaſure of ſeeing them again, although they had

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not incurred any; they were hugged, kiſſed, and led to their homes; every one had about him a little groupe compoſed of perſons to whom he was the moſt dear; and thoſe citizens, who feelingly exulted in the peace and happineſs which theſe children of the country were about to find again in the boſom of their families. Europeans or Americans, nobody was inſenſible to this ſpectacle, which was equally affecting and ſublime. Tears fell from ſeveral eyes.

"Such is the exact account of this *fête*, where thoſe who were preſent felt more happineſs than gaiety, and where public welfare muſt have received the aſſurance of finding again, whenever there was a neceſſity for it, the ſame attachment as that which had been thus recently rewarded."

CONNEXIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

The law whoſe object is to regulate the intercourſe between the citizens and the United States with the Indian tribes by whom they are ſurrounded, was enacted in May 1796. It is to continue in force during the ſpace of only two years, as was the caſe with the former laws on the ſame ſubject; but it contains regulations more ſtrongly marked with liberality and juſtice, and more explicitly laid down, than any of thoſe which preceded it.

By this law it is provided that the preſident ſhall cauſe the boundaries between the territory of the United States and that occupied by the different tribes bordering on them, to be aſcertained and marked as clearly as poſſible.

All inhabitants of the United States are forbidden to hunt in or carry off cattle from any part of the territories acknowledged by the treaty as the property or poſſeſſion of the Indians, on pain of a hundred dollars fine and ſix months' impriſonment.

They are prohibited on pain of fifty dollars fine and ſix months' impriſonment, to enter the territory of the Indians ſouth of the Ohio without a paſſport from the governor of ſome one of the ſtates, or from the military commandant of ſome of the poſts adjoining to that territory.

Every robbery, fraud, or other crime of what nature ſoever, committed againſt an Indian by an inhabitant of the United States and within the territory of the United States, is puniſhed by a fine of a hundred dollars and twelve months' impriſonment, beſides a reſtitution of the property taken or deſtroyed, or its value.

If the delinquent be unable to pay the value, the United States become reſponſible for it; provided however that the aggrieved Indian have not himſelf taken vengeance for the injury; in which caſe, the reſtitution is not to be made.

Any inhabitant of the United States who forms or endeavours to form a ſettlement for himſelf in the Indian territory, is to be recalled from it by the preſident of the United States, to pay a fine of a thouſand dollars, and ſuffer twelve months' impriſonment.

Any inhabitant who kills in the Indian territory an Indian belonging to any tribe in amity with the United States, is to ſuffer capital puniſhment.

All trade with the Indians is prohibited without permiſſion from the principal agent of the United States on the frontier of the Indian territory where ſuch trade is to be carried on: and thoſe who have obtained permiſſion for that purpoſe, are forbidden to purchaſe from the Indians any of the implements of houſehold economy, hunting or agriculture.

They muſt not, either from the Indians or from any white man reſiding among them, purchaſe any horſe, without expreſs permiſſion from the principal agent.

This law ſubjects the Indians to the ſame prohibitions with reſpect to the white people.

An Indian guilty of any crime may be apprehended within the territory of the United States.

If he eſcape, the inhabitant who has been injured by him is to lay his complaint, accompanied by a circumſtantial detail of particulars, before the agent of the United States, who is to demand reparation of the nation or tribe to which the offending Indian belongs, and to acquaint the preſident with the reſult of his demand.

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If reparation is not made, the injured party is indemnified from the treaſury of the United States; and the ſum thus applied is deducted from the ſubſidies granted by the United States to that tribe.

The courts of the United States, and alſo, when the cauſe is not capital, the courts of the individual States, take cognizance of all thoſe offences, even when they have been committed within the territories belonging to the Indians.

The troops of the United States ſtationed on the Indian frontier are bound to arreſt delinquent white men even in the Indian territory; and ſuch delinquents are to be apprehended in any part of the United States where they may be found.

This law, which is wiſe and juſt in its proviſions, is far from being punctually executed. The extremity of the United States bordering on the territory of the Indians is inhabited by a ſet of men who are in hoſtility with them. Avidity, and the deſire and intention of plundering them, are the motives which induced them to chooſe the frontier as the place of their ſettlement, and the ſources of that conſtant enmity which they bear to the Indians.

This claſs of inhabitants are, by the report of every individual who is not one of themſelves, the very worſt ſet of men in all America, and perhaps in the whole univerſe. The ſentiments and even the very idea of honeſty and humanity are unknown to them. They are all plundering ferocious banditti; and none but very ſlight ſhades of diſcrimination are obſervable between them in this reſpect: it therefore moſt commonly happens that neither accuſers nor witneſſes nor juries can be found for the proſecution of a white man guilty of a treſpaſs or crime againſt an Indian.

'The Americans, eſpecially thoſe on the frontier, no more conſider an Indian as a man than certain Weſt-Indian planters believe a negro to belong to the human ſpecies.'

The oppreſſions, the uſurpations, the crimes committed by the whites againſt the Indians are therefore never puniſhed: at leaſt the inſtances of puniſhment are ſo rare that it would be difficult to quote even a ſingle one.

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The Indian on the other hand, haraſſed and plundered, contracts the habit of robbery and pillage of which he ſees the example and is himſelf the victim: and as, according to the practice among ſavages, he extends his vengeance to every individual of the ſame colour with the perſon who has injured him,—the whites, even if there were any leſs inclined than others to plunder and hatred of the Indians, would aſſume that diſpoſition through hatred, or as a meaſure of ſafety. The Indians likewiſe ſay that it is the worſt claſs of their tribes who habitually continue near the frontiers.

The government of the United States does not poſſeſs ſufficient ſtrength to repreſs thoſe irregularities; the governments of the individual ſtates do not attend to them: every perſon ſpeaks of this dreadful ſtate of things as principally and originally ariſing from the lawleſs aggreſſions of the whites: but as the evil is habitual, and ſo inveterate, that it is not eaſy to diſcover a remedy for it, people ſpeak of it without horror.

Thus it is impoſſible even to foreſee any end to the cruel oppreſſions exerciſed over the Indians by the avidity of the American frontier ſettlers. I muſt add, that there are few Americans who do not entertain a wiſh, and even the deſign if they were able to accompliſh it, of driving the Indians acroſs the Miſſiſſippi, and even to the South Sea, which to the unreflecting ambition of many among them, appears the only boundary that ought to limit the extent of the United States.

Another law, enacted in April of the ſame year 1796, and whoſe duration is in like manner confined to two years, eſtabliſhes a trade with the Indians in the neighbourhood of the United States, under the authority of the preſident.

A hundred and fifty thouſand dollars are appropriated to the trade, of which the objects are to furniſh the Indians with ſuch ſupplies and implements as their wants require, and to purchaſe from them ſkins and furs.

The law directs that the prices of the articles ſold to the Indians be ſo regulated as barely to prevent the United States from loſing any part of their capital. It reſtrains the agents employed in this trade from trafficking directly or indirectly on their own account; it forbids them to

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cheat the Indians; and ſubjects them to fines of different magnitude in proportion to the nature of the offences by which they tranſgreſs theſe regulations. The diſtrict courts of the ſtates where the ſtore-houſes are eſtabliſhed for their commerce, take cognizance of theſe offences.

Whoever is acquainted with the temper of thoſe who treat with the Indians, may be aſſured that the liberal proviſions of this law are not punctually reduced to practice.

Here a word may be ſaid concerning the civilization of the Indians.

Whether civilization be a good or an evil to thoſe who live in the immenſity of woods neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, is a queſtion entirely metaphyſical, which I have no intention to diſcuſs.

But that Indians deſpoiled of nineteen parts out of twenty of their territory, and confined amidſt white people in a ſoil incapable of ſupplying the wants of their ſavage life, ſhould be civilized, is an inconteſtible truth, for in ſuch a ſituation it is neceſſary either to attempt their civilization or their deſtruction, and the latter alternative cannot yet be openly avowed.

It is an eſtabliſhed opinion in America, even among thoſe who appear the moſt exempt from prejudices, that the Indians can never be civilized; that the ſtricteſt education, the moſt aſſiduous and perſevering cares cannot deſtroy their ſavage habits, to which they recur with the moſt ardent paſſion, from the tranquillity and from the manners of the white people; and an infinite number of examples are cited of Indians who, brought up at Philadelphia, at New York, and even in Europe, never ceaſed to ſigh after their tribe, and quitted every thing to go and rejoin it whenever a favourable opportunity offered itſelf. So that aſſertion, ſupported by ſo many examples, becomes a received truth.

Yet there is no reaſoning which can enforce the belief of this pretended truth, and the proofs of the facts which are brought to ſupport it are not of a nature to ſilence inquiry. The Indians whoſe education has been attempted, or ſaid to be, had already paſſed ſome years of their life in the tribe to which they belonged; tranſported alone from their ſpecies into the midſt of white people different in language, habits and in colour,

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and often even in clothing, they became as it were iſolated, they were regarded by the whites as a different ſpecies of men; they did not attempt even to make them forget that they were from a nation ſtill exiſting, whoſe manners and habits had rivetted their firſt attention and made the deepeſt impreſſion upon them; if when arrived at the age of manhood, they ſhould have imbibed for a white woman that affection which naturally created the deſire of an union with her, the difference of colour became almoſt an inſurmountable obſtacle. Is it to be wondered then that theſe Indians ſhould wiſh to return to their tribe, of which they had ſtill the moſt lively memory, and where alone they were able to find companions of ſimilar manners to their own, and thoſe pleaſures which cauſe in man an attachment to life.

The reſult then of theſe examples ſo often quoted is, that an Indian educated in an American college, three hundred miles from his native place, cannot but with difficulty throw off his original habits and ceaſe to have a preference for them; this is the whole deduction. There are in Connecticut, in the State of New York, a conſiderable number of Indians, both men and women, who ſerve as domeſtics in European families, and in thoſe who are become Americans, who perform their duty as well and as faithfully as thoſe of another ſpecies.

But this is nothing to the civilization of whole nations, which is the only object from which any real advantage can be derived either to themſelves or to ſociety in general. The great difficulty which attends the reformation of the moſt trifling habits of a poliſhed people, of a family, and even of an individual, ſufficiently demonſtrates the obſtacles which attend the civilization of a ſavage race; and yet in the midſt of our great ſocieties, the lights ſurrounding a poliſhed people, families and individuals, afford an ample and powerful aid to the buſineſs of reform.

It is only then by continual aſſiduities, applied according to circumſtances, and prolonged for many ſucceſſive generations, that this entire civilization can be effected, and even then only gradually.

The conviction of the utility of ſuch a work is neceſſary to the ſurmounting

mounting the obſtacles which oppoſe it, and to triumph with certainty. It neither belongs to my ſubject nor to the intention of this work, to ſhow the particular means by which this event may be accompliſhed; the underſtanding and courage of the friends of humanity will eaſily point them out; but individuals and even ſocieties will ever be unable to work this uſeful change, unleſs the governments of the territories which Indian tribes inhabit will contribute all in their power to effect it. But this can only be the reſult of their firm conviction of the advantages of ſuch efforts, and hitherto none of the American governments have appeared to be penetrated with this conviction; on the contrary, every one regards the lands left to theſe poor Indians as an appendage of their own ſovereignty, as a kind of loan which their kindneſs has made with this miſerable race; they are in their eyes only travelling gueſts, which ought not to remain a long time in their territory.

Such ideas, more or leſs avowed, nurſed by a thirſt for gain, caſt at a diſtance the project of civilization, and give conſiſtence to the prejudices upon which the belief is founded, that it is impoſſible to civilize the Indians.

Nevertheleſs ſome tribes, the *Oneidas*, for example, in the ſtate of New York, and ſome others in Canada, are conſiderably advanced towards a ſtate of civilization; they labour, cultivate the earth, traffic, and are ſenſible of the neceſſity of civilization. The Quakers and Moravians carry the principles of reform among the fartheſt tribes; but their reſpectable efforts cannot be very uſeful, or at moſt not completely ſo, without the influence and direction of government. The civilization of theſe people ought to be the work of the legiſlature and general adminiſtrations; it is above the efforts of particular charity and aſſiſtance. The beneficent ſocieties juſt mentioned might be uſefully employed in it, having been for ages ſuſceptible of long patience and unalterable courage, ſo neceſſary to ſucceſs; but, as was ſaid before, they can only be employed as inſtruments for this purpoſe by enlightened governments, who, convinced that the civilization of the Indians living near the frontiers is a benefit to humanity, a means of augmenting the ſale of the produc-

tions of their territory, of increaſing the riches of their citizens and the power of the ſtates, will unceaſingly purſue the means of accompliſhing this laudable end.

It is this revolution in the ſpirit of the American governments which is ſo deſirable, without which even a hope cannot be conceived that this work will be effected; it claſhes too much with particular intereſts, which, contrary as they are to the general intereſt, ſpeak as loud, and are attended to as much.

NATURALIZATION.

The right of a citizen, or naturalization, which populous ſtates, with narrow limits, may find it political to grant with difficulty, ought to be obtained upon more eaſy terms in a country of great extent and thinly inhabited, where the capitals and labour of ſtrangers are neceſſary.

In 1790 the congreſs fixed two years reſidence in the territories of the United States, one of which to be in the ſame ſtate, as a ſufficient condition to become a naturalized citizen. The oath made before ſome court of juſtice to be faithful to the conſtitution, and to defend it, was the only formula required; and this naturalization of the father imparted the ſame right to ſuch of his children as were under the age of twenty-one when the oath was taken, even if they were born in a foreign country.

In 1793 the conditions were made more difficult. The inſurrection of Pittſburg had taken place a little before, which the government attributed to the ſtrangers recently arrived from Ireland, who, it was ſaid, formed the greateſt number of the inſurgents, and who, ſo readily to be miſled by the factious, ſhewed the certain danger of appointing men to places, who had abuſed in ſuch a dangerous manner, the truſt repoſed in them. To avoid this evil in future, it was thought neceſſary to make the right of voting at elections more difficult to be obtained, which could only be done by raiſing the conditions of naturalization: ſo the government party reaſoned; the oppoſition party favoured the ſame meaſure, but from different motives. The fate of the French revolution was not then fixed; it appeared probable that more than one European ſtate was deſtined to undergo

undergo revolutions. The richeſt claſſes, which in Europe are called the moſt diſtinguiſhed, were, according to appearances, likely to become the victims of theſe revolutions; many individuals would in that caſe ſeek an aſylum in America, and carry with them whatever they could ſave of their fortunes; they would alſo bring with them their habits and their prejudices, abſolutely contrary to that republican ſpirit which this party were ſo deſirous to nurture and reanimate, but bearing a ſtrong analogy to that ariſtocratic ſpirit which it accuſed the other party of endeavouring to introduce. A higher price being put upon the right of naturalization, would render this danger more diſtant, and probably diminiſh the number of emigrants of this claſs.

The new law of naturalization, therefore, had its origin in the combination of the views of two parties. It was good in intention, as was proved by the long and warm debates which took place upon diſcuſſing it in detail, and was deſired by both ſides.

By this law, the time required for becoming a citizen of the United States is extended to five years reſidence in their territory, of which one muſt have been in the ſtate where the candidate for citizenſhip had taken the oath. Three years, at leaſt, before he be admitted to this definitive oath, he muſt have preſented himſelf before one of the federal courts of juſtice, and have there declared upon oath that he had a ſincere intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, and to renounce all dependence and fidelity upon any prince, ſtate, or ſovereignty whatever, particularly upon the prince, ſtate, or ſovereignty of which he was actually a ſubject. His definitive oath, made alſo before a federal court, ought to expreſs the ſame poſitions and renunciation. He is alſo required to renounce his titles of nobility, if he had belonged to that claſs in the country where he was born, or from whence he arrived.

It is alſo required that he ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the conſtitution of the United States. Theſe two oaths are regiſtered in the courts where they were taken.

In order to confer the title of naturalization upon the children who

were under the age of twenty-one years at the naturalization of their father, the law of 1793 requires the ſame conditions as that of 1790.

This reſidence of five years, required by the latter law, to become a citizen of the United States, is not impoſed upon thoſe who arrived in America before its promulgation, ſuch may become ſo two years afterwards; but the oath required by the new law is indiſpenſably neceſſary.

OF NUMBERING THE PEOPLE AND POPULATION.

The American conſtitution, when it ordained the general enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States within the three years ſucceeding its acceptation, enacted alſo that the ſame enumeration ſhould be renewed every ten years; and left it to the congreſs to make a law for regulating the manner of performing it. A law was paſſed for this purpoſe, on the firſt of March, 1790.

The marſhal of every diſtrict* was ordered to ſuperintend the enumeration of the ſtate where he exerciſed his functions. In this work he was authorized to call in what aid and aſſiſtance he might judge proper. He was ordered to make a return to the preſident of the United States, diſtinguiſhing, in the table of population, the number of free males under and over the age of ſixteen years, the free women and girls of every age, and the ſlaves. The Indians who might live in the diſtricts were not to be included in the liſt of population.

Every aſſiſtant in enumerating the people ought, before he ſends his account to the marſhal, to affix it in two or three of the moſt frequented places of aſſembly within his bounds, that it may receive the corrections which the inhabitants may ſuggeſt, giving an account of the reaſons why they ought to be made. Every head of a family who refuſes to give to

* This office is the ſame in the courts of juſtice of the United States as that of ſheriff in thoſe of particular ſtates; the diſtrict being conſidered as nothing but a ſtate ſubject to judicial orders, it is the extent and bounds of a judge of a diſtrict, and we have ſhewn under the article of the judicial order, that there is one of theſe in every ſtate.

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the aſſiſtant, when he is taking his account, the number of his or her family, or gives in an incorrect one, incurs a fine of twenty dollars. The aſſiſtant, himſelf, incurs a fine of two hundred dollars if his account be incorrect, or if it was not returned to the marſhal of the diſtrict at the time required. The marſhal is puniſhed by a fine of eight hundred dollars if he alters the accounts of his aſſiſtants, or omits ſending his own to the preſident of the United States at the time appointed.

Every marſhal receives as a reward for his labour, from two to five hundred dollars, according to the extent of his diſtrict. The aſſiſtant, for his particular trouble, receives a dollar for every hundred and fifty perſons in the country, and the ſame for every three hundred perſons in towns, the inhabitants of which are contiguous. Sometimes he receives the ſame for every fifty perſons, when the account is taken in places where the inhabitants are much ſcattered. The judges of the diſtrict regulate the ſum of theſe proportions by the advice, and at the requeſt of the marſhal.

For every copy of his account which the aſſiſtant affixes for public inſpection, he is paid two dollars.

The whole of this enumeration ought to be performed in nine months; the total expence of it is eſtimated at forty thouſand dollars every time it is made.

The enumeration of the people taken in 1791, by virtue of this law, announced a population of three millions nine hundred and twenty-nine thouſand three hundred and twenty-ſix inhabitants, of which three millions two hundred and thirty-one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine were free; among whom were fifty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven negroes, or perſons of colour, and ſix hundred and ninety ſeven thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-one ſlaves.

The inhabitants of the territory of the weſt are not included in this number; but the population there is ſo inconſiderable, that if it were added, it would make no important difference in the total number.

It is believed upon a ſeries of partial obſervations, that the population of the United States is doubled every fifteen years; not including in this eſtimation the emigration from Europe, which varies annually, and is at

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preſent much leſs than it was ſome years ſince; but the exact number cannot be known, becauſe there is no regiſter kept of them at the different places where they arrive at; this emigration conſiſts principally of Iriſh. But not to exaggerate the increaſe of population in the United States, I do not ſuppoſe it is doubled in leſs than twenty years, that is five in the hundred every year.

The population was in 1791, four millions; in twenty years it will be augmented to eight millions; in forty years to ſixteen; in ſixty years to thirty-two; in eighty years to ſixty-four; and in eighty-five years to eighty millions; then the territory of the United States will be peopled in the ſame proportion that France was before the revolution. The extent of the territory poſſeſſed by the United States, after the war, was ſix hundred and forty millions of acres, from which fifty-one millions ought to be deducted for lakes and rivers, and then there will remain five hundred and eighty-nine millions of acres.

Beſides, they have granted to the Indians, whoſe rights they have acknowledged, two hundred and twenty millions, which reduced their poſſeſſions to three hundred and ſixty-nine millions.

But by the treaty with Great Britain in 1795, their territory has been increaſed twenty-three millions of acres; ſo that their actual territory is three hundred and eighty-two millions of acres.

In theſe calculations I have neglected odd numbers; the American geographers and land-ſurveyors eſtimate the extent of the territory at three hundred eighty-two millions four hundred twenty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty acres.

France, when the enumeration of the people was taken by order of the conſtituent aſſembly, contained twenty-ſeven millions one hundred and ſixty-nine thouſand inhabitants, and its extent was, at the ſame time, (anterior to its conqueſts) twenty-ſix thouſand nine hundred and ſixty ſquare leagues, at the rate of two thouſand two hundred and eighty toiſes to a league, of which the total is a hundred and thirty-one millions two hundred twenty-two thouſand and ninety-five acres. Her extent of territory was to that of the United States as nine to twenty-ſix,

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or very nearly. The United States, therefore, muſt have a population of nearly eighty millions of inhabitants to be peopled in the ſame proportion as France; and it has been ſhewn, that according to the leaſt favourable calculations, they may arrive at that ſtate in 1876.

What an enormous fund, a great and inexhauſtible ſource of proſperity muſt ſuch a population afford, particularly when deſtined to be ſpread over lands eaſy to be made fertile, over a country watered by the fineſt rivers, with the means of extending the interior navigation to almoſt every ſpot.

It is true that this increaſing progreſſion of population may be diminiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances; and even that this progreſſion may become leſs in proportion as population arrives to a great number; for then marriages will become leſs frequent, leſs early, and probably leſs fruitful. But it is not neceſſary for the United States to arrive at this high degree of population before they profit by the abundance and richneſs of their ſoil, maintain an active induſtry, and nouriſh with their produce a ſolid and rich commerce; and ſhould they never reach ſo high as to the two-thirds, or at leaſt to one-half of the population to which it appears by calculation they may attain in twenty-five years, they may be more numerous than is neceſſary for them to become a rich and reſpectable nation. Bad laws, illiberal or weak principles in the legiſlature or government, can alone oppoſe the proſperity and the greatneſs deſtined for them.

OF THE COIN OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States have a mint; the law which ordered its eſtabliſhment was made in the month of April 1792. It regulates the diviſion, the value, and the ſtandard of the money of the United States.

The diviſion and value of theſe monies are as follow:

GOLD

GOLD COIN.

The eagle, value ten dollars.
The half-eagle, value five dollars.
The quarter-eagle, value two dollars and a half.

SILVER COIN.

The dollar, value a hundred cents.
The half-dollar, value fifty cents.
The quarter-dollar, value twenty-five cents.
The tenth of a dollar, value twelve cents and a half.
The half-tenth, value ſix cents and a quarter.

COPPER COIN.

The cent, value the hundredth part of a dollar.
The half cent, value the two hundredth of a dollar.
The weight of theſe is as follows:

The eagle ought to contain two hundred and forty-ſeven grains and a half of pure gold, or two hundred and ſeventy grains of ſtandard gold, which is thus regulated; eleven parts of pure gold in twelve, and a twelfth of alloy, of which nearly one-half ought to be of ſilver.

The half eagle ought to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and three-fourths of pure gold, or one hundred and thirty-five grains of alloy gold.

The quarter eagle ought to contain ſixty-one grains of pure gold, or ſixty-ſeven grains and half of alloy gold.

The dollar ought to contain three hundred and ſeventy-one grains one-fourth of pure ſilver, or four hundred and ſixteen grains of alloy ſilver.

The ſtandard of ſilver is one thouſand four hundred and eighty-five parts of pure ſilver, and one hundred and ſeventy-nine parts of alloy, which is of pure copper.

The half dollar ought to contain a hundred and eighty-five grains and five-eighths of pure ſilver, or two hundred and eighty grains of ſtandard ſilver.

A quarter

A quarter dollar ought to contain ninety-two grains thirteen-ſixteenths of pure ſilver, or one hundred and four grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The tenth of a dollar ought to contain thirty-ſeven grains one-eighth of pure ſilver, or fifty-two grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The half-tenth ought to contain eighteen grains one-ſixteenth of pure ſilver, or twenty-ſix grains of ſtandard ſilver.

The cent ought to contain eleven penny-weights of copper.

The half-cent ought to contain five and a half.

The gold and ſilver coin ought, according to law, to bear on one ſide an emblematical figure of Liberty, and upon the other the eagle of the United States, with the words "United States."

The copper coins, inſtead of the American eagle, bear an inſcription denominating their value.

The proportional value between gold and ſilver when coined, to the coin of the United States, is determined by comparing one pound of the one to fifteen of the other; that is to ſay, one pound of coined gold is equal to fifteen pounds of coined ſilver.

This law contains alſo all other regulations neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of the mint, and charges the preſident to order and overſee the expences of buildings, machines, &c.

All the counties of the United States are required to make uſe of theſe coins.

The Spaniſh dollar is the only piece of foreign coin which is current in the United States as money, all others, which had received a valuation by the law, are only received by weight ſince 1795.

A report of a committee of the houſe of repreſentatives ſtated, at the beginning of 1795, that the mint, ſince its eſtabliſhment, had not ſtruck off in copper coin more than one million eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred cents, equal in value to ten thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five dollars; and in ſilver coin no more than thirty-four thouſand one hundred and ſixty-five dollars. This paucity of the produce of the mint is attributed to different embarraſſments and delays which it has experienced in the completion of its eſtabliſhment, of which the ex-

pences then amounted to fifty-eight thouſand three hundred and ninety-four dollars.

The director of the mint, when he entered into office at the end of the year 1795, in his report of its ſtate, at the beginning of his adminiſtration, after ſearching the regiſter, reports, that the pieces of money which had been fabricated ſince the foundation of the eſtabliſhment, and ſent to the treaſury of the United States, on the 1ſt of December, 1796, were as follow:

Eagles	8,875
Half-eagles	12,106
Quarter-eagles	66
Dollars	272,941
Half-dollars	323,144
Quarter-dollars	5,894
Tenths	22,135
Half-tenths	96,649
Cents	2,140,732
Half-cents	258,014

Total value 414,175 dollars 70 cents.

The greateſt part of this money was ſtruck in the year 1796. This eſtabliſhment has hitherto been more expenſive than uſeful to the finances of the United States.

After deducting the value of the money coined and ſent to the treaſury, it had coſt, at the end of 1796, more than twenty-one thouſand dollars; and the ſecretary of the treaſury, in his eſtimation of the expences of the year 1797, reckons thoſe of the mint to amount to fourteen thouſand dollars.

The money in circulation in the United States is eſtimated at eight millions of dollars in value.

A SHORT

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CLIMATE AND MANNERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The whole length of the territory of the United States is bifected by one chain of mountains, under different names: ſome other mountains entwine themſelves with this chain at ſeveral points in its extent, but their bounds are not extenſive. The long chain which divides the United States, runs from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt. The plains between theſe mountains and the ſea are very narrow in the provinces of the north; and the land there is generally ſtony, though very fruitful in many places.

From Pennſylvania to North Carolina the plains become larger, and the ſoil is fat, ſandy, clayey, and fertile; but they are yet much more extenſive from South Carolina to Florida; the land then becomes low, flat, covered with water, and appears to have been quitted by the ſea at a period not very diſtant.

To the weſt of this long chain of mountains, the vaſt country which extends to the Miſſiſippi is of the greateſt fertility, and watered by the fineſt rivers, which flow either into this great river, or into the Ohio, which, after a courſe of fifteen hundred miles, falls into itſelf.

It is this long chain of mountains which divides the waters which run into the Atlantic, from thoſe which, throwing themſelves into the Miſſiſippi, and into the rivers which diſcharge themſelves there, gain the gulf of Mexico; in the ſame manner as the yellow mountains, at eight or nine hundred miles beyond the Miſſiſippi, divide the waters which flow into this river from thoſe which fall into the South Sea.

The great difference of latitude produces a proportional change in the climates of different ſtates. The ſnow covers Vermont and the province of Maine during five or ſix months of the year, and the winter there laſts ſeven; while there is hardly any winter in South Carolina, and ſtill leſs in Georgia; and ſhould any ſnow fall there, it does not remain two days upon the ground.

The ſudden variations of the temperature is a common characteriſtic of the climate of the different ſtates. It is uſual to ſee the thermometer fall or riſe twenty-five degrees in twenty-four hours, according to the ſcale of Farenheit, equal to eleven degrees one-ninth of Reaumur. I have ſeen it fall very often, and particularly in April 1796, in twelve hours, from the twentieth degree of Reaumur, equal to the ſeventy-ſeventh of Farenheit, to five of Reaumur, equal to forty-four and a half of Farenheit; and this obſervation has been made at Wilmington in Delaware, and at Baltimore.

The cold is incomparably ſtronger and more durable in America than in Europe in the ſame latitude, and the heat more intenſe, more oppreſſive, and more inſupportable. It may be remarked, that in the different latitudes of the continent of North America, the heat differs more in its duration than in its power; in 1795 I have ſeen, in Upper Canada, the thermometer of Farenheit riſe in July to the ninety-ſecond degree; in the month of Auguſt in the ſame year I have ſeen it at ninety-ſix at Albany. At Savannah, in Georgia, it ſeldom riſes beyond that; and from Newark, in Upper Canada, or Albany, in the ſtate of New York, to Savannah, there is a difference of fourteen degrees of latitude; but the thermometer remains, during a month or two at Savannah, at this height, and very ſeldom two days together in the northern ſtates.

This great variation of climate affects very ſenſibly the health of the inhabitants of the United States. People become old in America ſooner than in Europe; and it is more rare to ſee men of a great age there, eſpecially in the ſtates ſouth of New England.

The influence of the climate upon females is ſtill more ſenſible. When young they are generally beautiful, and more particularly ſo at Philadelphia; but after twenty years of age they ſoon begin to loſe their freſh colour; at twenty-five many of them might be taken for Europeans of forty; their bloom is no more, and their form has already ſuffered a change. If they have previouſly been mothers, their alteration is ſtill more premature; yet neither nightly revels, the abuſe of ſpirituous liquors,

THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

EPOCH OF ACCEPTATION.	NUMBER OF BRANCHES.	MODE OF ELECTION.	DURATION.	CONDITIONS FOR BECOMING MEMBERS.	CONDITIONS OF BECOMING ELECTORS.	PARTICULAR POWERS.	*GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.*
THE UNITED STATES. In Convention the 17th of September, 1787. Began to act through (?) of March 1789.	Two branches; the senate and the house of representatives, called the Congress. The senate, thirty-two members; the latter, [illegible] hundred members.	The senate by the legislatures of the states; the representatives by the people.	Senate six years, one third every two years by thirds. Representatives, two years.	Senators to be citizens of nine years standing, and thirty years of age. Representatives, to have been citizens for seven years, and twenty-five years of age. No pecuniary qualification.	For the representatives the same as for the most numerous branch of the legislatures of states.	The house of representatives propose the revenue-bills, and vote accusations. Two thirds are required for declaring the person accused guilty. The senate approve the officers named by the president.	
NEW HAMPSHIRE. 1792.	Two branches; the senate and house of representatives, called the General Court. The first, twelve members; the latter, from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty.	The people.	A year.	To be freemen, possessing real or personal property.	To be twenty-one years of age, and paying taxes.	The house of representatives propose the revenue-bills, and vote accusations. The senate judge them.	
MASSACHUSETTS. 2d of March, 1780.	Two branches; the senate and house of representatives, called the General Court. The first, thirty-one members; the latter, three hundred and fifty-six.	The people; but the vacancies of the senate may be filled by the senate, and representatives, among those who were approved by the votes of the people at the preceding election.	A year.	Senators to have a real property of 300l. or a personal fortune of 600l. Residence of five years. The representatives a real property of 100l. or personal of 200l.	Free tenants of seven pounds rent, or some property of forty pounds.	The house of representatives make money-bills, and vote accusations. The senate judge them.	
CONNECTICUT. The ancient charter of Charles II. preserved entire; except some slight changes made by the adoption of independence.	Two branches: the general court; governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve assistants, forming the upper house or the council. The representatives, or lower house, consist of one hundred and seventy-nine members.	The people.	Governor, deputy-governor, or assistants, one year. The representatives six months.	Freemen.	Freemen having a real property of 40 shillings, or 40l. personal.	The legislature hears and judges certain causes, and grants reprieves and pardons.	The governor, the president of the council, and speaker of the house, have each a vote, besides that for deciding it.
RHODE ISLAND. The ancient colonial charter of Charles II.	Two branches; general assembly; governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants; representing seventy members.	The people.	The council a year. Their representatives six months.	A property of forty pounds, or an income of forty shillings.	Freemen having a property of 40l. or an income of 40 shillings.	Some causes are decided in the courts of justice.	
VERMONT. 4th of July, 1786. Revised since.	One branch; representatives of freemen, called the General Assembly; one hundred and forty-five members; but the governor and council of twelve can suspend a law till the next session.	The people.	A year.			Accusations. To raise a tax, two thirds of the members must be present.	
NEW YORK. 20th of April, 1777.	Two branches; the senate, twenty-four members; lieutenant governor president. Assembly seventy members.	The people.	Senate four years; one fourth to go out every year. The assembly once a year.		Electors of the senate to have a property of 100l. Electors of representatives, a property of 20l. or an income of 40 shillings.	Two thirds of the assembly vote accusations. Two thirds of the senate can pronounce convictions.	The senate is never to exceed one hundred; nor the representatives three hundred. The governor and revisional council can suspend a law. The clergy are excluded.
NEW JERSEY. 2d of July, 1776.	Two branches; legislative council, thirteen members. Assembly, thirty-nine members.	The people.	A year.	Counsellor of 1000l. property, moveable or immoveable. Representatives, 500l. of the same.	Electors, 50l. of property, moveable or immoveable.	The council cannot prepare nor alter any money-bill.	
PENNSYLVANIA. 2d of September, 1790.	Two branches; the senate, twenty-three members; and the house of representatives, seventy-nine members.	The people.	The senate for four years; one fourth going out every year. The representatives for one year.	Residence of one year in the district or county. Senators to be citizens of four years standing, and twenty-five years of age. Representatives to be citizens of three years, and twenty-one years of age.	Twenty-one years of age, having resided two years in the state before election, and during that time paid a tax laid six months before the election. The sons of persons thus qualified, between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, may vote though they have not paid taxes.	Revenue-bills commence in the house of representatives. Accusations, by half of the representatives; to be judged by the senate. *Convictions*, by two thirds of the members present. The judgment is only to be dismissal from place, and incapacity to hold any other.	The senate can never be less than a fourth, and more than a third, of the representatives. The representatives are never less than sixty, nor more than a hundred.
DELAWARE. 1792.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, nine members; house of representatives, twenty-one members.	The people.	The senate for three years; one third to go out every year. Representatives one year.	Senators to be twenty-seven years of age; property of two hundred acres, or 1000l. Representatives to be twenty-four years of age, with property. Both to have resided three years.	Residence of two years, and payment of taxes assessed at least six months before the election.	Money-bills commence in the assembly. Accusations by two thirds of the representatives. Convictions by two thirds of the senate.	
MARYLAND. 14th of August, 1776.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, fifteen members; house of delegates, eighty members.	By the electors chosen by the people. The delegates by the people. The senate fill their vacancies by a majority in the house.	Senators elected for five years, without rotation. Delegates one year.	Senators to have been resident three years, with a property moveable or immoveable of 1000l. Delegates the same residence, with a property of 500l.	Electors for the delegates, and for the electors, to have a property of fifty acres, or freemen with 30l. and having residence in the county the whole year before the election.	Money-bills originate in the house of delegates, which ought not to include any other matter. The two houses assemble for crimes and want of respect. The house of delegates name the treasurers for any term they think proper.	The delegates and electors are chosen by word of mouth; but the electors vote by ballot, and make oath. There are particular rules for the freemen of Baltimore and Annapolis. The clergy are excluded.
KENTUCKY. 1792.	Two branches; the senate, eleven members; house of representatives, forty members.	Senate by the electors, chosen by the people. The representatives by the people.	The senate for four years. Their representatives for one.	Senators to be twenty-seven years of age. The representatives twenty-four years. Each to have been resident for two years.	Inhabitants of the state of two years standing, or of the county one year.	Money-bills can be proposed by the representatives only. The senate may propose amendments. The right of accusations is in the representatives. The senate judge. Two thirds are necessary in these cases.	The senate is to be composed in such a manner, that the number exceed one fourth of that of the representatives.
VIRGINIA. 5th of July, 1776.	Two branches, called the General Assembly; senate, twenty-four members; house of representatives, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred and forty members.	The people.	The senators to be forty years of age, one fourth to go out every year. Delegates one year.	No pecuniary conditions; but the senators and delegates must be resident, and free tenants, in the district or county.	Electors to be free tenants.	All the laws originate in the house of delegates. The senate cannot alter the money-bills. The delegates vote accusations which are judged by the general court, or by the court of appeal.	
NORTH CAROLINA. 18th of December, 1776.	Two branches, the senate and house of commons, called the General Assembly. The first, sixty members; the second, one hundred and twenty members.	The people.	A year.	Senate to have a property of three hundred acres. Commons, a property of one hundred acres.	Electors of the senate to have a property of fifty acres. Electors of the commons, paying taxes, and a residence in the county.	The two houses adjourn by ballot to any place or day. Accusations by the commons; judgments by the supreme court; and, if the judges are accused, they are judged by a special tribunal.	Bills are required to be read three times in each house. The clergy are excluded.
SOUTH CAROLINA. 3d of June, 1790.	Two branches, called the General Assembly; the senate, thirty-seven members; the house of representatives, one hundred and twenty-four.	The people.	Senate, four years; half of them go out every two years. Representatives two years.	Senators, thirty years of age. Citizens, and resident in the state five years. If they reside in the district, a property of 300l. otherwise free property in the district of 1000l. Representatives to be citizens, and residents three years. If they reside, a property of three hundred acres and ten negroes, or a fortune of 150l. otherwise a property in the district of 500l.	Electors, citizens, and resident two years; a property of fifty acres, or a lot in the town, or paying a tax of three shillings. Residence of six months in the district before the election.	Imprisonment for want of respect. Accusations by two thirds of the house of representatives. Two thirds of the senate judge. The representatives propose the bills for raising the revenue.	The bills are read three times on three different days in each house. A bill rejected cannot be proposed again till after six days previous notice, and with permission. The clergy are excluded.
GEORGIA. May 1795.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, twenty-three members; house of representatives, fifty-one.	The people.	A year.	Senators twenty-eight years of age, having inhabited the United States nine years. Citizens three years in Georgia. Residence in the county six months. Having two hundred and fifty acres, or property of 250l. Representatives, twenty-one years of age. Citizens of the United States, seven years. Two years inhabitants of Georgia. Resident in the county, three months. Free of two hundred acres, or 150l.	Electors, paying taxes and having resided six months in the county.	Accusations: a third forms a sufficient number in each branch for deliberation.	Clergy excluded. A convention, to revise the constitution, was to be chosen in November 1797; it was to consist of three members of each county, and to assemble in May, 1798.
TENNESSEE. 6th of February, 1796.	Two branches, called the General Assembly; the senate, eleven members; the house of representatives, twenty-two.	The people.	Senate and representatives two years.	Residence three years in the state, or one in the county. Being free, and having two hundred acres of land in the county.	Electors, free of the county.	Imprisonment for want of respect. Accusations. Bills may begin in both houses.	Clergy excluded. The senate is never less than a third, and never more than a half, of the representatives. They are never more than forty.
NORTH-WEST TERRITORY OF THE OHIO. 13th of July, 1787.	The governor and the judges make the laws.	The president and the senate of the United States appoint the governor and the judges.	The governor for three years; but may be displaced by the president of the United States. The judges are during good conduct.			To adopt the laws existing in the different States to which the territory is attached. Subject to the revision of the Congress.	

No. II.

THE TABLE OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY ABRIDGED.

PERIODS OF DURATION OF THE FUNCTIONS.		CONDITIONS OF BECOMING MEMBERS.	CONDITIONS OF BECOMING ELECTORS.	ORDER IN WHICH THE SENATORS GO OUT OF OFFICE.
OF THE SENATE.	OF THE REPRESENTATIVES.			
United States . six years.	United States . } two years.	Rhode Island . . } A portion of landed property is required.	United States . } The same as in the State where the elector resides.	United States } By a third every two years.
Maryland . . . five years.	South Carolina . } two years.	New Jersey . . }	Rhode Island . }	New York . . . } By a fourth every year.
New York . . }	Tennessee . . . }	Delaware . . . . }	New York . . . } Landed property is necessary.	Pennsylvania . . }
Pennsylvania . }	New Hampshire. }	Virginia . . . . }	Virginia . . . . }	Virginia . . . . }
Virginia . . . . } four years.	Massachusetts . }	North Carolina . }	North Carolina . }	South Carolina . } By half every two years.
Kentucky . . . }	Vermont . . . . }	South Carolina . }	Massachusetts . } A portion of landed or of personal property is required.	Delaware . . . . } By a third every year.
South Carolina . }	New York . . . }	Tennessee . . . . }	Connecticut . . }	Maryland . . . }
Delaware . . . three years.	New Jersey . . }	New Hampshire. } Landed property and a species of personal prop.	New Jersey . . }	Kentucky . . . } No rotation.
Tennessee . . . two years.	Pennsylvania . . } a year.	Massachusetts . }	Maryland . . . }	Tennessee . . . }
New Hampshire. }	Delaware . . . . }	Maryland . . . }	South Carolina . }	
Massachusetts . }	Maryland . . . }	Georgia . . . . }	New Hampshire. }	
Connecticut }	Kentucky . . . }	United States . . }	Vermont . . . . }	
Rhode Island } consult.	Virginia . . . . }	Connecticut . . }	Pennsylvania . . }	
Vermont . . } a year.	North Carolina . }	Vermont . . . . } Property not required.	Delaware . . . . }	
New Jersey }	Georgia . . . . }	New York . . . }	Kentucky . . . }	
North Carolina . }	Connecticut . . } six months.	Pennsylvania . . }	Georgia . . . . }	
Georgia . . . . }	Rhode Island . . }	Kentucky . . . }	Tennessee . . . }	

THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

STATES.	BY WHOM NAMED.	DURATION.	WHETHER IT BE RE-ELECTIVE.	WHETHER THERE BE A COUNCIL.	POWER OF NOMINATING TO CERTAIN PLACES.	OTHER POWERS.	CONDITIONS REQUIRED.	WHETHER THERE BE A LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OR NOT.
The United States.	By the electors.	Four years.	Re-elective.	No council.	It names. The senate approves. Fills the vacancies during the sitting of the senate.	It pardons. Has a conditional negative, and receives foreign ministers.	Citizen; fourteen years resident, and thirty-five years of age.	The vice-president of the United States president of the senate.
New Hampshire.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Council of five members, chosen by the people.	It names almost all the officers, with the advice of the senate.	It pardons, and has a conditional negative.		No lieutenant-governor.
Massachusetts.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Council.	It names, with some exceptions.	It pardons, and has a conditional negative.	To have been an inhabitant seven years.	Lieutenant-governor, who is a member and president of the council.
Connecticut.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	No executive council.	It names with the assistants, and only the sheriffs.	Is president of the council, and has a casting vote.		Lieutenant-governor, member of the council.
Rhode Island.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	No executive council.	No important nomination.	Presides as the council.	Free tenant and freeman of a corporate town.	Lieutenant-governor.
Vermont.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Deputy governor and council.	It names some officers.	The governor and the council can suspend the laws till the following session. It pardons and judges accusations.		Lieutenant-governor, called in the charter deputy-governor.
New York.	By the free tenants of 100l. sterling.	Three years.	Re-elective.	No executive council but that of nomination and revision.	It names. The council of nomination confirms to all places, with a few exceptions.	Pardons. Has a conditional negative with the council of revision.		Lieutenant-governor, who is president of the senate.
New Jersey.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective.	The legislative council acts as executive council.		Presides at the council, and is chancellor. The governor and council are a court of appeals.		Vice-president.
Pennsylvania.	By the people.	Three years.	Re-elective nine years in twelve.	No council.	It makes all nominations, except the sheriffs and coroners, who are named by the people, and the treasurer of the state by the legislature; the officers of militia, regiments and companies, by the regiments and the companies.	It pardons, except in cases of accusation for state crimes or prevarication. Has a conditional negative.	Citizen, and inhabitant for seven years; thirty years of age.	The vacancy of the office of governor is filled in the interim by the speaker of the senate.
Delaware.	By the people.	Three years.	Re-elective three years in six.	No council.	It names, except the sheriffs, the coroners, and the treasurers.	Pardons, except in cases of state crimes or prevarication.	Thirty years of age. Citizens of the United States for twelve years, and of the State six years.	
Maryland.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in seven.	Council.	It names with the advice of the senate.	Pardons, Lays embargoes. Displaces and suspends officers, except those who remain in place during good behaviour.	Five years resilience, and a property of 5,000l.	
Kentucky.	By the electors.	Four years.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names with the advice of the senate.	Pardons, except in cases of treason or prevarication.	Thirty years of age. Residence of two years in the state before the election.	No lieutenant-governor.
Virginia.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in seven.	Council of state.	Names with the council only the justices of peace.	It pardons.	Thirty years of age.	The president of the council acts as lieutenant-governor in case of the vacancy of a governor.
North Carolina.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in six.	Council of state.	No nomination in the interim, till the session of the legislature.	Pardons and lays embargoes.	Five years residence, and property of 1000l.	No lieutenant-governor.
South Carolina.	By the legislature.	Two years.	Cannot be re-elected till four years after.	No council.	Names some inferior officers.	Pardons and lays embargoes.	Citizen, and residence of ten years; property of 1500l.	Lieutenant-governor.
Georgia.	By the legislature.	Two years.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names some civil officers, and all the military.	Pardons. Has a conditional negative.	Twelve years a citizen; six years residence; five hundred acres; or a property of 1000l.	No lieutenant-governor.
Tennessee.	By the people.	Two years.	Re-elective six years in eight.	No council.	No nomination if the legislature be present, except the adjutant-general of militia.	Pardons, and assembles the legislature upon extraordinary occasions.	Citizen or inhabitant four years; property of five hundred acres; twenty-five years of age.	Speaker of the senate lieutenant-governor, as in Pennsylvania.
North-West Territory of the Ohio.	By the president and senate of the United States.	Three years; but removable at the will of the United States.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names all the magistrates and civil officers, except the adjutant-general of the militia.	The governor and the judges make the laws for the territory.	Resident in the territory, and property of one thousand acres.	The secretary of the territory, named as governor, fills his place in his absence.

No. IV.

THE TABLE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER ABRIDGED.

MANNER OF CHOOSING THEM.	DURATION.	WHEN RE-ELECTIVE.	CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCILS.	POWERS OF NOMINATING TO PLACES.	RIGHT OF GIVING A NEGATIVE.
United States, Kentucky — By the electors.	United States, Kentucky — Three years.	United States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Kentucky, Georgia — Unlimited.	United States, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Kentucky, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee — No constitutional Council.	United States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky — Nomination and right of fixing the salaries under certain regulations.	United States, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Georgia — Negative power under certain modifications.
New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Tennessee — By the people.	New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware — Ditto.	Pennsylvania — Nine years in twelve.	New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee — Council.	Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee — No right to any important appointment.	Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee — No negative.
New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia — By the legislature.	South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee — Two years.	Delaware, North Carolina — Three years in six.			
	New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina — A year.	Maryland, Virginia — Three years in seven.			
		South Carolina — Two years in six.			
		Tennessee — Six years in eight,			

No. V.

THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

STATES.	MANNER OF NOMINATION.	DURATION OF OFFICE.	HOW DISMISSED.	*REMARKS.*
The United States.	By the president with the approbation of the senate.	During good behaviour.	By accusation of the house of representatives before the senate.	The salaries cannot be diminished during office.
New Hampshire.	By the governor and the council.	The superior judges during good behaviour. The justices of peace for five years.	By accusation of the house of representatives, and upon the address of the legislature to the governor.	Salaries fixed by the law.
Massachusetts.	By the governor and council.	The superior judges during good behaviour. The justices of peace for seven years.	By accusation of the house of representatives, and by the governor and council at the request of the two houses.	Gives his opinion to the governor and the council upon solemn occasions, and to the legislature in questions of law. He pronounces divorces.
Connecticut.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-chosen in general while they are able, except in cases of misbehaviour.	The courts pronounce divorces.
Rhode Island.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-chosen in general while they are able, except in cases of misbehaviour.	The courts judge cases of divorce.
Vermont.	By the council and the assembly.	A year, and less if necessary.	By accusation of the assembly, judged by the governor and the council.	
New York.	By the governor and the council of nomination.	During good behaviour.	Cannot be chosen above the age of sixty.	
New Jersey.	By the council and the assembly.	The superior court re-elective every seven years; the inferior every five years.	By the accusation of the assembly and judgment of the council.	
Pennsylvania.	By the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	The governor has power of dismissing from, at the request of two thirds of each house, even if there be no ground of accusation.	The salaries of the judges not to be diminished while in office. They are neither to receive fees nor hold any other place of profit. The supreme court takes cognizance of divorces and pensions of widows; can supply defects in titles occasioned by acts lost or absent. No chancery.
Delaware.	By the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By accusation of the house of representatives, found by a majority of two thirds. The governor can revoke at the request of two thirds of each house, even in cases where there is no good ground of accusation.	Salaries not to be diminished while in office.
Maryland.	By the governor and the council.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	For bad conduct upon proof before a tribunal, and by the governor at the request of the assembly, by the majority of two thirds of each house.	
Kentucky.	By the governor and the senate.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By accusation, or at the request of two thirds of each house of legislature.	Salaries not to be diminished during office.
Virginia.	By the legislature.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By accusation of the house of delegates. The court of appeal judges officers of the general court, and secretary.	
North Carolina.	By the legislature, but receive their commission from the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By accusation of the assembly or grand jury, judged by a special tribunal.	
South Carolina.	By the legislature.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By accusation of the assembly, judged by the senate.	Salaries unchangeable during office.
Georgia.	By the legislature.	Re-elective every three years.	By the accusation of the assembly, judged by the senate.	Salaries unchangeable during office.
Tennessee.	By the legislature.	During the the good behaviour of the judges.	By the accusation of the assembly.	Cannot advise juries in matters of fact, but can give their opinion upon evidence, and declare the law.
North-West Territory of the Ohio.	By the president and the senate of the United States.	During the good behaviour of the judges.	By the accusation of the house of representatives of the United States, judged by the senate of the States.	Salaries regulated by the congress. Some legislative powers joined to the governor.

No. VI.

MANNER OF ELECTING THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN EACH STATE.

STATES.	SENATORS.	REPRESENTATIVES.	
		Their Distribution and Number.	Conditions of their Election.
New Hampshire.	By the separate resolution of the two houses; the votes taken by ballot.	Four members. Chosen in the state in general.	There must be an absolute majority in the first place, otherwise a list is made of those who have the most votes, amounting to double the members to be chosen; the plurality of this list is sufficient to decide. If two have an equal number of votes the governor has a casting vote.
Massachusetts.	By the separate resolution of the two houses, each house having a negative upon the proposition of the other. The votes taken by ballot.	By the district; in which they ought to reside. The state is divided into as many districts as members, and ought to furnish fourteen of them.	The majority is necessary, and after one trial the electors choose from among the candidates him who has the most votes.
Connecticut.	By the distinct vote of each house taken by ballot.	Seven members taken from a preliminary nomination of double the number made by the people.	Nomination, and the majority of votes.
Rhode Island.	By the ballot of the two houses assembled.	Two members in the whole state.	The majority is necessary.
Vermont.	At first by the separate suffrages of the two houses; if they cannot agree, by the number of votes; and by ballot in both cases.	Two members, chosen each in a district where they should have resided.	The majority is necessary in the first essay; the plurality in the others.
New York.	At first by the separate suffrages of the two houses; if they do not agree, then by the ballot of them united.	Ten members taken from as many districts, without regard to place of residence.	The plurality suffices.
New Jersey.	By the suffrages; sometimes taken by ballot, and sometimes viva voce.	Five members chosen in the whole state.	The plurality.
Pennsylvania.	The manner is not yet determined by the law. Hitherto the elections have been made by separate resolutions, and by their votes given viva voce. By the constitution of Pennsylvania these elections are required to be made viva voce.	Thirteen members for as many districts, without regard to place of residence. The first election is made by the whole state; the second by the district; the third by the whole state; the fourth by district; the fifth the same.	The plurality.
Delaware.	By a general ballot.	One member.	The plurality.
Maryland.	By a general ballot. One of the senators must be of the East part, and the other of the West.	Eight members for as many districts.	The plurality.
Kentucky.	By a general ballot; but the votes are taken and examined in each house. The majority decides.	Two members chosen in two districts, where they must have been residents.	The plurality.
Virginia.	By general ballot.	Seventeen members chosen in as many districts, where they must have been residents.	The plurality.
North Carolina.	By general ballot.	Ten members chosen in as many districts, where they must have resided.	The plurality.
South Carolina.	By general ballot.	Six members for as many districts, without regard to residence.	The plurality.
Georgia.	By general ballot.	Two members in the whole state.	The plurality.
Tennessee.	By general ballot.	One member.	The plurality.

liquors, the want of exerciſe, nor an exceſs of it, can be brought as a pretext for this early change. If in the eaſtern ſtates the period of their beauty ſhould be lengthened, it is but for a ſhort time.

The number of children which die in their infancy is proportionably much greater than in Europe. Colds, hooping-coughs, and diſorders of the throat, take off a great quantity. The moſt common diſeaſes in all the ſtates are flowings of the cheſt, conſumptions, and bilious and putrid fevers; I do not mention intermitting fevers, the moſt frequent of all, becauſe they are not mortal, though they ſometimes degenerate into bilious fevers.

An epidemical diſeaſe, during ſeveral of the laſt years, has made great ravages in the United States. From Boſton there is hardly a maritime town but what has felt its fatal effects during five or ſix years. Philadelphia, in 1793, loſt by this malady one-tenth of its population. At the moment I am quitting America, this city is ſtill deſolated by this ſcourge; and if the number of her victims be leſs conſiderable than it has been during four years, it is becauſe nine-tenths of the inhabitants took flight at the firſt appearance of this dreadful diſorder; for among thoſe who remained the proportion of death appears yet greater. This diſeaſe does not manifeſt itſelf till near the cloſe of the ſummer, and does not ceaſe till the cold ſeaſon ſets in. I will not undertake to ſpeak of its ſymptoms, which appear to be very curious; nor of its treatment, upon which the opinions of almoſt all the phyſicians of the United States vary. Since 1793, a great number of writings upon this diſeaſe have appeared, which ſome phyſicians believe to have been imported from the Antilles, while ſome contend that it is indigenous; ſome ſtate it to be of the moſt communicative infection, and others maintain that it is not even epidemic; and there are who ſay, that it is only a malignant fever of a ſerious ſpecies.

However it may be, the dread of this diſorder is ſuch, that it is often believed to have taken place when it has not, and that many ſimple putrid fevers receive the name and the treatment of the yellow fever.

It is generally remarked, that this diſeaſe has not yet made its appearance in any towns in the interior parts; that in the maritime towns

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where it has raged ſo cruelly, it has hardly ever extended beyond the ſame quarters; and laſtly, that of all the inhabitants of theſe unfortunate places, the French are among thoſe who have been the leaſt attacked with it: only one of them died at Philadelphia in 1793, and only four this year, though no Frenchman quitted the city. The more circumſpect uſe which they make of ſpirituous liquors, is the reaſon which is given for the good fortune of having eſcaped from this danger, while it was almoſt general to others.

We read almoſt every where, that the indigenous ſpecies, men and animals, are ſmaller in America than in the ancient continent. It is neceſſary to have ſeen more animals than I have had an opportunity of ſeeing, and to have made more perſonal obſervations, to have formed a firm opinion upon this great queſtion. What I have ſeen of indigenous animals, bears, wolves, panthers, foxes, &c. have certainly appeared leſs to me than thoſe of the ſame ſpecies of the old world: it is alſo acknowledged, that they have leſs ferocity in each of their ſpecies. Yet there are found, as I have already had an occaſion to obſerve, bones which appeared to belong to animals of much greater dimenſions than any known to exiſt at preſent.

The domeſtic animals imported from Europe loſe nothing of their ſize by becoming inhabitants of America, when they find the ſame nouriſhment, and the ſame accommodations, which they received in their native ſoil. I have ſeen in New England, and in many other parts of the United States, as fine cows as in any other part of the world; but they are ſcarce, becauſe the great pains taken in the different branches of agriculture are not ſo well known and practiſed; and it is alſo true, that the milk given by theſe cows is nearly equal in quantity to that given by others in Europe, and yet produces a fourth part leſs butter; and that though the beef be as fine in America as in Europe, it is not ſo ſubſtantial. This inconteſtible truth extends to the vegetable productions; and it is acknowledged, for example, that the beſt American flour, ground in the beſt mills, and made of the beſt corn, does not equal either in quantity or in quality the European flour; particularly that

that known in commerce by the name of flour of *moirſac*, which for that reaſon is always dearer than American flour, and preferred to it by the inhabitants of the Antilles.

As to the Indians, thoſe whom I have ſeen, without being remarkably tall, are of an ordinary ſtature, and appear to be ſtrong, and of a good conſtitution. The uſe of rum weakens and enervates them—brings on a premature old age, and death; but this is not to be attributed to either nature or the climate. Travellers who have ſeen many more Indians than I, and particularly Indians at a greater diſtance from the habitations of whites, have aſſured me that they have found tribes of men very tall, and always, like the reſt of mankind, ſtronger in proportion to their ſobriety.

The vegetable kingdom, in America, is admirably rich and abundant; and particularly ſo in the ſouthern ſtates, where the plants, in great abundance, have a quick and ſtrong growth; and in the more northern parts, where their growth is not ſo ſpeedy or their odour ſo great, have generally an agreeable exhalation. M. de Caſtiglioni, an Italian traveller, who appears to have ſeen America with a penetrating eye, and to have carried his profound reſearches into the vegetable kingdom in particular, ſays, that the vegetables which grow in the United States have a great reſemblance to thoſe which grow under the ſame latitudes in the ancient continent. After the moſt minute inquiry into the different natures of the ſoil, of the climates, of the various vegetable productions in the United States, it evidently appears, that there is not any productions, except ſugar, of which the ſoil of the United States is not capable of producing, by the aid of an appropriate culture. Perhaps as to ſome of them the country may not yet be quite congenial; but the number of thoſe is, I believe, very inconſiderable.

There is a great variety of birds in America, and for the moſt part their plumage is exceedingly rich and brilliant. There are but few of them which entirely reſemble thoſe of the ſame ſpecies in Europe, if there be a ſpecies in exiſtence abſolutely alike. Except the mocking-bird, which counterfeits the cries of all the other birds, there are few of them

them which have a varied ſong, or even a charming note; and on thi account a walk in the woods is much leſs delightful than in Europe.

The ſtriking difference there is between the animal and vegetable productions of the two hemiſpheres is far from being applicable to the mineral kingdom. The form of mountains, rocks, and beds of different minerals in North America, are the ſame as thoſe of the old world. There are found there different ſpecies of granite, combined and varied as in the mountains of Europe; innumerable kinds of ſchiſtes; of limeſtones, more or leſs perfect, and more or leſs fine; and minerals of almoſt every ſpecies. Upon the eaſt coaſt of the Atlantic, from the bay of Penobſcot, as far as Georgia, and, I am aſſured, from thence as far as the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, there are not any ſtones found of a ſecondary ſpecies, or ſuch of which any traces of the mode of their formation can be diſcovered; they are all of the granite kind, containing in them veins of quartz, calcareous ſpar, marble, and different ſorts of minerals; but none of them ſhew any traces of vegetable or animal productions enveloped in their beds.

The mountains of Canada, thoſe of Lakes George and Champlain, and of the Alleghanies excepted, the ſummits of all the others are flat, and appear evidently to have been formed upon the ſame horizontal level. In ſhort, every thing in the mineral kingdom exhibits ſigns of a country more recently quitted by the waters than the three other parts of the world.

The characters of the inhabitants of the different ſtates may be expected to be as diſſimilar to each other as the climates of the countries they inhabit are various. The climate itſelf, the original formation of theſe colonies, their ancient governments, and the diverſity of nations of which the population of the United States is compoſed, has in reality impreſſed this difference between them. The poſſeſſion and uſage of ſlaves alone muſt have introduced a great difference in their manners. While paſſing through the different ſtates, I have tried to give a ſketch of this diverſity. Yet there are traits almoſt common to all the inhabitants of the United States; and the cauſe of this parity may be found

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in the recent origin of all theſe people, in the great difficulties which they experienced in their eſtabliſhments, and even in the actual conſtitution of the United States.

The traits of character common to all, are ardour for enterpriſe, courage, greedineſs, and an advantageous opinion of themſelves. The title of *the moſt enlightened nation of the whole world*, which the committee of the houſe of repreſentatives appointed to propoſe the anſwer of the houſe to the addreſs of the preſident, in December 1796, has given to the people of the United States, will be of itſelf a proof of that good opinion they have of themſelves, which I give as a common characteriſtic, eſpecially if it be known with what labour, and after what long diſcuſſions, the houſe determined to make the ſacrifice of this ſuperlative, with which the modeſty of the majority of the United States had not been embarraſſed. I quote this example as the moſt ſtriking and the moſt national; but, to tell the truth, almoſt all the books printed in America, and the individual converſations of the Americans, furniſh proofs of it daily. This character, which none of thoſe, I believe, who have ſeen America will deny to be that of the United States, is an exaggeration proceeding from the newneſs of their eſtabliſhments, and will wear out in time. Their courage will be more exceptionable ſtill to thoſe who have the ſlighteſt knowledge of the war for independency. Habituated to fatigue from their infancy, having for the moſt part made their fortune by their labour and their induſtry, fatigue and labour are not yet become repugnant even to thoſe in the moſt eaſy circumſtances; while they wiſh to enjoy the eaſe and ſweets of life, they do not regard them as abſolute wants; they know how to diſpenſe with them, and to quit them and travel in the woods whenever their intereſt requires it; they can forget them, whenever a reverſe of fortune takes them away; and they know how to run after fortune when ſhe eſcapes them; for, as I have often ſaid before, the deſire of riches is their ruling paſſion, and indeed their only paſſion.

The ridiculous aſſertion advanced by ſome writers, that the new world could not produce genius and talents like the old, has been proved to be abſurd by the mere citation of the name of ſome inhabitants of the

United States, whoſe genius and brilliant talents would do honour to any country whatever; and it may be ſuppoſed that ſhe will produce others. Further, the American people are intelligent, eager to inveſtigate, and diſpoſed to inſtruction; and many examples of men may be mentioned, who, without education, have invented and conſtructed works, particularly in mechanics, worthy of the beſt workmen in Europe. It is nevertheleſs certain, that the number of men diſtinguiſhed for ſcience and literature there, is much leſs than in the nations of Europe, though, as Mr. Morſe ſays in his Geography, there muſt be a reaſon for this difference: the means of inſtruction are leſs complete, and not ſo extenſive—doubtleſs this is one reaſon; but I regard it as only a ſecondary cauſe; and that this ſtate of imperfection of the public education is itſelf only the conſequence of a cauſe of more general influence, I mean, that continual occupation of getting money, common to all orders and profeſſions. The ſtudy of the ſciences and of letters requires, to make much progreſs, that the mind ſhould be diſengaged from all other predominant employments; it demands the exertion of all our faculties; and it is known, that the paſſion for money is that, of all others, which keeps the moſt conſtant poſſeſſion of the mind of him who is tainted with it, and that it renders the mind leſs ſuſceptible of all diſtraction, at leaſt from all other purſuits.

In Europe, where the cultivation of the ſciences and of letters is the principal occupation of thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves in them, and is, for that reaſon, a particular order, it will be found that no profeſſion has furniſhed fewer learned and literary men than thoſe which employ the mind in calculations of loſs and gain: and in America it will be found, that thoſe who have been, and thoſe who can now be reckoned among learned men, are or were, by character or by ſituation, the moſt exempt from this common diſpoſition of their fellow citizens.

A better and more complete ſyſtem of inſtruction than that which is now generally followed in the colleges of the United States, would augment but little the number of men who give themſelves up to the ſciences and to letters, ſo long as the manners of the people continue to direct

direct the deſires and thoughts towards the acquirement of wealth. The term of education in America is too ſhort; a young man hardly arrives at the age of ſixteen years, before his parents are deſirous of placing him in the counting-houſe of a merchant, or in the office of a lawyer. He has not yet been able to acquire at college that degree of inſtruction which would give him the means of reſigning himſelf to the ſciences and to letters, if he had a taſte for them. He ſoon loſes every other idea than thoſe which can prepare the way and hurry him on to the acquiſition of a fortune; he ſees no other views in thoſe around him, or in ſociety; he ſees his profits, and his whole conſideration is attached to ſucceſſes of this kind; how can he preſerve any other views? It is therefore this general diſpoſition which oppoſes the perfectability of the public inſtruction, which, of whatever kind it might have been, could not have prevailed over the impatience of parents to put their children into the road of acquiring riches, and over that excluſive paſſion to follow this career, which the latter imbibe with the milk from the breaſts of their mothers.

They complain in the United States, and doubtleſs with great reaſon, that a conſiderable number of American citizens, forgetful of the country to which they belong, are now arming privateers in France, for the purpoſe of taking American ſhips, which the French government deem lawful prizes; and theſe complaints are certainly well-founded, ſince there are but few greater crimes of which a citizen can be guilty. But whence aroſe the principles of this horrid crime, if not from that paſſion ſo openly avowed in America, of getting money, and becoming rich—a paſſion which leads to an indifference about the means, when it has become ſo general. This is what makes ſociety connive at unjuſt payments, at fraudulent bankruptcies, and encourages the lending of money at an enormous intereſt, which the law condemns.

This diſpoſition is natural to a new people, placed in a foreign territory, and under circumſtances which have afforded ſo many means of greedineſs. But it has, nevertheleſs, the moſt pernicious effects; it is no leſs pregnant with the imminent danger of benumbing the love of

liberty. Time will reduce it to its juſt bounds, and the United States will certainly take among the ancient nations their rank in knowledge and in the ſciences, as well as in power. But it is indubitable, that the rapidity of the progreſs of theſe important improvements yet depends upon the ſpeed with which a revolution ſhall be made in this branch of the national manners.

I have ſpoken of the inſufficiency of the public inſtruction in the United States for making men of ſcience; and though I have pointed out the cauſe of that inſufficiency to be in the manners which enforce it, there is no impropriety in making the ſtate of it known.

The phyſical or natural part of the education of the Americans is excellent: left to themſelves from their tendereſt age, they are expoſed without precaution to the rigour of heat and cold, feet and legs bare, with few clothes. The children of the rich are not brought up much more tenderly than thoſe in leſs eaſy circumſtances; in the country, they often go twice a day to ſchools two or three miles diſtant from home, and alone. There are few American children who cannot ſwim boldly, and at ten years of age manage a gun and hunt, without meeting with an accident; and not one who does not ride with great courage, nor any who fear fatigue; and the children in towns are not brought up with more delicacy. This liberty given to children teaches them to take care of themſelves; and, bold as they are, they have the prudence to avoid dangers, which children brought up with much greater care would not avoid. They become ſtrong and enterpriſing men, whom no difficulties diſhearten, and produce a growing generation, which will be as invincible in its territory as that which preceded it proved itſelf to be.

The inſtructive part of education has not attained the ſame perfection. I have ſaid, that in New England the free-ſchools were open to all the children; and that the laws, as well as the manners of the country, impoſed it upon the parents as a duty almoſt indiſpenſable, to profit by the advantages of this public inſtitution. New England is ſtill the only part of the United States where theſe excellent eſtabliſhments have taken place. But the obſtacles which hitherto and do ſtill oppoſe ſimilar eſtabliſhments

bliſhments in the other ſtates, will vaniſh. All the legiſlatures are already more or leſs ſtruck with the neceſſity of theſe inſtitutions; they perceive that the liberty of the preſs, which has the public inſtruction for its object, loſes its advantages in proportion as fewer men are in a ſituation to profit by it; and that the ſame ſpirit which firſt recogniſed the liberty of the preſs as a ſacred right of the inhabitants of the United States, impoſes upon her governments the duty of increaſing, as much as poſſible, the number of thoſe to whom it may be uſeful. In the free ſchools are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with the principles of religion and morality. Beſides theſe, there are academies and colleges in various parts of the different ſtates. The academies are what are generally meant in France by boarding-ſchools or ſmall colleges; and the colleges are what are ſo called there, or rather what are called in England univerſities. They are the laſt ſtage of education; it is in theſe colleges that what are called in America the higher ſciences are taught, and degrees conferred, &c.

The education of youth in America is modelled after that of England; and I have been told, by well-informed Engliſhmen, that it is a bad copy of a bad original.

In the American ſchools, the inſtruction in Latin is ſeldom extended further than the firſt claſſic authors—Cordery, Eraſmus, Ovid, and ſome orations of Cicero, are almoſt all the books which are read in them. Virgil and Horace are read in the colleges, but a very little of them. The Roman hiſtorians, as Titus Livius, and Tacitus, are ſeldom uſed there. Suetonius, Eutropius, and Cornelius Nepos, are preferred, and the laſt is one of the beſt authors which are put into the hands of youth. Greek is but little taught; and the New Teſtament is generally the *ne plus ultra* of inſtruction in this language, if Homer be excepted, which is read in the high claſſes of ſome colleges. But the Greek tragedies, and the comedies of the celebrated Latin author Terence, and even the eaſieſt poets, and almoſt as famous, ſuch as Pindar, Anacreon, Heſiod, and Theocritus, are not read there. As to more modern authors, ſuch as

Plutarch,

Plutarch, Lucian, &c. the ſtudents know nothing more of them than what curioſity, and a love of inſtruction, very rare among them, may enable them to know, by the tranſlations of them which they procure. The Orations are the only work of Cicero taught in the academies or in the colleges, at leaſt entirely, and in the original language. His Offices, his Tuſculan, his Dialogues, his Tracts upon the Laws, upon Friendſhip, and upon Oratory, are not read, or ſeldom ſo at leaſt, otherwiſe than by tranſlations.

The Elements of Euclid, and the Firſt Principles of Conic Sections, are the complement of mathematical inſtruction. The mechanics, hydroſtatics, and hydraulics, are taught after the works of Nicholſon, oftener after thoſe of Ferguſſon, and the moſt often after thoſe of Enfield. The name of Newton is revered in America, and where can it not be ſo? But his works are little taught, and too little time is allowed for them to be generally comprehended.

The few practical inſtructions which are given in ſome particular ſchools upon the manner of finding the height of the ſun, for the purpoſe of knowing the longitude, excepted, there is hardly any other branch of this ſpecies of information cultivated in any of the colleges of the United States; and the very ſmall number of mariners who wiſh to be inſtructed only in the practice of taking obſervations for computing the longitude, cannot find any means of doing it in America, and are induced to ſearch for this information in England. Yet the tonnage of American veſſels, navigating every ſea in the world, may be eſtimated for ſome years paſt at ſeven hundred thouſand tons annually; and improvements in navigation are the certain means of augmenting the profits ariſing from the commerce of the ſeas.

There are in moſt of the colleges ſome philoſophical inſtruments, of various degrees of perfection; and the youth receive more inſtruction in experimental philoſophy than in the more exact ſciences. I do not believe that there is any particular profeſſor in chemiſtry in any other colleges than in thoſe of New York, Prince's-town in New Jerſey, and at

Cambridge

Cambridge in Maſſachuſetts. The little which is taught of this ſcience in other places, is by profeſſors who teach philoſophy and mathematics together.

I will not take upon myſelf to decide upon medical inſtruction, but I have been informed that in many colleges it is excellent; and I believe it may not be doubted but that this excellence will extend over all America; and if we reflect, that in a country where the love of money is ſo predominant, the profeſſion which procures the moſt of it by the extenſion of acquaintance, which captivates without abſorbing the whole mind in ſtudy, muſt produce many well-informed men; and it will be eaſy from thence to deduce the reaſons why the claſs of medicine produces in America more learned men of almoſt all kinds than all the others, and why the ſcience of medicine is better, longer, and more completely taught.

The ſtudy of theology is very confined in the American colleges, but I do not pretend to repreſent the total want of this inſtruction as an injury.

But the ſtudy of common right, of the municipal laws, of thoſe of particular ſtates, or of the United States, make no part of the inſtruction received in the colleges. This circumſtance excites aſtoniſhment, in a republic where each individual may aſpire to become a legiſlator, and where every one, as an elector, ought to be capable of judging himſelf the qualifications and conduct of the candidates, the acts and ordinances of government, and where, above all, he ought to know his duties, in order to fulfil them.

It is not leſs extraordinary, that the hiſtory of the United States, of their revolution, of the events which preceded and forced it; of the obſtacles of every nature which they had to overcome; of the ſacrifices of eaſe, of the money and blood of their fellow-citizens which they had to make; of the mutual ſuccours which the different ſtates afforded in theſe important and perilous circumſtances, ſhould not be taught in the colleges or academies of America, where the hiſtory of England is the only modern one which the youth read. Liberty is dearer to thoſe who know

know how much it coſt to obtain it; and in a free country, the love of liberty, obedience to the laws, and reſpect for the conſtitution, are the baſis of public morals. The hiſtory of every people who have fought for their liberty, abounds in traits of devotedneſs, of courage, and of diſintereſtedneſs, in which that of the American war is very fertile. The tranſmiſſion to poſterity of the names of thoſe who have honoured the American revolution, not only in the higheſt offices, but alſo in inferior ſtations, is a ſacred duty of the governments, and that can never be completely fulfilled, but by inculcating it in the public ſchools. Can it be feared leſt this kind of inſtruction ſhould have the effect of eternalizing the antipathy or preference of the American nation to ſuch or ſuch European nation? No; it would only prolong the ſweet remembrance of the acquiſition of liberty, and this remembrance is the peculiar property of youth, and of future ages. This remembrance is the hiſtory of the United States; their citizens cannot neglect making themſelves familiar with theſe great events without committing an injury, and, I will ſay, further, without incurring the ſhame of being ignorant of what it is the firſt duty of every man belonging to a free people to know. But this remembrance cannot engage them in any ſteps contrary to the duties of a moral and wiſe policy; it confirms them in the reſolution of keeping themſelves for ever independent of any foreign nation; and it leaves on the minds of the Americans impreſſions of ſatisfaction and of pride, which, when they become united with a ſound and enlightened morality, are the embrios of private and public virtues.

In the courſe of my journal I have had occaſion to ſpeak of learned ſocieties. They are ſufficiently numerous in America; but, as I have obſerved, they are not directed in a manner which can make them of that degree of utility of which they are capable, and of which America ſtands ſo much in need. Theſe ſocieties are not aſſiduouſly attended by their members, and this inconvenience belongs to that general cauſe, that conſtant application to gain ſo dear to them, that it leaves no leiſure for any other.

There are ſome medical ſocieties eſtabliſhed in America, which are

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more diligently attended, where ſome obſervations are made, though perhaps leſs perfect, and with leſs aſſiduity, than might be deſired. The medical ſociety of New York appears to be that which applies itſelf with the greateſt diligence to the cultivation of thoſe branches of knowledge conſonant to its inſtitution. For ſome time this ſociety has continued to publiſh monthly a kind of journal, filled with uſeful and intereſting tracts.

Beſides this there is not any uſeful journal or periodical work publiſhed in America of any importance; there was one publiſhed during four years at Philadelphia, under the title of the American Muſeum, really intereſting, on account of ſome pieces which it contained upon politics, literature, ſome extracts from good Engliſh works, and for the details which it gave of the principal matters relative to commerce and navigation, and of the adminiſtration of the United States. This journal ceaſed to appear in 1792, becauſe the ſubſcriptions for it had ceaſed to be abundant enough to reimburſe the editor for the expences attending it. This was certainly for America one of the moſt intereſting works worthy of ſupport; but reading has hitherto been the occupation of only a few Americans, and that of political pamphlets, or rather thoſe of party, engages the attention of the greater part of thoſe few; ſo that while there are in the cities, and even in the villages of the United States, more printing offices in proportion than in any city in Europe, the preſſes there are principally employed on ſome books of religion, ſermons, ſome claſſical books, ſome geographical dictionaries, upon reprinting Engliſh works, and, above all, upon a great number of newſpapers. Many works of merit, however, had their birth in America; ſuch as the Hiſtory of the Revolution of the United States, and that of South Carolina, by Dr. RAMSAY, of Charleſton; the hiſtories of certain ſtates, among which that of New Hampſhire, by Dr. BELKNAP, of Boſton, holds a diſtinguiſhed rank; the American Encyclopedia, which, though partly extracted from the Engliſh Encyclopedia, has a great number of original articles, and is a work of great utility; in ſhort, there are many other tracts, general or particular, upon the United States, and doubtleſs

many which, while I did not name, I did not intend to exclude, any farther than I was not acquainted with them, or which had eſcaped my memory. If I have not included in this liſt the Defence of the American Conſtitution, by John Adams; the Obſervations upon Virginia, by Mr. Jefferſon; the Letters of General Waſhington during the War; it is becauſe I ſpeak here only of the employment of the American preſſes, and that theſe celebrated works were printed originally in England.

Numerous as the newſpapers in America may be, they do not ſupply the want of journals, or periodical publications. Few foreign political articles of moment find a place in them; indeed they are nothing more, at leaſt, in the larger towns, than the *Camp Liſt*, or the *Common Advertiſer*, in which parties attack each other, and deal out ſcandal; and as it often happens, when the parties arrive at a certain point of exaltation, the moſt vehement are thoſe who find the moſt ſubſcribers, even among thoſe who blame them moſt.

In the debates of congreſs, ſpeeches full of reaſon, drawn from a knowledge of things, and remarkable for good logic, are often heard; indeed there are but few men there who ſpeak upon ſubjects which they do not underſtand. It is alſo ſaid, but I am not capable of deciding, that the members there expreſs themſelves in the beſt language. But prolixity is, in ſome meaſure, the common fault of American orators, who, like the writers of the new world, are not deſirous of leaving any thing to be interpreted by the underſtandings of their auditors or readers.

The moſt common vice of the inferior claſs of the American people, is drunkenneſs. The uſe which they make of ſpirituous liquors, in preference to thoſe of beer, cyder, and wine, greatly aids this diſpoſition. This excepted, there are, without doubt, fewer crimes committed in America than among an equal number of people in Europe; and the cauſe of it may be found in the eaſy circumſtances of the people, the firſt ſource of the morality of nations. Aſſaſſinations are not unknown there, but they are very rare; and theſts, eſpecially in the country, are not frequent, though public confidence be the only ſafeguard of property. They are, as in Europe, more frequent in cities, and for the ſame reaſon.

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The crime of counterfeiting bank bills is pretty common, and becomes more ſo every year. This offence is alſo frequent in thoſe countries where bank notes paſs as the current money; it is alſo, without doubt, the moſt dangerous to the public confidence. On this account there are men in America, humane in other reſpects, who contend that the puniſhment of death ought to be inflicted upon thoſe who have been pronounced guilty of counterfeiting the legal currency. But independently of every conſideration of conveniency, or even of right, to inflict the pain of death there is, in this opinion, more of political reſentment than of exact juſtice. If ſevere laws were made, and rigorouſly executed, to prevent fraudulent tranſactions from becoming ſo often the means of accumulating riches, and which, at the ſame time, ſhould have a ſufficient influence upon the manners of the people, as to deſtroy that reſpect and high conſideration, which is too often paid to men merely becauſe they are opulent, they would certainly reduce the number of crimes more than the fear of death, which experience proves to have but little effect in this reſpect.

If I have been ſeverely exact in repreſenting exceſſive avidity of becoming rich, as the common characteriſtic of the American people, and eſpecially in the inhabitants of cities, I ſhall be as exactly juſt in adding that this diſpoſition does not hurry them on to avarice. Without being proſuſe, or forgetting the intereſt of their families, they know how to be at proper times expenſive, even with oſtentation, and they do not refuſe to aſſiſt the unfortunate, when proper opportunities for it occur. The unfortunate ſufferers by the fires at Charleſton and Savannah, and by the dreadful diſeaſe which raged at Philadelphia and New York, &c. &c. have been relieved by the abundant ſubſcriptions of the citizens of almoſt all the American towns where thoſe diſaſters did not take place; and it is certainly the duty of a Frenchman to do homage to that generoſity ſo liberally extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of the French iſlands, whom burnings and the threats of death had thrown deſtitute upon the ſhores of America. Though I have taken great pains to procure a particular account of the amount of theſe ſuccours given by

almoſt all the American towns to theſe unfortunate people, I have only been able to obtain it in part, and have conſigned the account to the archives of the town where I have been able to collect them, and ſhould have been glad to have been able to have preſented the ſtate with the grateful thanks of my countrymen. I do not doubt but the total of theſe benefactions is more than two hundred thouſand dollars; and I do not include in this ſum the relief afforded by individuals to individuals offered with ſincerity, a feeling for misfortune, and, I may add, with fraternal affection. The wants of theſe French coloniſts, driven from their country, and deſpoiled by barbarity, were ſooner felt, ſooner ſuccoured in the towns of the United States, where theſe unfortunate victims arrived, than expreſſed by themſelves; and theſe ſuccours have hardly had any other term applied to them than neceſſaries; theſe ſufferers ſtill abide, and have continued to abide, in ſome of the towns during the laſt four years. I know examples of whole families being admitted for two years to the intimacy and comforts of American families. I have alſo known ſome to whom houſes have been let, of which the expences have been defrayed, and who would ſtill receive the ſame hoſpitality, if they themſelves had not refuſed to profit by theſe kindneſſes any longer. I know maſters of boarding houſes, who, learning that theſe French gueſts quitted their houſes, becauſe the ſmallneſs of the ſum of money which they were able to ſave in their flight was not ſufficient to defray their expences, have cordially ſolicited their further abode with them as friends, and have at length prevailed over their delicacy to accept the offered kindneſs. I know Frenchmen who having had a great diſtance to travel before they arrived at a convenient port, from whence they could depart for their own country, have been with their families lodged and nouriſhed gratuitouſly, becauſe they were Frenchmen and unfortunate. Similar examples abound, and certainly ſo many of theſe facts are greatly honourable both to the nation and to the individuals to whoſe beneficence they belong.

Every private individual in all the United States of America, has an entire liberty of conſcience; and almoſt all the religions known in Europe are thoſe of the ſectaries there. But there are ſome ſtates where the conſtitution

conſtitution requires of every citizen entering upon the legiſlative or executive function, to ſwear "that he believes in one God, in the future rewards and puniſhments of another life, in the holineſs of the Old and New Teſtament, and that he profeſſes the Proteſtant religion." In ſhort, with individuals, and even with ſome ſocieties, religion is one of the objects which occupies the leaſt of the attention of the American people; and it is affirmed that in thoſe ſtates where Preſbyterianiſm has preſerved the moſt of appearance, of influence, and of rigidity, it is exerciſed in general only for the ſake of form.

There are in almoſt all the towns of America, at leaſt in the principal cities of the ſtates, ſocieties for agriculture, ſocieties for the encouragement of arts, and for the formation and maintenance of public libraries; theſe laſt excepted, few among them attain the end propoſed, and but few of them can ever be able to attain it in the preſent ſtate of America. The expences which theſe laſt ſocieties incur in ſmall pamphlets, are paid by voluntary ſubſcription, in which the inhabitants of the United States, in eaſy circumſtances, are more liberal when the public good is the object of them, than they are in beſtowing their time in reading them.

There are alſo a conſiderable number of charitable ſocieties, ſome of which are marine ſocieties, whoſe purpoſe is, in ſome towns, to provide a ſubſiſtence for the wives and children of captains, or maſters, who die at ſea; or for providing aſſiſtance to all veſſels wrecked upon their coaſts. There are alſo ſocieties for the aſſiſtance of emigrants; that is to ſay, for aſſiſting with advice and ſuccours thoſe ſtrangers who arrive from Europe, with an intention of eſtabliſhing themſelves in America. Others ſubſcribe for the ſupport of hoſpitals and ſchools, and for the diſtribution of proper medicines; there are ſome for the purpoſe of ameliorating the ſituation of priſoners; ſome alſo for the civilization of the Indians; and, laſtly, others unite themſelves for the purpoſe of accelerating in America the epoch of the deſtruction of ſlavery. In all theſe different charitable ſocieties, compoſed of men of all claſſes, of all profeſſions, and of all religions, there is not one in which ſome of the people called Quakers are not to be found; they are the agents of a great many of them, and of

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ſome they are the promoters and almoſt the only members; ſuch as thoſe who have the liberty of the negroes for their object.

Without becoming on this account an extravagant enthuſiaſt of the Quakers, it is impoſſible not to remark, that in every place where any beneficent plan is formed for the good of humanity, there they are always ready viſitors. They are perhaps, as is ſaid of them, as much engaged in the occupation of amaſſing riches, as thoſe who do not belong to their ſociety; but granting it to be ſo, this does not prevent them from applying themſelves, upon every occaſion, to acts of kindneſs and beneficence. Their tenets, their principles, and their laws, rigorouſly preſcribe this duty; and their conſtant inſpection over their ſocieties inures them to it. And though there may be hypocrites among them, which is unfair to preſume, this pretended hypocriſy, which would be a vice in thoſe whom it might ſway, ought yet to be reſpected, ſince the good which may reſult from it, may cauſe it to be turned to the public advantage, and would even become a credit to their ſociety. There muſt, without doubt, be found among the great number of members of their communion, ſome bad men, but they cannot be notoriouſly ſo without being excluded the ſociety. If there be among the American citizens ſome Quakers whom falſe or hazardous ſpeculations have drawn into proceedings which delicacy and equity condemn, their number is but ſmall; and the quantity of Quakers engaged in commerce is nearly equal to that of the men who compoſe their whole ſociety. Their private manners are regular and pure; and the luxury of thoſe who reſign themſelves the moſt to it, does not exceed the eaſe and conveniences of life. The courts of juſtice are never engaged in deciding the differences which take place among them, and the number of law-ſuits between the Quakers and other citizens is but ſmall, in compariſon of their multitude, and the quantity of their property. Submiſſive to the laws of the country where they live, no ſtate, whatever its conſtitution may be, has more quiet and more faithful ſubjects. Their wiſhes for the freedom of ſlaves, and their efforts to haſten the period of its accompliſhment, has created them violent and irreconcileable enemies in every part of the world. It may be,

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that the exalted zeal of ſome individuals may have drawn them beyond the bounds of a juſt convenience, and from a well digeſted prudence, and thoſe are certainly blameable. But have they ever been even accuſed of having excited the negroes to rebellion? It has been by pleading and petitioning for them, as unhappy beings and as men; it has been by riſing againſt ſlavery that they have ſhewn themſelves their friends; and the Quakers are not the firſt men in whom a deſire to diſſipate errors and to procure redreſs for the injured has produced hatreds and even perſecutions.

Perhaps it may be delicate to diſcuſs the queſtion of negro ſlavery, at a period when ſo many crimes and ſo many unparalleled atrocities have been committed under the pretext of their emancipation; whence ſo many miſeries, either irremediable, or at leaſt difficult to repair, have reſulted to the ſtate, to proprietors, and to the negroes themſelves. This queſtion however is foreign to my ſubject. But the Quakers had no hand in cauſing theſe calamities; and their adherence to the cauſe of ſuffering humanity, and their frequent petitions in favour of the negroes, do them honour, as well as their vigilance, as citizens, in executing the laws which are favourable to this claſs of men. How honourable to them are thoſe perſevering cares and aſſiduous attentions to the hoſpitals and priſons, in which they expoſe themſelves to the danger of catching the dreadful yellow fever when it appears! I am ſpeaking of them as citizens, without any regard to their opinions, to their rules and orders, or to the auſterity of their manners; in this reſpect, I believe that a nation which has really at heart the good of mankind, cannot have better or more uſeful ſubjects.

The inferior claſſes of workmen, down to thoſe who labour in the ports, do not appear to me to be ſo ruſtic in America as they generally do in the old world. The reaſon of this is, without doubt, that they are treated with more civility, and conſidered by thoſe who employ them as free men with whom they have contracted, rather than as workmen, whom they compel to labour. They are like the workmen of every claſs, both

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in town and country, much better paid than in Europe, by which they are enabled to live well. There is not a family, even in the moſt miſerable hut in the midſt of woods, who does not eat meat twice a day at leaſt, and drink tea and coffee; and there is not one who drinks pure water; the proverbial wiſh of *having a chicken in the pot*, is more than accompliſhed in America. The ſhopkeeper and the artizan live much better here than in Europe; and the table of a family, in eaſy circumſtances, living upon their income, is not better ſerved in England and France, than a great many of thoſe of tailors, hair-dreſſers, &c. of Philadelphia, of New York, or of all other large towns in America.

Though there be no diſtinctions acknowledged by the law in the United States, fortune, and the nature of profeſſions form different claſſes. The merchants, the lawyers, the land-owners, who do not cultivate their land themſelves (and the number, which is ſmall from the ſtate of Delaware to the north, is great in the ſtates of the ſouth), the phyſicians, and the clergy, form the firſt claſs. The inferior merchants, the farmers, and the artizans, may be included in the ſecond; and the third claſs is compoſed of workmen, who let themſelves by the day, by the month, &c.

In balls, concerts, and public amuſements, theſe claſſes do not mix; and yet, except the labourer in ports, and the common ſailor, every one calls himſelf, and is called by others, a *gentleman*; a ſmall fortune is ſufficient for the aſſumption of this title, as it carries men from one claſs to another. They deceive themſelves very much who think that pure republican manners prevail in America.

The white Americans, by a pride which cannot be blamed, and which proceeds from the negroes being generally employed in the ſervice, is aſhamed of the ſituation of a domeſtic; ſo that there cannot be reckoned throughout the whole extent of the United States, twenty native Americans in the ſtate of domeſtic ſervants. The claſs of domeſtics in America is compoſed of poor prieſts, Germans, and of negroes and mulattoes; and as ſoon as the firſt have acquired a little money, they quit that ſtation, regarded with a ſort of contempt, and eſtabliſh themſelves upon

upon land, which they clear and till, or in a ſmall trade. In ſhort, they become independent of a maſter. Hence it may eaſily be inferred, that good ſervants are not readily found in America.

The prejudice which cauſes the men in America to have ſo great a repugnance to the ſtate of domeſtic ſervitude, does not influence the women in the ſame degree; nothing is more common than to ſee young women of good families, in the ſituation of ſervants, during the firſt years of their youth. Even their parents engage them in this ſituation without ſhocking any idea. I have been told by M. de FAUBONNE, a Frenchman, formerly a captain in the regiment of Auvergne (and whom the pride of independence induced to take up the buſineſs of a gardener for the ſupport of his family, though he was forty-ſix years of age), that he had had in his ſervice, as maid-ſervant, the niece of the Mayor of the city of New York, a young woman very honeſt, and well brought up. Similar examples are very common.

In a country which has belonged to England for a long time, of which the moſt numerous and neareſt connections are yet with England, and which carries on with England almoſt all its commerce, the manners of the people muſt neceſſarily reſemble, in a great degree, thoſe of England. To the American manners particularly, thoſe relative to living are the ſame as in the provinces of England. As to the dreſs, the Engliſh faſhions are as faithfully copied, as the ſending of merchandiſe from England, and the tradition of taylors and mantua-makers will admit of. The diſtribution of the apartments in their houſes is like that of England, the furniture is Engliſh, the town carriages are either Engliſh, or in the Engliſh taſte; and it is no ſmall merit among the faſhionable world to have a coach newly arrived from London, and of the neweſt faſhion. The cookery is Engliſh, and, as in England, after dinner, which is not very long, the ladies withdraw, and give place to drinking of wine in full bumpers, the moſt prominent pleaſure of the day, and which it is, conſequently, very natural to prolong as late as poſſible.

There are great dinners, numerous tea parties, invited a long time in

advance, but no ſocieties. So that theſe tea aſſemblies are every where a fund of amuſement for the ladies. Balls and plays are much frequented. It is generally underſtood that theſe kinds of diſſipation belong only to the towns, and particularly to large cities. Luxury is very high there, eſpecially at New York and Philadelphia, and makes a dangerous progreſs every year; but eaſily to be conceived, ſince luxury is, in ſome degree, the repreſentation of riches, and that wealth there is the only diſtinction.

There are ſome perſons who ſurpaſs their neighbours, already too far advanced, in luxury; theſe injure the manners of the country, but while the people cenſure, they purſue theſe ſeductive paths; and frequent and ſumptuous dinners are held in as high conſideration in the new as in the old world; and this cuſtom has its advantages very often. It has been ſeen that this conſideration has raiſed to the place of temporary preſident of the ſenate of the United States, a man who was not eſteemed by any of thoſe who elected him, or by any other, either for his talents, his qualities, or for his character, but he entertained his friends with ſumptuous dinners. In the other towns, and eſpecially in the country, luxury is leſs prevalent, but it continually increaſes, and often out of proportion with wealth.

The women every where poſſeſs, in the higheſt degree, the domeſtic virtues, and all others; they have more ſweetneſs, more goodneſs, at leaſt as much courage, but more ſenſibility, than the men. Good wives, and good mothers, their huſbands and their children engage their whole attention; and their houſehold affairs occupy all their time and all their cares; deſtined by the manners of their country to this domeſtic life, their education in other reſpects is too much neglected. They are amiable by their qualities and their natural diſpoſition, but there are very few among them who are ſo from any acquired accompliſhments. What they eſteem to be virtue in wives is the virtue of the whole ſex; and if in the United States malice may throw out her ſuſpicion upon twenty, there are certainly not above ten of them who can be accuſed juſtly, and all the reſt treat theſe with great rigour. I have heard ſome huſbands complain,

complain, that the urgency of their wives makes this irreproachable virtue coſt them dear. But where in the world is there a place where evil is not found by the ſide of good?

The young women here enjoy a liberty, which to French manners would appear diſorderly; they go out alone, walk with young men, and depart with them from the reſt of the company in large aſſemblies; in ſhort, they enjoy the ſame degree of liberty which married women do in France, and which married women here do not take. But they are far from abuſing it; they endeavour to pleaſe, and the unmarried women deſire to obtain huſbands, and they know that they ſhall not ſucceed if their conduct becomes ſuſpected. Sometimes they are abuſed by the men who deceive them, but then they add not to the misfortune of having engaged their hearts to a cruel man the regret of deſerving it, which might give them remorſe. When they have obtained a huſband, they love him, becauſe he is their huſband, and becauſe they have not an idea that they can do otherwiſe; they revere cuſtom by a kind of ſtate religion, which never varies.

I do not know whether there be many badly managed families in America; but none appear ſo, though indeed they do not bear the image of the moſt deſirable happineſs. In the inferior claſſes of ſociety, where the manners of the women are as exempt from reproach as in the more elevated claſſes, it is ſaid that thoſe of the young women are more eaſy. Yet according to all which I have been able to collect, it is the illuſion of a marriage, which they believe to be decided, which engages them to give further liberties than they otherwiſe would do without this falſe hope. The fault therefore lies entirely in the men who deceive the young women; without it can be juſt to accuſe thoſe of libertinage who have not the prudence to guard themſelves againſt it.

There formerly was a cuſtom in New England, and particularly in Connecticut, which various American travellers, in their accounts, attribute to vicious manners; but who, I confeſs, ought to accuſe me of dulneſs, becauſe it always appeared to me, on the contrary, to be the effect of the pureſt manners, and the moſt innocent intentions. A traveller

arrived at the houſe of a friend, and the beds of the family were engaged. He was put to bed with the family—with the boys, if there were any, and with the girls, if there were no boys. It may be conceived, that it is eaſier for Europeans to compoſe pleaſant tales, and to draw merry inferences from this cuſtom, than to examine it in its native ſimplicity, and the beneficence of its intention.

Hoſpitality among this new people was one of the virtues the moſt regarded as a duty, and the moſt religiouſly obſerved. Their houſes were few and ſmall. A traveller to whom an entrance into one of theſe had been denied at the end of the day, was not able to find another lodging near; their hoſpitable manners could not ſuffer him to be refuſed; and the idea of diſorder did not enter the head of the parents, or that of their daughters, and the gueſt was admitted into the hoſpitable roof; and it was not remarked that he arrived inconveniently. The part of the clothing which was not thrown off, was rather a homage paid to the difference of ſexes than a neceſſary means of ſecurity; and the next day the traveller departed, to find on the next evening another hoſpitable lodging. This cuſtom, known by the name of *bondelage*, ceaſed, in proportion as houſes became larger, the roads more frequented, and taverns eſtabliſhed; but the day when the idea of modeſty entered to make this reform, the manners had loſt their innocence.

I have heard it ſaid by men who had been admitted to this ſpecies of hoſpitality, and whoſe manners were certainly not very ſcrupulous, that the ſlighteſt attempt which they had ever made to abuſe this reception had been received with violent repulſes, and had cauſed them ſometimes to be turned out of bed, and ſometimes even out of the houſe; and no one ever told me that he had ever ſucceeded in attempting to take advantage of this cuſtom; but their delicacy had not prevented them from deſiring it, and would not have hindered them from avowing it.

There probably may have been examples to the contrary; but they could only be reckoned as exceptions, and too few to have authoriſed writing travellers to have played ſo much upon this cuſtom, which, when it is conſidered at what period it took place, and with what intention

tention it was eſtabliſhed, is a credit to the manners of the country, and to the times in which it was practiſed. Be this as it may, the cuſtom has ceaſed long ago, ſo that there is no more truth in the account of thoſe writers who repreſent it to exiſt at preſent, than there is of juſtneſs and goodneſs in their judgment when they attack the morality of it, or pervert the intention.

But the cuſtom which exiſts ſtill, and which may ſhock the manners of an European, is that of being admitted to ſleep upon mattreſſes and upon blankets in the ſame chambers where the huſband and wife ſleep in their bed, and the children of the family, boys and girls, in theirs. This cuſtom is alſo to be attributed to the ſcarceneſs of houſes, and their ſmallneſs, which is generally reduced to one chamber, which renders this practice neceſſary in thoſe parts of the United States which are thinly inhabited. I have more than once found myſelf in ſuch a lodging, when I have been travelling alone, or with companions of my journey, and when I have met with travellers to whom I was a ſtranger. The chambers are very ſmall; and men often ſleep near the bed of young and handſome girls, whoſe ſimplicity is not ſufficiently alarmed to make any change in their cuſtomary night dreſs. If the ſtranger ſo lodged has his ſleep retarded or broken by the ideas ſuggeſted by a ſituation to which he is ſo little accuſtomed, it is neither the fault nor intention of his good and kind hoſts.

As to the large towns, and particularly commercial ones, the means of libertiniſm there are perhaps more numerous than in Europe, and I hear ſay that a great many huſbands make uſe of theſe means. As in Europe, poverty and vanity of dreſs are the determining motive which lead the women into the paths of proſtitution;—ſo it is in the great towns of America: and among the married women, thoſe whom the long abſence and inattention of their huſbands leave without ſure means of ſubſiſtence, particularly the wives of ſeafaring-men, are, if not abſolutely the only ones, the moſt frequently accuſed of this illicit practice.

I ought to add farther, that the condition of the girls who are kept in the houſes ſet apart for proſtitution, is viewed by the lower orders of the

American

American people with weaker prepoſſeſſions than in Europe, and is looked upon merely in the ſame manner as every other trade: there are many examples of this deſcription of women, who leave thoſe ſituations, place themſelves as ſervants, or are married, and make faithful domeſtics and honeſt wives. The municipal police connives at this kind of houſes; but if the neighbours complain of any exterior ſcandal, they are inſtantly ſhut, and the inhabitants carried to the houſe of correction.

The Americans marry young, eſpecially in the country: the occaſion which the young men, who generally eſtabliſh themſelves very early either in ſome new lands or in ſome trade, have for a wife to aſſiſt them in their labours, conduces to theſe early marriages as much as the purity of manners.

In the villages, marriages are leſs frequent and not ſo haſty, eſpecially ſince the introduction of luxury renders an acquired fortune more neceſſary; and the young men hardly feel the neceſſity of loving, with the project of marriage, till they have already ſatisfied, or are in the way of ſatisfying, the more imperious neceſſity of gaining money. But however good the marriages may be, the wife who dies is readily replaced by another. In the country ſhe is, as in Europe, a neceſſary friend to the management of domeſtic affairs—ſhe is the ſoul of the family. In town ſhe is ſo too. She is an indiſpenſable reſource for domeſtic affairs, while her huſband is engaged in his own affairs, as every one is in America; ſhe is an aſſiduous companion, and a ſociety ever ready to be found in a country where there are no other but that of the family, and where the children ſoon quit their paternal abode.

To the ſketch which I have juſt given of the manners of the people of the United States, I could add ſome features more, but which would augment but little the knowledge which I have tried to give of them collectively, or of them *enſemble*; beſides, I am preſſed to finiſh this article, which appears too long already.

An European coming into the new world, and bringing with him the need of the uſage of the politer attentions of that which he has quitted; he, above all, who brings with him the need of what we call in

France

France the charms of ſociety, which we know ſo well how to appreciate, of which we know how to participate, and which affords us ſo many moments of happineſs,—ſuch a man will not find himſelf ſatisfied in America, and his recollections will be continually ſprinkling his life with melancholy. He cannot, if his heart has an occaſion for a friend, hope to find there the ſweetneſs of a conſtant and avowed friendſhip. The inhabitants of the United States have been hitherto too much engaged in their reſpective occupations for the enticements of poliſhed ſociety, to be able to withdraw their attention from them; they have not leiſure to conſecrate to friendſhip.

Such an European ought to have for a long time forgotten Europe, in order to live quite happy in America. But if he can readily loſe the remembrance of it, or take with him there the deareſt objects of his affection, he will lead in America a happy and tranquil life. He will there enjoy the bleſſing of liberty in the greateſt extent which it is poſſible to deſire in any poliſhed country. He will ſee himſelf with an active people, eaſy in their circumſtances, and happy. Every day will bring him to obſerve a new progreſs of this new country. He will ſee it every day take a ſtep towards that ſtrength and greatneſs to which it is called; towards that real independence which is for a nation the reſult of having the means of ſatisfying itſelf.

Beſides, every man of talents who ſhall go to America; every ſkilful workman; and every man who, without any particular talent, ſhall take with him ſufficient courage and reſolution to labour hard, is ſure to find there, in a ſhort time, the means of making himſelf independent, a man of property, and ſoon after to acquire an eaſy and honeſt competency.

Some of the reflections with which I have accompanied the account I have given in this laſt part of my journal, of the conſtitution, of the government, of the laws, of the commerce, and of the manners of the United States, may be accuſed of ſeverity. What anſwer ought I to make to this reproach, if it be laid upon me? It was my duty to ſay what I ſaw and what I thought. I have ſpared no pains to come at the truth, and to keep my judgment free from the influence of all pre-

judice,

judice, and from party ſpirit; I am inwardly conſcious of this. Doubtleſs nothing obliged me to write a journal; but nothing could make me conſent, while I was writing it, to diſguiſe, or even to weaken my opinions.

It is ſtill more probable that I ſhall be accuſed of having judged the actual politics of the governing party in America with a French partiality. I will not attempt to exculpate myſelf from a ſtrong attachment to my country, and to all its intereſts; I believe I do not yield to any one in this ſentiment, ſo general among the French; it is in me, independent of all the governments which my nation can give herſelf, as it is of all the misfortunes of which I have been, and of which I may ſtill be the victim. But I ſhould have reproached myſelf for having yielded to be guided in my judgment by ſentiments for which I honour myſelf; I ſhould then have run the riſk of not ſeeing the truth; and it is the truth after which I have been ſearching, and for the ſake of which I wrote. I think, therefore, that I have preſerved myſelf from the influence of national prejudice, and I hope that the majority of my readers will think the ſame.

May America, ſtrengthened by all the advantages which nature has beſtowed upon her, and with thoſe which a happy concurrence of circumſtances has added to them, already rich in her own experience, enjoy with a long proſperity!

May the people of America employ, without remiſſion, all their vigilance and all their firmneſs to preſerve their liberty and independence, which they have ſo glorioufly acquired! None of her citizens wiſhes this more ſincerely than I. In ſhort, may France and the United States draw cloſer the bonds of alliance and friendſhip, which it ſo much intereſts the two nations to ſtrengthen and to invigorate! May generoſity and good faith be the bonds for holding them together! In political, as in private life, theſe are the moſt uſeful and the moſt honourable.

I add

I add here a brief view of the reſemblance and differences between the conſtitutions of the United States of North America, of that of the Union, as well as of thoſe of the different ſtates which compoſe it.

Theſe tables are the literal tranſlation of thoſe publiſhed laſt year by Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, at that time member of congreſs for South Carolina, at preſent miniſter of the United States.

Tariff of the Duties which the various Articles of Merchandize imported into the United States pay, ſince the 1ſt of July 1797.

Merchandize Imported.	Upon American Bottoms.	Upon Foreign Bottoms.
Fire-arms and bayonets, not otherwiſe ſpecified	10 per cent of their value	16½
Philoſophical apparatus imported for the uſe of ſchools, &c.	free	free
Aniſeed	15 per cent of value	
Articles produced or manufactured in the United States, liquors excepted	free	free
Anchors	10 per cent of value	11
Starch	15 ditto	16½
Slate	15 ditto	16½
Steel	100 *cents* per quintal	110
Beer, ale, and porter, in caſks or in bottles	8 *cents* per gallon	8⅘
— upon the value of the bottles	10 per cent of value	11
Bricks and tiles	15 ditto	16½
Bonnets, hats, and all kinds of head-dreſſes	15 ditto	16½
Boots	75 *cents* per pair	82½
Buttons of all kinds	15 per cent of value	16½
Buckles for ſhoes, &c.	15 ditto	16½
Bruſhes	10 ditto	11
Coin, or ſilver	free	free
Cambrick	10 per cent of value	11
Stockings	15 ditto	16½
Wax, and ſpermaceti candles	6 *cents* per pound	6⅔
Wood unwrought	free	free
Wood wrought (except cabinet wares)	12½ per cent of value	13¾
Braſs cannon, and articles made of copper	15 ditto	16½
Coaches, or parts of coaches	20 ditto	22
Cards for gaming	25 *cents* per pack	27½
Cards for cotton and wool	50 *cents* per dozen	55

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Cables and tarred cordage	180 *cents* per quintal	198
Candles made of tallow	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Spikes	1 ditto	1 1/10
Capers	15 per cent of value	16½
Canes and whips	10 ditto	11
Cinnamon, gooſeberries, comfits, &c.	15 ditto	16½
Chintz, callicoes, muſlins, and all merchandize of cotton and wool in colour	12 ditto	13½
Cocoa-nut	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Chocolate	3 ditto	3 1/10
Coſmetics	15 per cent of value	16½
Coals	5 *cents* per buſhel	5½
Colours	15 per cent of value	16½
Copper wrought	15 ditto	16½
— in ſheets, pigs, and bars	free	free
Compoſition for the teeth and gums	15 per cent of value	16½
Coffee	5 *cents* per pound	5½
Cotton	3 ditto	3 1/10
— manufactured without die or colour	10 per cent of value	11
Cutlaſſes and hangers, either whole or in pieces	15 ditto	16½
Hemp	100 *cents* per quintal	110
Leather tanned, and all manufactures of leather, or where the leather is the eſſential article	15 per cent of value	16½
Citrons	15 ditto	16½
Nails	2 *cents* per pound	2½
Paſteboard and parchment	10 per cent of value	11
Types for printing	10 ditto	11
Dates and figs	15 ditto	16½
Drugs (of the apothecary) except thoſe uſed in dyeing	15 ditto	16½
Drugs and wood (for dyeing)	free	free
Lace and lawns	10 per cent of value	11
Lace for edges, fringes, lacets, &c. uſed by coach-makers, ſaddlers, &c.	15 ditto	16½
Malt	10 *cents* per buſhel	11
Cabinet ware	15 per cent of value	16½
Eſſences, powder, and perfumery	15 ditto	16½
Fans, whole or in parts	15 ditto	16½
Tin, wrought	15 ditto	16½
— old	free	free
Artificial flowers, feathers, and other ornaments for ladies	15 per cent of value	16½
Copper wire, &c.	free	free
Cheeſe	7 *cents* per pound	7 1/10
Fruits of all kinds	15 per cent of value	16½
China ware	15 ditto	16½
Furs unwrought	free	free

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Iron wire	free	free
Packthread	400 *cents* per quintal	440
Gauze	10 per cent of value	11
Ginger	15 ditto	16½
Girandoles, whole or in pieces	20 ditto	22
Gloves and mittens of all kinds	15 ditto	16½
Lace of gold or ſilver	15 ditto	16½
Glue	15 ditto	16½
Clothes ready made	10 ditto	11
— liveries, furniture, and utenſils of profeſſion, belonging to perſons coming to reſide in the United States	free	free
Oil	15 per cent of value	16½
Indigo	25 *cents* per pound	27½
Jewellery, and artificial ſtones	15 per cent of value	16½
Play-things for children, not otherways ſpecified	10 ditto	11
Blank books	10 ditto	11
Diſtilled liquors from corn.		
— of the firſt proof	28 *cents* per gallon	30⅘
— ſecond	29 ditto	31 1/10
— third	31 ditto	34 1/10
— fourth	34 ditto	37⅖
— fifth	40 ditto	44
— ſixth	60 ditto	55
From other matters.		
— firſt proof	25 ditto	27½
— ſecond	25 ditto	27½
— third	28 ditto	30⅘
— fourth	32 ditto	35⅕
— fifth	38 ditto	41⅘
— ſixth	46 ditto	50⅗
Liquors diſtilled in the United States, imported in the ſame veſſels in which they have been exported from the United States, viz.		
From molaſſes.		
— firſt proof	13 ditto	13
— ſecond	14 ditto	14
— third	15 ditto	15
— fourth	17 ditto	17
— fifth	21 ditto	21
— ſixth	28 ditto	28

Merchandize imported.	In American bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
From matters the produce of the United States.		
— firſt proof	7 *cents* per gallon	7
— ſecond	8 ditto	8
— third	9 ditto	9
— fourth	11 ditto	11
— fifth	13 ditto	13
— ſixth	18 ditto	18
Wool-unwrought	free	free
Woollen yarn	225 *cents* per quintal	2 —
Watches and clocks, in whole or in pieces	15 per cent of value	16½
Merchandiſe imported directly from China, or from the Eaſt Indies, in veſſels which do not belong to the United States, (except tea, porcelain, and all other articles ſubject to the higher duties		12½
— which ſhall be re-exported in the ſame ſhips in which they have been imported	free	free
— not ſpecifically ſpecified in this tariff	1 per cent of value	11
Looking-glaſſes	20 ditto	22
Manufactures of tin, compoſition, and copper	15 ditto	16½
— of iron and ſteel, not otherwiſe ſpecified	15 ditto	16½
— of copper	15 ditto	16½
— of lead	1 *cent* per pound	1 1
— of cotton and wool, dyed or coloured	12½ per cent of value	13½
— ditto, without being dyed or coloured	10 ditto	11
Marble, ſlate, ſtones, bricks, tiles, tables, mortars, and other utenſils of marble or ſlate, and in general all work in ſtone or pottery	15 ditto	16½
Mace (a ſort of ſpicery)	15 ditto	16½
Merchandiſes of mode	15 ditto	16½
Molaſſes	4 *cents* per gallon	4½
Muſkets and fire-arms, with bayonets, whole or in pieces	15 per cent in value	16½
— without bayonets, ditto	15 ditto	16½
Muſtard in powder	15 ditto	16½
Muſlins dyed, coloured, &c.	12½ ditto	13½
— without dye or colour	10 ditto	11
Nutmegs	15 ditto	16½
Goldſmiths' ware	15 ditto	16½
Oranges	15 ditto	16½
Olives	15 ditto	16½
Porcelain	15 ditto	16½
Dolls for children	15 ditto	16½
Gun-powder	10 ditto	11
Powder for the hair	15 ditto	16½
Raw hides	free	free

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Calaminare ſtone	free	free
Lead and bullets	1 *cent* per pound	1 1/10
Paper, painted for tapeſtry	15 per cent. of value	16 1/2
— for writing and wrappery	10 ditto	11
— ſtrong	15 ditto	16 1/2
Plaſter of Paris	free	free
Pepper	6 *cents* per pound	6 3/5
Piſtols, whole or in parts	15 per cent of value	16 1/2
Paintaings and engravings	10 ditto	11
Allſpice	4 *cents* per pound	4 2/5
Prunes	15 per cent of value	16 1/2
Naval proviſions	free	free
Wafers	15 per cent of value	16 1/2
Raiſins	15 ditto	16 1/2
Glauber's ſalt	200 *cents* per quintal	220
Salt weighing more than 56 lbs. per buſhel	12 *cents* for 65 pounds	13 1/5
— weighing 56 lbs. per buſhel or leſs	12 *cents* per buſhel	13
Saltpetre	free	free
Saddles, whole or in parts	10 per cent of value	11
Satin, and other ſilk ſtuffs	10 ditto	11
Shoes and pumps of ſilk, for women	25 *cents* per pair	27 1/2
— for men or women	15 ditto	16 1/2
Sabres and cutlaſſes, in part or whole	15 per cent of value	16 1/2
Soap	2 *cents* per pound	2 2/5
Sulphur	free	free
Sugar, brown	2 *cents* per pound	2 4/5
— white clayed	3 ditto	3 3/10
— powdered	3 ditto	3 3/10
— all other refined, and in powder	1 1/2 ditto	1 1/2 3/10
— *(Linnpeugas)*	6 1/2 ditto	7 1/2 9/10
— in loaves	9 ditto	9 9/10
— refined	6 1/2 ditto	7
— candy	9 ditto	9 9/10
Carpets and matts	15 per cent of value	16 1/2
Tobacco in powder	22 *cents* per pound	24
Sail cloth	10 per cent of value	11
Tea, China and Indian.		
— bohea	12 *cents* per pound	17 1/5
— ſouchong and other black teas	18 ditto	27
— hyſon imperial	32 ditto	50
— other green teas	20 ditto	30

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Tea coming from Europe.		
— bohea	14 ditto	17½
— fouchong, and other black teas	21 ditto	27
— hyſon imperial	40 ditto	50
— other green teas	24 ditto	30
Tea coming from any other place.		
— bohea	17 ditto	18 7/9
— fouchong	27 ditto	29 1/9
— hyſon imperial	50 ditto	55
— other green teas	30 ditto	33
Tobacco manufactured (otherways than in powder)	10 *cents* per pound	11
Glaſs.		
— black bottles, containing a quart	10 per cent of value	11
— in panes	15 ditto	16½
— all other manufactures of glaſs	20 ditto	22
Velvet	10 ditto	11
Wine in barrels, bottles, or other veſſels.		
— from London, Madeira of the firſt quality	5 *cents* per gallon	6⅛
— London, or brought from Madeira	49 ditto	51 7/9
— other Madeira	40 ditto	44
— Burgundy and Champagne	40 ditto	44
— Sherry	33 ditto	33⅓
— Saint Lucar	30 ditto	33
— Liſbon and Oporto	25 ditto	27½
— Teneriff, Royal and Malaga	20 ditto	22
The duties upon all other wines ought not to exceed 30 *cents* per gallon in American veſſels, and 33 *cents* in foreign veſſels; nor to be leſs than ten *cents* in American veſſels, and eleven in foreign veſſels	40 per cent of value	44
Upon the value of the bottles	10 ditto	11
All ſorts of fruits preſerved in vinegar	15 ditto	16½
All other merchandiſe not otherwiſe ſpecified	10 ditto	11

FINIS.

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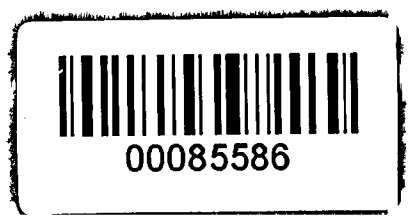
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